

Faculty of Theology  
University of Helsinki

**THE SEPTUAGINT OF JEREMIAH**  
A STUDY IN TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND  
RECENSIONS

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DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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**To Anne**

## Abstract

This dissertation comprises a translation technical study of the Septuagint version of the book of Jeremiah (Jer LXX) conducted for the purpose of characterizing the translation. The last two centuries of scholarship on Jer LXX have produced diverse descriptions of the translator's product, ability and approach to translation, ranging from a free and arbitrary translation to a literal and faithful one. Though modern scholars mostly agree that the translation attempts to follow its Hebrew *Vorlage* very closely, it contains several indicators of free and less formal equivalence. In addition, discrepancy between certain renderings within chapters 1–28 (Jer a') and chapters 29–52 (Jer b') have borne debate regarding the unity of the translation, particularly whether these differences reflect the work of multiple translators, a later revision, or the peculiarities of a single translator.

A translation technical study has the potential to account for the different factors within Jer LXX in a way that previous studies on the character of the translation have been unable to do. Earlier research, though pivotal and pertinent in its own ways, relies on a minimal analysis of the syntactical and semantic contexts in which the Hebrew words and their Greek equivalents occur. A closer look at these contexts by means of a translation technical analysis allows a more precise determination of the character of the translation and its place in the history of the Septuagint, pertaining in particular to the relation between the Greek and Hebrew texts of Jer and to the cause of the differences between Jer a' and Jer b'.

The study of translation technique constitutes a comparison between Hebrew words and expressions and their counterparts in the Greek translation, and it is the primary means by which to identify the different factors that influenced the product of translation. Three factors, and the extent of their influence, need to be taken into account when evaluating a translation in the LXX: the syntax and grammar of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, the requirements of the Greek language, and the individual translator's own peculiarities. This type of analysis provides answers to questions regarding the nature of Jer LXX as a textual witness to the Hebrew text, the development of the Greek text of Jer LXX, and the translation character of Jer LXX.

The method is applied to the renderings of Hebrew words and expressions for which a difference between Jer a' and Jer b' has been identified. This choice of material has been made in order that the issue regarding the bisectioning of Jer LXX can be addressed to the fullest possible extent by this study. Since the question of a revision in Jer LXX revolves around the translation differences between Jer a' and Jer b', the character of these differences will be further delineated in relation to the revisional character of the *kaige* tradition, an exemplar of early Jewish revision that is universally accepted as such. This comparison allows a further differentiation of the characteristics among the differences that can be categorised as revisional in nature and those that cannot, which in turn enables a more precise placement of Jer LXX within the history and development of the LXX as a whole.

The conclusions of this study draw from the distinction of the different types of changes that occur between Jer a' and Jer b'. Certain differences between the two do reflect the revisional characteristics of the *kaige* tradition, which suggests that they were produced by a reviser who was invested in a revisionary tradition similar to *kaige*. This correlates with earlier suggestions that Jer b' contains a revision. A number of the differences, however, indicate that the character of the revision is not as developed in its system and consistency as are the later exemplars of the *kaige* tradition. This distinguishes the revision in Jer b' from other known revisions and allows its placement as prior to the later *kaige* revisers. Third, certain differences constitute a change toward more natural Greek expression, which is the opposite of what one would expect from a revision since Greek idiom usually does not reflect the formal characteristics of Hebrew. These differences are to be understood as reflecting a change towards more intuitive use of the Greek language by the first translator of Jer.

This third conclusion provides a window into understanding the motive of the revision. The need for revisions came from a perceived disparity between the Septuagint translation and the Hebrew text used by the reviser. The latter half of the translation of Jer LXX evinces a number of changes toward less formal equivalents of the Hebrew text, which was unappealing to the reviser. This, together with the possibility of later growth in the reviser's Hebrew text after the initial translation into Greek, combine to form conducive conditions for revision.

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It is often said that writing a dissertation can be a lonely endeavor. Fortunately for me, I have had the opposite experience. From the beginning of my undergraduate studies until the present, I have enjoyed the unreserved company of professors, supervisors, colleagues, fellow students, family and friends alike, all to whom I am extremely grateful!

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## Abbreviations

0+inf.	Anarthrous infinitive / anarthrous infinitives
כּ+inf.	The Hebrew preposition כּ with an infinitive
כּ+inf.	The Hebrew preposition כּ with an infinitive
τοῦ+inf.	Genitive articular infinitive / genitive articular infinitives
fig. etym.	<i>Figura etymologica</i> / <i>figurae etymologicae</i>
gen. abs.	Genitive absolute / genitives absolute
inf.	Infinitive / infinitives
inf. cs.	Infinitive construct / infinitives construct
inf. abs.	Infinitive absolute / infinitives absolute
Jer LXX	The Septuagint translation of Jeremiah
Jer MT	The Masoretic text of Jeremiah
Jer OG	The Old Greek translation of Jeremiah
Jer-R	The revision of the Old Greek translation of Jeremiah
LXX	The Septuagint
MT	The Masoretic text
MP	The Minor Prophets
MP LXX	The Septuagint translation of the Minor Prophets
NETS	The New English Translation of the Septuagint
OAN	The oracles against the nations
OG	The Old Greek translation of the Septuagint
part. coni.	<i>Participium coniunctum</i>
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae ( <a href="http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu">http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu</a> )



# 1. Introduction and Outline

Septuagint Jeremiah (Jer LXX) has been described as “the most complex book” in the Septuagint.<sup>1</sup> This statement refers to three aspects of research on the book, all of which relate to its textual history. First, Jer LXX attests a markedly different type of text from that conveyed by the book of Jeremiah in the Massoretic Text (Jer MT). These differences pertain to both the length of the book and the arrangement of its texts. Second, significant differences in the translation equivalents employed in the two halves of Jer LXX have given rise to questions concerning the unity of the translation, specifically whether more than one person was involved in producing the text form of the transmitted text. Third, the translation character of the book is generally characterized as literal and isomorphic, and yet a degree of variation and free translation can be detected as well.<sup>2</sup>

These three aspects of research reflect three methodological questions that are necessarily connected to each other. These are the textual criticism of the Hebrew text, the textual criticism of the Greek text, and the translation technique of the Greek text.<sup>3</sup> An attempt to explain any of these three aspects related to the book of Jeremiah (Jer), or any other book that has a translation in the LXX, must take the other two sufficiently into consideration.

For one to be able to employ the text of Jer LXX confidently in pursuing the textual history of the Hebrew text, one must determine, as far as possible, the original text of Greek Jeremiah, which is generally referred to as the Old Greek translation of Jeremiah (Jer OG). This step is achieved by a critical evaluation of all the readings transmitted in the manuscripts. Once the Greek text has been established, the necessary step in

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<sup>1</sup> Pietersma 2006a, 402.

<sup>2</sup> Pietersma presents three aspects of research as well, but my third aspect differs somewhat from his. For Pietersma, it is not so much the dichotomy between literal and free translation as it is “a discontinuity in Hebrew-Greek lexical and grammatical equations,” which may be understood as a departure from the “senseless transcription” of the LXX source text and a “slavish insistence on isomorphic representation of the Hebrew.” By this he specifically refers to an exegetical dimension that he identifies in the translation equivalents used in Jer LXX (2006a, 402). As presented in his article, Pietersma’s third aspect actually refers to the discussion around the second aspect, which has to do with the unity of the translation.

<sup>3</sup> On the methodological relationship between translation technique, textual criticism of the LXX and textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, cf. sec. 3.2 and Aejmelaeus 1987, 60 (reprinted in Aejmelaeus 2007, 73).

determining its Hebrew *Vorlage* requires a thorough knowledge of the translation character of the text. This knowledge enables the researcher to ascertain what types of decisions the translator made in the process of translation, thus making the reconstruction of his *Vorlage* possible. Necessarily, however, conclusions regarding the OG and its translation character require reference to the Hebrew text.

Determining the Old Greek translation of Jer is complicated by the marked differences in Hebrew-Greek equivalents between Jer LXX 1–28 (Jer a') and Jer LXX 29–52 (Jer b'),<sup>4</sup> as they prompt important questions regarding the textual history of the Greek text. What type of phenomenon do these differences reflect? Elsewhere in the LXX, such differences between different sections or different versions of a translation have led to the identification of revisions (e.g. Judges and the *kaige* sections in 1–4 Rgns).<sup>5</sup> Could this same phenomenon be at work in Jer LXX? Other suggested explanations include that the differences reflect the work of two translators, or that they are simply the outcome of the exegetical moorings or of a hiatus in the work of a single translator. Needless to say, the interpretation of these differences necessarily affects how the history of the Greek text is reconstructed.

The most cogent studies on the translational differences between Jer a' and Jer b' are by Henry St. John Thackeray and Emanuel Tov.<sup>6</sup> Thackeray proposed that the differences reflect the work of multiple translators, and Tov argues that they result from a revision extant only in Jer b'. Their argumentation comprises lists of Hebrew-Greek equivalents with a brief elaboration (Tov) or barely any comment at all (Thackeray) regarding the nature of the change. This body of evidence, though essential for identifying and describing the differences, lacks information on the translation technical properties of the text that most likely influenced the changes. What are the factors that lead to the differences? Were they caused purely by a separate translator who preferred

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<sup>4</sup> The chapter and verse numeration refers to that used in Ziegler's edition of Jer LXX. When these are different from the ones found in the Hebrew Bible (HB), the numeration of the HB is presented in parentheses according to the BHS edition. E.g. Jer 28(51):11 refers to 28:11 in Jer LXX and 51:11 in Jer MT, Jer 34:10(27:12) refers to 34:10 in Jer LXX and 27:12 in Jer MT and Jer 9:2(1) refers to 9:2 in Jer LXX and 9:1 in Jer MT. Cases in which either Jer MT or Jer LXX are referred to without reference to the other are marked accordingly (e.g. Jer MT 33:4–13 or Jer LXX 1–28).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. the studies by Soisalon-Soininen (1951) on Judg and by Barthélemy (1963) on the *kaige* tradition.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed presentation of Thackeray (1903a) and Tov's (1976) studies, cf. sec. 2.4.2.



different equivalents, or is it possible to identify features either within the Hebrew or the Greek text that occasioned the changes?

The present study aims to correct this deficiency by a translation technical study of the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' that takes into account the syntactical and semantic contexts in which the equivalents occur. A more precise definition of the nature of the differences is attainable through a consideration of the factors within both the Hebrew and the Greek texts that influenced the changes. The purpose of this translation technical inquiry is to determine how it reflects on the other two aspects of research mentioned above: the textual history of Jer LXX and the textual history of the Hebrew text of Jer. A study of translation technique is the most basic and definitive means of characterizing the translation and whether the translation reflects revisional changes or not. It also enables a more refined understanding of the relationship between the Greek and the Hebrew text through a characterization of the qualitative differences that occur.

The material to be analyzed in this study consists of syntactical and lexical equivalents throughout Jer LXX. The equivalents chosen are done so because they are most likely to reveal the difference in the translation character between the two halves.<sup>7</sup> Applying the method to the material involves analyzing the syntactical and semantic contexts of each equivalent in order to identify any reason for the choice of equivalent. These analyses are presented in the main chapters of this study (chapters 4, 5 and 6). The analysis of each equivalent will be presented as comprehensively as possible, but only a survey of equivalents will be presented when the amount of data is too large to present in full (e.g. chapter 4). Chapter 7 is a collection of data from the whole material that illustrates the competence and disposition of the translator. It presents a categorization of the qualitative differences found in the material according to their cause.

The analysis is preceded by chapters on research history (chapter 2) and methodology (chapter 3). Previous research relevant for this study include research on the textual history of the Hebrew text of Jer, on the translation character of Jer LXX,

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<sup>7</sup> Though Tony Michael's (2006, 94) appeal to note the differences within the two halves of the translation is relevant for drawing a complete picture of the translation character of Jer LXX, these do not outweigh the evidence that indicates a marked change that occurs at Jer LXX 29. A difference in translation character does not hinge on the whole of the two texts being consistently different from each other, but can rest on even a few simple and defining differences. Other consistencies or inconsistencies both within each text and between the two texts will not detract from their differing characterization when it is well defined.

and on the issue of bisectioning Jer LXX. The chapter on methodology focuses on the necessity and use of translation technique for this study and on the identification of revisions in the LXX.

The results of this study are drawn up in chapter 8. The differences between Jer a' and Jer b' are categorized according to their profile in relation to the known revisional principles of the *kaige* tradition. The principles of the *kaige* tradition are used as a comparative tool to evaluate the nature of the changes in Jer LXX. Most of them do conform to the known revisional principles of the *kaige* tradition, and therefore are seen as affirming a revisionary layer in the text of Jer b', but this does not account for all the differences. Some of the differences in Jer b' do not resemble *kaige* type revisions, but are rather more natural Greek in their expression than the corresponding equivalents in Jer a'. These differences are not to be considered revisional but most likely reflect a turn toward more natural Greek in the Old Greek translation.

The source texts that are used for this study are *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*<sup>8</sup> for the Hebrew text and the Göttingen critical edition by Ziegler<sup>9</sup> for the Greek text. The DJD edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls is used when available and relevant for the discussion.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Ediderunt K. Elliger et W. Rudolph et al. Editio quinta emendata. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1997.

<sup>9</sup> Ziegler, J., *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum). Vol. 15, *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*. 2nd ed., 1976.

<sup>10</sup> For references to these publications, cf. n. 66.

## 2. Research History

### 2.1. Overview

This chapter presents a brief review of research on the text of Jeremiah, both Greek and Hebrew, which has particular relevance for the topic of this study. The specific issues to be reviewed are text critical research on the Hebrew text of Jer, the translation character of Jer LXX, and the textual history of Jer LXX with particular emphasis on the question of bisectioning the translation. These three areas of research are methodologically connected to each other, and a proper understanding of one requires an understanding of the other two as well. For this reason, discussion of one of these is generally accompanied by discussion of one or both of the other two, as can be seen in this review.

Research on textual criticism of the Hebrew text of Jer is presented first. The textual history of the Hebrew text has been the topic of many studies, and only a brief overview is presented here with reference to fuller descriptions. Research on the text of Jer LXX, on its translation character and its textual history, have not been surveyed recently, and they are discussed in more detail in this chapter.

### 2.2. Textual History of the Hebrew Text of Jeremiah

#### 2.2.1. Differences Between Jer MT and Jer LXX

The most significant issue concerning the text of Jer is the textual difference between Jer MT and Jer LXX. Textual variants in the LXX as a whole cannot be characterized by a common denominator,<sup>11</sup> but general descriptions of the nature of the LXX as a textual witness to different books in the Hebrew Bible (HB) often describe it as expansionistic,<sup>12</sup> even though this is not the case for many books. Nevertheless, Jer LXX is exceptional in the volume of quantitative difference between Jer MT and Jer LXX. Young-Jin Min has calculated that of the 21111 words in Jer MT, 3097 do not have a representation in Jer LXX, which is slightly more than 1/7 of the Hebrew text.<sup>13</sup> The

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<sup>11</sup> Tov 2015, 216.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. Carroll 1986, 50; Kim (1994, 347) with regard to the Pentateuch.

<sup>13</sup> Min 1977, 159. Min's calculations do not include the *nota accusativi* אֵל since he suggests that "it is

other notable difference between the two texts is the arrangement of the material, particularly the location and order of the oracles against the foreign nations (OAN). In the MT, the OAN occur in chapters 46–51, and the order of the oracles, from the first to the last, is Egypt, the Philistines, Moab, the Ammonites, Edom, Damascus, Kedar and the kingdoms of Hazor, Elam and Babylon. In the LXX, the oracles are located immediately after 25:13, and their order is Elam, Egypt, Babylon, the Philistines, Edom, the Ammonites, Kedar and the kingdoms of Hazor, Damascus and Moab.

Jer LXX	Jer MT
Oracles against Judah and Jerusalem (1–24)	Oracles against Judah and Jerusalem (1–24)
Judgment oracles against Jerusalem and the nations (25:1–13)	Judgment oracles against Jerusalem and the nations (25:1–14)
<b>OAN (25:14–31:44)</b>	
Cup of wrath: judgment of Jerusalem and the nations (32:1–24)	Cup of wrath: judgment of Jerusalem and the nations (25:15–38)
Jeremiah and other prophets (33–36)	Jeremiah and other prophets (26–29)
The Book of Consolation and oracles of hope (37–40)	The Book of Consolation and oracles of hope (30–33)
Fall of Jerusalem and flight to Egypt (41–51)	Fall of Jerusalem and flight to Egypt (34–45)
	<b>OAN (46–51)</b>
Destruction of Jerusalem (52)	Destruction of Jerusalem (52)
Table 1. The placement of the oracles against the nations ( <b>OAN</b> ) in Jer LXX and Jer MT. <sup>14</sup>	

Differences in the sequence of verses occur as well, most notably in Jer 10:1–11. These verses, according to the MT numeration, occur in the LXX in the sequence 1–4, 5a, 9 and 5b. Verses 10:6, 7, 8 and 10 are plusses in the MT.<sup>15</sup>

usually not represented in the Greek Translation of Jer LXX" (1977, 155). Tov (1997, 148) adopts the figure used by Min. The estimation that Jer LXX is 1/8 shorter than Jer MT (Carroll 1986, 50 and Nissinen 1989, 18–19) is based on the calculations of Graf (1862, xliii), who states that Jer LXX is 2700 words shorter than Jer MT. Graf, however, does not explain his method of calculation, and his figure seems to be an estimation.

<sup>14</sup> A similar table was first published in Mäkipelto, Tekoniemi & Tucker 2017, 9. Permission to reuse the table has been granted by the authors. Cf. also the chart in Chae 2015, 580. For a discussion on the direction of change regarding the placement and arrangement of the OAN, cf. Mäkipelto, Tekoniemi & Tucker 2017, 9–12.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion on the sources and textual history of Jer 10:1–11, cf. Tucker 2018, who argues that Jer LXX and 4QJer<sup>b</sup> represent an earlier text form than Jer MT.

Most of the MT plusses are similar to each other in character, in one way or another. Emanuel Tov<sup>16</sup> has divided these plusses, and certain differences in content, into three categories: editorial aspects, exegetical aspects and further characteristics. Each of these categories include several different characteristic plusses.

Editorial aspects among the MT plusses include the addition of headings to prophecies, the repetition of sections, the addition of new verses and sections, the addition of new details, and changes in content.<sup>17</sup> Jer MT contains several headings to prophecies that are not included in the LXX (e.g. 2:1–2a and 34[27]:1). In some cases where the LXX does have a short heading to a prophecy, the heading in the MT is expanded and includes more information (e.g. 7:1–2 and 29[47]:1).

The repetition of sections of a few verses does occur several times in the LXX. MT contains these duplicate passages, but it also has additional duplicate passages that are not present in the LXX. Examples include 8:10b–12, which is a duplicate of 6:13–15, and 30:10–11, which is a duplicate of 26(46):27–28.

Jer MT has additional verses and sections compared to the LXX that contain completely new content. Tov points out that these occur in all three major strata into which Jer has traditionally been divided, namely poetry, biographical prose and the deuteronomistic sections.<sup>18</sup> These include Jer MT 33:14–26 and 39:4–13, which are the longest sections lacking in Jer LXX. Jer MT 33:14–26 describes YHWH's enduring commitment to the house of David and to the levitical priests, and 39:4–13 is an account of the invasion of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar's army.

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<sup>16</sup> The following discussion follows Tov 1997, 150–167. The terms used in this discussion, “plus” to indicate material in one text but absent from the other, and “minus” to indicate material absent from one text but present in the other, are not used by Tov. They are adopted in order to present the evidence in a text critically neutral manner. Arguments for the direction of change will be presented below. Tov's terminology, “additions” and “changes,” is based on his conclusion that “the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX ... represent[s] an early edition of Jeremiah which was expanded by the editor of MT” (150).

<sup>17</sup> Tov (1997, 151–158) also includes text-arrangement in this category. Differences in the textual arrangement of Jer LXX and Jer MT are discussed above.

<sup>18</sup> The division of the text of Jer into different sources can be traced back to Bernhard Duhm and Sigmund Mowinckel. Duhm divided the material into genuine words of Jeremiah, Baruch's biography of Jeremiah, and the rest of the book (1901, X and XVI). Mowinckel proposes five different sections in the book. These are (A) Jeremianic oracles, (B) stories about Jeremiah the prophet, (C) Deuteronomistic prose, (D) chapters 30–31 and chapters 46–52, which are later additions (1914, 1–67). For surveys on research into the literary history of Jer, cf. McKane 1986, xli–xcix; Nissinen 1989, 15; and Lalleman - de Winkel 2000, 1–48. Henderson (2019) offers an informative critique of the traditional division of Jer into different sections.

By the addition of new details, Tov means certain elements of data that cannot be derived from context. For example, the MT plus in 32:12(25:26) mentions that the king of Sheshach<sup>19</sup> will be the last to drink from the cup of wrath. The names of Ahab and Zedekiah's fathers are not mentioned in the LXX as they are in the MT in 36(29):21. Only in Jer MT is Baruch called "the scribe" (e.g. 43[36]:26 and 32). An example of the final phenomenon in this category, differences in the contents of the MT and the LXX, is found in 45(38):9, where, according to the LXX, Ebed-melech blames the king for acting wickedly, while in MT the blame is placed on the city officials.<sup>20</sup>

Exegetical aspects among the MT plusses include harmonistic additions, contextual exegesis, and amplified formulas. In Tov's view, this category shows how the editor of Jer MT clarifies details in the text, makes explicit certain data that is implicit, and stresses ideas that are found elsewhere in Jer.

The most prominent harmonistic addition is the filling in of names, both personal and titular. This occurs throughout the book. In chapter 48(41) "Ishmael son of Nethaniah son of Elishama" is introduced in full name, both in the MT and in the LXX. In the rest of the chapter the LXX uses only the short form of his name "Ishmael", but the MT uses mostly the longer form "Ishmael son of Nethaniah" for the same occurrences. Similarly, the LXX attaches the epithet "prophet" after Jeremiah's name only four times (49[42]:2, 50[43]:6, 51:31[45:1] and 28[51]:59), while the MT adds the title "the prophet" in nearly 30 additional cases,<sup>21</sup> and especially very systematically in chapters 35–36(28–29). Another harmonistic addition is a contextual addition. A contextual addition signifies additional details in one verse that make it identical to another verse (e.g. 13:5 based on 13:4, and 34:16[27:13] based on 35[28]:3).

Contextual exegesis consists of additional words or phrases that clarify the meaning of the text. These include the use of names in the MT where the LXX only uses a pronoun to refer to characters (e.g. 42[35]:12 and 52:8) and additions that function to further define an idea or a situation (e.g. 34:4[27:5] and 48[41]:6).

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<sup>19</sup> McKane (1986, 640) and Tov (1997, 155) rightfully note that this is an example of *athbash* script which actually refers to the king of Babylon (שׁשׁכ = ל = ב = ב), who is otherwise not mentioned in the list. *Athbash* script is a cipher in which each Hebrew letter is substituted by the letter that corresponds to its position in reverse alphabetical order, e.g. א stands for ט and שׁ stands for ג.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion on Jer 45(38):9, cf. sec. 7.4.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. list in Janzen 1973, 145–148.

Jer MT contains certain amplified formulas in comparison to Jer LXX. Examples of this category are the more extensive use of the formulas נאם יהוה (109 times in the LXX; 174 times in MT)<sup>22</sup> and כה אמר יהוה in MT, the more extensive use of לאמר after a verb of speaking (e.g. 5:20), and the more frequent use of צבאות to qualify the name of God (10 times in the LXX; 82 times in the MT<sup>23</sup>).

Tov's third category of MT plusses, further characteristics of Jer MT, contains three textual phenomena. The first is words and expressions that are peculiar to Jer MT. Such are, for example, the long formula כה אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל in e.g. 7:3 and the description of Nebuchadnezzar as "God's servant" (25:9, 34:5[27:6] and 50[43]:10). The second characteristic phenomenon in this category is *Wiederaufnahme*, or "resumptive reading." This refers to the repetition of a lead phrase after a lengthy addition in the text. The lead phrase is repeated to keep the reader aware of the main idea in the text. Examples include MT 27:21 (cf. v. 19) and 35(28):4 (cf. v. 3). The final phenomenon in this category is MT plusses that seem to indicate a post-exilic date of origin. Examples of these are MT 25:14 and MT 27:7, which hint at the downfall of Babylon after its appointed time.

Jer LXX also contains plusses over against Jer MT, although they are not nearly as numerous as those in Jer MT. J. Gerald Janzen gives an account of many plusses in the LXX and categorizes them as doublets and additions.<sup>24</sup> Plusses in the LXX pose an additional problem for scholars that is nonexistent for plusses in MT. One must attempt to distinguish whether the plus was already present in the translator's *Vorlage*, or whether it is the result of an inner Greek phenomenon. Moreover, in the case of doublets, it is not always possible to distinguish the primary part of the doublet from the secondary part.<sup>25</sup>

In his presentation on doublets in Jer LXX, Janzen divides the material into three groups: doublets in which both parts correspond to MT, doublets in which the translator misread his *Vorlage* or used a non-MT *Vorlage*, and doublets that stem from inner-Greek

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<sup>22</sup> Tov 1997, 163.

<sup>23</sup> Janzen 1973, 75.

<sup>24</sup> Janzen 1973, 25–32 and 63–67.

<sup>25</sup> Janzen 1973, 25.

corruption. Examples of doublets that correspond to MT are found in 31(48):13 and 50(43):6. The doublets in 9:21(22) and 29:12(49:11), which, according to Janzen, has “misconstrued the sense of the passage,” belong to the second group.<sup>26</sup> Doublets that are the result of inner-Greek corruption include 17:26 and 31(48):36. Janzen lists 38 plusses that he considers to be additions in Jer LXX.<sup>27</sup> These include  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\eta$  in 14:15,  $\text{Ιουδα}$  in 41(34):1 and  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$  in 45(38):27.

### 2.2.2. Text Critical Research on the Hebrew Text of Jeremiah

Text critical research on the Hebrew text of Jer has largely been based on the study and interpretation of the textual phenomena listed above concerning the differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX. The discovery of the fragments of Jer among the Dead Sea Scrolls served as a watershed in the history of this research as it infused the discussion with new material that shed new light on the issue. However, there is continuity between scholars who worked prior to the discovery and those who have been able to take the discovery into account. This continuity is evident among those scholars who have regarded the LXX as a fairly literal and close translation of its *Vorlage*.

In his 1985 monograph, Sven Soderlund describes four theories, “broadly speaking,” to account for the different conclusions scholars have reached on the textual issue of Jer.<sup>28</sup> These are the abbreviation theory, the editorial theory, the expansion theory, and the mediating theory. The first is characterized by the notion that Jer LXX is a version of the Hebrew that is abbreviated or mutilated. This theory implies that the LXX *Vorlage* was similar to the MT and argues that the abbreviation was caused by the translator or by a copyist of the Greek text, the former of which has been designated more often than not. Before the Jer fragments of Qumran were available for study, this was the most popular solution to the problem of the differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX. Early proponents of this position are exemplified by Karl Heinrich Graf, who contends that the translator is the agent of change.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Janzen 1973, 27–28.

<sup>27</sup> Janzen 1973, 63–65.

<sup>28</sup> Soderlund 1985, 11–12.

<sup>29</sup> For a discussion of Graf's research on Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.2.



The editorial theory posits that Jeremiah produced two different editions of the book, from which the two current texts derive. According to this theory, one copy of Jer was used among the Jewish community in Egypt and became the basis for Jer LXX, and a reworked copy was sent to the community in Babylon and became the basis for Jer MT. The main representative of this position is Johann Gottfried Eichhorn.<sup>30</sup>

The expansion theory, according to which the plusses in Jer MT are the result of expansion, interpolation and conflation, and which considers the LXX to be the better witness between the two texts, elicited a few detailed defenses in the pre-Qumran era, though it was not a common position. This position is taken in the publications of Anton Scholz, George Workman<sup>31</sup> and F. C. Movers. After comparing Jer 52 with 2 Kgs 25, Movers recognized that 2 Kgs and Jer LXX mostly agree against Jer MT. He concluded that Jer LXX is to be preferred over Jer MT as a representative of an older text, and that Jer MT is characterized by expansions.<sup>32</sup>

Proponents of the mediating theory see it best to treat each divergent reading independently and to avoid using generalizations to make conclusions on the priority of either text. This position is not as clearly defined as the previous ones. Soderlund affiliates such scholars as B. Duhm, F. Giesebrecht, P. Volz, W. Rudolph and J. Bright with this theory.<sup>33</sup> In principle this position holds that Jer MT has secondary material, but that at the same time Jer LXX has a tendency to abridge its *Vorlage*.

Richard D. Weis has likewise summarized the different scholarly opinions on the textual problems of Jer. He delineates the differences between the two text forms of Jer into three categories. The first is large-scale structural differences, which refers to the arrangement of the two texts. The second category is large-scale quantitative differences, that is, large minuses in the short text (LXX) in comparison to the long text (MT). The third category is word- and phrase-level qualitative and quantitative differences, which constitute the lion's share of the differences. Weis notes that there are three ways in which the differences are interpreted in contemporary research. The most popular view explains the differences as "a mixture of intentional, comprehensive, potentially datable intervention(s)" on the one hand, and of typical transmissional

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<sup>30</sup> For a presentation of Eichhorn's research on Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.2.

<sup>31</sup> For a presentation of Scholz and Workman's research on Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.2.

<sup>32</sup> For a summary of Movers' research on Jer LXX, cf. Janzen 1973, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Soderlund 1985, 12.

processes on the other. In this scheme, the relationship between the two texts is regarded as lineal, the long text deriving from the short text. A second view holds that all of the differences are the result of gradual processes that are either textual or redactional in nature. This view generally presents the relationship between the two texts as deriving from a common ancestor. The third view is that there was ever only one Hebrew text form, represented by the MT, and that the shorter text is the result of changes made by the Greek translator or of repeated scribal errors. Weis contends that when the text is examined on the macro level, the quality and quantity of differences makes it hard to explain the textual change without recourse to intentional editorial activity.<sup>34</sup>

In 1973, Janzen claimed that the mediating position was the consensus view. He proceeded to challenge the status quo on account of two significant developments regarding the textual criticism of Jer. These were the publication of the Göttingen critical edition of Jer LXX by Ziegler and the discovery of 4QJer<sup>b</sup>, which agrees with the LXX against the MT to a significant degree. These two developments, he argues, validated the methodological movement from the LXX to its *Vorlage* by means of retroversion.<sup>35</sup> The subject of Janzen's study is what he calls "zero variants" in Jer. These are incidents in which one source does not have a textual correspondent to a portion of text in the other source. He contends that the notion of a translator who tends to shorten the text of Jer cannot be maintained. If the translator omitted the second occurrence of a few doublets, for example, why would he choose to translate both occurrences of the majority of doublets in Jer? Rather, Janzen argues, Jer MT increases explicitness and contains secondary expansion. Several characteristics of Jer MT imply that it is a revised text. It attests few incidents of haplography, which is an indication of broad transmission, i.e. the text was circulated and copied to such an extent that haplographical errors were successfully eradicated. The significant amount of conflation also strongly implies that Jer MT is a revised text. Jer LXX, on the other hand, is conservative and exhibits a high incidence of haplography, which Janzen suggests has mainly occurred in the *Vorlage*. A high volume of haplography in the *Vorlage* is indicative of narrow transmission, i.e. minimal circulation, and the translation probably took place after only a small number of manuscript generations. Jer LXX reflects a

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<sup>34</sup> Weis 2016, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> 28.2.2018.

<sup>35</sup> Janzen 1973, 7.

shorter *Vorlage* than Jer MT, and of the two texts, Jer LXX preserves the more superior text with regard to its zero variants.<sup>36</sup>

Tov has written several articles on the relationship between Jer MT and Jer LXX, two of which were published in 1979 and 1981. He, together with P.-M. Bogaert, has suggested that the texts witnessed by Jer LXX and 4QJer<sup>b</sup> reflect an earlier edition of Jer than the text of Jer MT, labeling the earlier edition I and the later edition II. Tov, like Janzen, concludes that the many plusses in Jer MT are the result of expansion that occurred during the literary growth between edition I and edition II. He also addresses the necessity of applying this general theory to individual cases of variants in Jer:

In text-critical studies, cases of a short versus a long text are normally evaluated individually on the basis of internal evidence. However, unlike other books of the LXX, the “omissions” of Jer do not occur occasionally; rather, they characterize the LXX of this book as a whole. For this reason they should be explained collectively.<sup>37</sup>

Tov believes the character of the translation of Jer LXX justifies this approach. He describes the translation as quite faithful to its *Vorlage*, even literal in the prose sections. Only in free renderings are omissions and additions to be expected.<sup>38</sup> Tov is quick to mention, however, the exception of erroneous omissions in the translation, either by the translator or by subsequent generations of scribes.

Robert Carroll, William Holladay and William McKane each produced a commentary on Jer, all of which were published in the later half of the 1980's. In their introductions they all accept Janzen's conclusions on a superior and shorter LXX *Vorlage* for Jer in comparison to the MT and stress the importance of the LXX *Vorlage* as a basis for exegesis. However, Holladay does add that the MT expansions are characteristic of the prose and not the poetry sections, and that, due to haplographic omissions in Jer LXX, “each textual variation must be assessed in its own right.”<sup>39</sup>

McKane describes the process of development from the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX to Jer MT by introducing the idea of a *rolling corpus*. Though the differences between Jer MT

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<sup>36</sup> Janzen 1973, 7–9, 127–128 and 135. For a critique of Janzen, cf. Soderlund 1985, 193–248. For Janzen's response to Soderlund, cf. Janzen 1989, 28–47.

<sup>37</sup> Tov 1979, 76. Cf. also Tov 1981a, which is republished in slightly revised form in Tov 1997.

<sup>38</sup> For a survey of research on the translation character of Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.

<sup>39</sup> Holladay 1989, 3–4.

and Jer LXX are his only tangible evidence, he believes that similar developments are to be credited for the current text of Jer LXX as well. The *rolling corpus* begins from certain core texts, which might be only a verse or a few verses in length. These core texts, sometimes called “kernels,” have triggered and generated exegetical expansions and commentary, which are also often short. McKane argues that this generation of text can occur in three different ways: from poetry to prose, from prose to prose, and from poetry to poetry. The result is of “piecemeal character,” not exhibiting the characteristics of a thorough redaction with a clear purpose.<sup>40</sup>

Much debate on the direction of change between the structures of Jer MT and Jer LXX has centered around the notion of a conventional structure of biblical prophetic books, occasionally called “tripartite structure” or “eschatological scheme”. According to this notion, a prophetic book follows the pattern: 1) oracles of judgement against Israel or Judah; 2) oracles against other nations; 3) promises of salvation to Israel or Judah. This pattern is especially evident in the books of Isaiah and Ezekiel.<sup>41</sup>

The notion of an eschatological scheme has been used to argue both ways in the case of Jer. Alexander Rofé and Christopher Seitz are both of the opinion that the OAN were moved from the end of the book (MT) to the middle position (LXX) in order to bring its structure into conformity with the structure of the other major prophetic books.<sup>42</sup> Rofé contends that the editors of the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX were also responsible for the editing of the other prophetic books and wanted to rearrange the text of Jer so that all the prophetic books would follow a familiar structure. Seitz argues against the idea that the eschatological scheme could have been the more original structure, explaining that in Jer LXX the OAN are not followed by oracles of salvation for Judah and Jerusalem, but by more oracles of judgement and the eventual narration of the destruction of Jerusalem. Seitz proposes that when the OAN are positioned in the center, as they are in the LXX, the eschatological scheme does not function properly.

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<sup>40</sup> McKane 1986, I–lxxxiii.

<sup>41</sup> Carroll (1986, 497) delineates the sections in Is and Ezek as follows: Is 1–12; 13–23; and 40–55 (he does not mention chapters 56–66); Ezek 1–24; 25–32; and 34–39. Alexander Rofé (1989, 397) adds Zephaniah to the group without explaining the section division. “Tripartite structure” is the term used by Carroll, and “eschatological scheme” is my translation of the German term “eschatologische Schema” used by Stipp (2014).

<sup>42</sup> Rofé 1989, 397; Seitz 1989, 24.

Robert Carroll and Moon Kwon Chae appeal to the eschatological scheme of Jer LXX to argue that it is the more original structure of Jer.<sup>43</sup> Hermann-Josef Stipp is also a proponent for the priority of Jer LXX, but like Seitz, he perceives that the eschatological scheme does not fit Jer LXX. Most of the chapters that follow the OAN in Jer LXX continue the prophecies of judgment on Judah and Jerusalem, with only an occasional oracle of hope for a few select groups and individuals.<sup>44</sup> The oracles of salvation in Jer 37–40(30–33) are addressed to Israel and Judah, but they do not function in a central role in the structure of Jer LXX. Their location is most probably determined by their connections to the content of Jer 36(29).<sup>45</sup> Stipp wishes to demonstrate that the eschatological scheme should not be considered a reason for an editor to move the OAN from the end of the book to the middle, because the scheme is not fulfilled in the structure of Jer LXX. He further argues that a more compelling motive for change is revealed in the reverse direction, from the structure of Jer LXX to Jer MT. In particular, he draws attention to the fact that the latter half of Jer MT structures the oracles according to their arrangement in the Cup of Wrath passage (Jer MT 25:15–29), beginning with judgement on Judah and Jerusalem, followed by judgement on other nations, and ending with judgement on Babylon.<sup>46</sup>

This point by Stipp is corroborated by Mäkipelto, Tekoniemi and Tucker, who contend that narrative logic alone should not be relied upon to determine the direction of change between variant texts.<sup>47</sup> This is demonstrated by the fact that scholars appeal to narrative structure to argue for both ways of textual development, as seen above. Mäkipelto et al. present text critical and redactional evidence to support their argument for later MT expansion and textual arrangement in Jer, in addition to examples from Josh 8:30–35 and 1 Kgs 22:41–51. Their conclusion, that the more original arrangement of Jer is reflected in Jer LXX, is based on three arguments: “(1) the close contextual relationship between Jer 25 and the OAN, (2) small details in the latter half of the book

<sup>43</sup> Carroll 1986, 497; Chae 2015, 583.

<sup>44</sup> Namely the Judeans in the Babylonian exile (29[36]:10–14), King Zedekiah (34[41]:5 and 38[45]:17), the Rechabites (35[42]:18–19), those who would surrender to the Babylonians during the siege of Jerusalem (38[45]:2), Ebed-Melech (39[46]:17–18), refugees who would stay in the land of Judea (42[49]:10–22), and Baruch (45[51]:5).

<sup>45</sup> Stipp 2014, 493–494.

<sup>46</sup> Stipp 2014, 500–501.

<sup>47</sup> Mäkipelto, Tekoniemi and Tucker 2017, 12–16.

that presuppose the OAN as antecedent, and (3) shared redactional features of the MT additions in Jer 25 and the placement of the OAN in the MT that posit a close redactional connection between the two."<sup>48</sup>

The interpretation of how the differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX reflect on the textual history of the book continue to vary, but a refined understanding of the translation character of Jer LXX has largely shifted the discussion of change away from the translator and more towards a difference between the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX and Jer MT.

## 2.3. The Character of the Greek Translation of Jeremiah

### 2.3.1. Overview

Research on the Greek translation of Jer has most often been practiced in view of its value for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, though it has been studied for other purposes as well. The text critical value of Jer LXX cannot be assessed without a means of determining the Hebrew *Vorlage* from which the LXX was translated. For this process the study of the character of the translation, or translation technique, is indispensable.

Descriptions of the translation character of Jer LXX over the past two centuries have ranged from a very liberal translation to a very literal one. This question has been closely related to text critical evaluations of the LXX text form in relation to the MT, and before the 20th century the two were usually discussed together, often without distinction. Generally speaking, scholars who ascribed the differences between the Greek and Hebrew texts to the translator also attributed free or liberal characteristics to the translation. On the other hand, scholars who argued that the differences between Jer LXX and MT were already present in the translator's *Vorlage* see the translation as a faithful rendering of its *Vorlage*, whose form should therefor be considered a valuable text critical tool in pursuing the original Hebrew text of the book. Only in the latter half of the 20th century have the lines between these two positions occasionally blurred, to

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<sup>48</sup> Mäkipelto, Tekoniemi and Tucker 2017, 9–12. Aejmelaes (2017c, 5–6 and 10) argues for the same direction of change for the differences between the MT and the LXX in Jer 25:1–7 based on text critical, literary critical and redaction critical evidence.

the point that advocates for the priority of Jer MT over Jer LXX also acknowledge the faithful character of the LXX translation to its *Vorlage*.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) at Qumran in the mid-20th century coincides with a change in the discussion on Jer LXX towards a clearer distinction between text critical features and the translation character of the text, although a few pre-Qumran studies, such as those by Henry St. John Thackeray, do already manifest this distinction. The most important contribution of the DSS to this discussion is 4Q71, also known as 4QJer<sup>b</sup>, which is the only surviving Hebrew text of Jer that contains a different text type than Jer MT. 4QJer<sup>b</sup>,<sup>49</sup> though fragmentary, contains text ranging from Jer 9:22 to 10:21, and attests a text similar in length and sequence to that found in Jer LXX 10:1–10, which is shorter and arranged differently in comparison to Jer MT. Though 4QJer<sup>b</sup> and Jer LXX are not in agreement in all textual details, this discovery served to eradicate most of the doubt among scholars concerning the fidelity of the translator to his *Vorlage* because there was now indisputable evidence of the existence of a Hebrew text that reflects some of the significant variants attested in the Greek translation. The text critical discussion began to shift away from the question of whether the translator was responsible for the differences between Jer LXX and Jer MT towards the enquiry of how the differences between the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX and Jer MT came about. Nevertheless, many observations made in early studies regarding the literal translation character of Jer LXX have also been reiterated in later studies, thus proving their indispensable value for the research history of Jer.

### **2.3.2. Early Evaluations of the Translation Character of Jer LXX**

Evaluations on the translation character of Jer LXX from the 19<sup>th</sup> century are, as already mentioned, closely associated with text critical evaluations of the witnesses. Within this framework, the judgement of the Greek translation as free is affiliated with a preference for the priority of the MT as the earlier text form, while a literal evaluation of the translation character is affiliated with a preference for the priority of the LXX. Summaries of past research place each subsequent study on a continuum between these two poles, and locate compromising positions, generally called “mediating,” somewhere

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<sup>49</sup> The Jeremiah scrolls identified among the Qumran scrolls include 2QJer (2Q13), 4QJer<sup>a</sup> (4Q70), 4QJer<sup>b</sup> (4Q71), 4QJer<sup>c</sup> (4Q72), 4QJer<sup>d</sup> (4Q72a), and 4QJer<sup>e</sup> (4Q72b). For further information, cf. n. 66.

between the two.<sup>50</sup> The following is a brief presentation of these positions with selected examples.

Graf set out to determine in which direction was the text of Jer more likely to have developed: the MT from a LXX type text through additions, expansions and glosses, or the LXX from a MT type text through omissions and abbreviations. His conclusion was to deny the LXX any critical value, but he did add that it can retain occasional traces of better readings than the Hebrew text. Graf bases his conclusion on his analysis of the Greek text, which served as a benchmark for likeminded scholars who followed him. He describes the translation as a mutilated and corrupt text, arbitrary and ignorant.<sup>51</sup> He describes the disposition of the translator as arbitrary and free,<sup>52</sup> blaming the following differences on the translator: both short and long minuses in the LXX, changed subjects of verbs, inexact or incorrect renderings, small and large transpositions, the misinterpretation of proper nouns, and the confusion and false vocalization of consonants.

C. F. Kiel relies heavily on Graf's conclusions, recounting that the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew texts are the result of the translator's "free and arbitrary way of treating the Hebrew original." He interprets minuses in the LXX to be omissions and ascribes differences in tense, number, gender and person to the arbitrariness and carelessness of the translator. Additional faults of the translator include inexact and false translations, misinterpretations of the Hebrew and transcriptions of words he did not understand. Kiel's conclusion is to restate Graf's opinion on the inconsequential value of Jer LXX for textual criticism.<sup>53</sup>

C. von Orelli describes the translator as actively adapting the text to "Hellenistic style," although he qualifies this by noting the translator's arbitrary manner of doing so. Unintelligible and obscure words and clauses are omitted, he argues, because they "seem superfluous and difficult to the Hellenist." He also rates the translator's understanding of Hebrew poorly, referring to erroneous translations and

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<sup>50</sup> See, for example, a discussion of Soderlund's summary of this continuum in sec. 2.2.2.

<sup>51</sup> Graf 1862, li.

<sup>52</sup> Graf 1862, xlvii and lii.

<sup>53</sup> Kiel 1880, 31–33.



misinterpretations. Von Orelli, however, does explicitly state that in certain passages the LXX may be used to restore the original text.<sup>54</sup>

In these three examples the notions of translation character and textual criticism are not separated, as the authors of the studies all see the textual differences as deriving from the work of the translator. The translator is said to abbreviate the text and to change minor grammatical and contextual details, which should rather be understood as text critical issues from a methodological point of view. The charges of a poor understanding of Hebrew, misunderstandings and errors in the renderings are more fitting notions with reference to translation character.

Studies categorized as assuming a mediating position include studies by Eichhorn and Giesebrecht. For Eichhorn, the differences between the two text forms are wholly editorial and derive from the work of Jeremiah himself, who is suggested to have prepared the two text forms at different periods in his lifetime. The shorter text was prepared and kept in Egypt, and the longer text was produced later by expanding the material. This expanded text made its way to Palestine where it entered the Hebrew canon.<sup>55</sup> In this narrative, the translation is largely understood as a reliable witness of its underlying Hebrew *Vorlage*, particularly with regard to the minuses in the LXX.

Giesebrecht assumes a position between the two poles of absolute priority for either the MT or the LXX text. In his opinion, the differences cannot be explained unilaterally by recourse to the arbitrariness and frivolity of the translator, nor is it right to simply attribute the differences to a different recension. He proposes that the translator's *Vorlage* was a corrupt version of the Hebrew that contained scribal errors such as the confusion of graphically similar letters, metathesis and omission through slips of the eye. These corruptions are transmitted throughout the translation. On the other hand, Giesebrecht argues that the plusses in the MT are true glosses inserted later into the text. He also suggests that the translation admits free renderings, which is evident in paraphrases and misinterpretations. Misinterpretations in particular hint at the translator's insufficient grasp of Hebrew.<sup>56</sup> The text critical solution is therefor, in

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<sup>54</sup> von Orelli 1889, 25–27.

<sup>55</sup> Eichhorn 1824, 226–227. Cf. also the accounts by Janzen (1973, 2) and Soderlund (1985, 12).

<sup>56</sup> Giesebrecht 1907, xxvi–xxxiv.

Giesebrecht's mind, not as simple as pronouncing either witness as completely secondary, but the earlier text is to be sought from both.

Early arguments for a literal translation character of Jer LXX coincide with the notion that Jer LXX represents the earlier form of the book in comparison to Jer MT. The proponents of this proposition include Scholz, Workman and A. W. Streane. Scholz devotes a whole section of his work on the subject to discussing the translation character of Jer LXX. The translator's strategies for mitigating his difficulties in understanding the Hebrew include guessing, deriving the meaning from other languages, often translating according to the context instead of the etymological meaning of the word, and transliterating what he thinks are proper nouns. He likes to vary the equivalents that he uses and sometimes chooses them based on similar phonetics regardless of the semantic value. With regard to syntax, Scholz notes that the translator follows Hebrew syntactic constructions against Greek idiom, often resulting in no bearable sense in the target language. Scholz does consider the translation to include some editorial features, such as leaving out the second occurrence of doublets found in the MT, but on the whole he concludes that three quarters of the translation consist of word-for-word translation style. Based on this he argues that the translator's *Vorlage* was different from Jer MT.<sup>57</sup>

In his study on the text of Jer, Workman likewise devotes a chapter to describing the character of the translation.<sup>58</sup> A good part of the chapter presents translation features, but Workman eventually does use a significant portion of the chapter to discuss the text critical aspects of the text as well. He outlines five features of the character of Jer LXX, two of which pertain specifically to its translation character. These are the traits he calls literalness and faithfulness. Under the first he notes that the translation is very literal, even more so in the narrative sections of the book. This is seen especially in the sequence of words in the Greek, which follows that of the Hebrew text. He uses the term 'hebraizing'<sup>59</sup> to describe how Greek style is sacrificed for the sake of following the Hebrew word order. The second trait, faithfulness, is seen particularly when the Greek and Hebrew texts are in agreement, as even equivalents of the smallest Hebrew particles, including conjunctions that would be unnecessary from the Greek perspective,

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<sup>57</sup> Scholz 1875, 13–22.

<sup>58</sup> Workman 1889, 211–224.

<sup>59</sup> Workman was not the first scholar to use the term "hebraizing" in relation to the language of the Greek OT.

are used in the translation. The three other traits that Workman mentions, which are purity, priority and superiority, have more to do with the text critical value of Jer LXX. Under these Workman suggests that the plusses in Jer MT manifest later editorial additions, interpolations and amplifications, many of which he deems superfluous in comparison to the more concise text represented by Jer LXX.

Streane's meticulous work on the two versions of Jer sets out to examine and classify all the variations found in the text. His conclusions portray a degree of distinction between text critical aspects and aspects of translation character. In his categorization of the variants, he classifies minuses in the LXX, which he calls omissions, as deriving from the translator's *Vorlage*. Other variants are accounted for either by scribal errors, such as the confusion of letters, minor transpositions and slips of the eye, or by the translator's ignorance of the Hebrew, or they are accounted for by translation errors, such as misinterpretations. Streane does attribute certain intentional changes to the translator, such as midrashic changes and inaccuracies intended to avoid the harsh portrayals of Jews and Jeremiah.<sup>60</sup>

The studies of Scholz, Workman and Streane distinguish certain elements as purely related to the translation character of Jer LXX, but nevertheless they are firmly rooted in the text critical discussion. The emphasis on textual criticism is also evident in the fact that each author focuses his attention on differences that arise in comparing the texts to one another and largely ignores the rest of the translation, apart from Scholz's note that three quarters of the translation may be characterized as word-for-word translation.

Early studies on Jer LXX heavily engage in discussing the text critical value of the translation, but within this framework the question of its translation character receives significant attention. Though this attention focuses mainly on the differences between Jer LXX and Jer MT, it is an important step in the development toward a more precise classification of the translation character of the book. Scholz, Workman and Streane's positions on the translation character of Jer LXX and on its text critical value were not common place at the time of their publications. However, their discernment of the nature of the translation at a time before the discovery of variant Hebrew texts of Jer is to be commended.

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<sup>60</sup> Streane 1896, 4–26.

### 2.3.3. Studies Devoted to the Translation Character of Jer LXX

It is not until the studies of Thackeray that the translation character of LXX books is considered independently from text critical aspirations, at least with regard to the Hebrew text. Thackeray's discourse on the character of the translations<sup>61</sup> was innovative for its time, though he does make forays into text critical aspects of the LXX. Regarding Jer LXX, Thackeray's classification of the style of LXX translations divides the book into two parts. Jer LXX chapters 1–28, which Thackeray labels Jeremiah  $\alpha$ , are classified as "Indifferent Greek," while chapters 29–51, labeled Jeremiah  $\beta$ , are classified as "Literal or unintelligent."<sup>62</sup> He does not elaborate on Jer  $\alpha$ , nor does he provide examples of its indifferent Greek. Jer  $\beta$ , on the other hand, is described by him as a prime case of a translator who has difficulties understanding the Hebrew text, citing as examples transliterations and *hapax legomena* found in the translation.<sup>63</sup> Thackeray's further discussion on Jer LXX focuses more acutely on the textual history of Jer LXX.<sup>64</sup>

The late 1940's and early 50's saw the discovery of ancient Hebrew texts in the caves at Qumran. This was a critical threshold for biblical studies in general, and specifically for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible, as the discovery included actual Hebrew manuscripts containing variant readings to the texts of the HB.<sup>65</sup> Six fragmentary scrolls containing text from Jer have been identified and published,<sup>66</sup> and

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<sup>61</sup> In his "A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek I," Thackeray categorizes all the translated books of the LXX according to their "style." His division is based on the quality of the translation in relation to both the source and target languages, i.e. whether they reflect good *koine* Greek or whether they are to be considered literal or free renderings (1909, 13).

<sup>62</sup> Thackeray 1909, 13–14. Ostensibly, Thackeray does not classify his third division of Jer LXX, which he calls Jer.  $\gamma$  (cf. Thackeray 1903, 246 and 1909, 11). Thackeray's classification chart is very general, as he himself notes, and a better picture of his analysis of the translations is given in separate articles, such as "The Greek Translators of Jeremiah" (1903), "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel" (1903), "The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books" (1903), "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings" (1907), and "The Bisection of Books in Primitive Septuagint Mss." (1908). For similar concerns regarding Thackeray's chart, cf. Mäkipelto 2018, 26 note 106. Further discussion on Thackeray's evaluation of the translation character of Jer LXX is presented in sec. 2.4.2.1.

<sup>63</sup> Thackeray 1909, 14.

<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of Thackeray's division of Jer LXX into separate parts, cf. sec. 2.4.2.

<sup>65</sup> For a discussion on the impact of the DSS on the textual criticism of the HB, cf. Tov (2012, 110) and Huotari and Tucker (2018, 98–99).

<sup>66</sup> The edition of 2QJer (2Q13) is published in DJD III (Baillet et. al. 1962, 62–69), and the editions of 4QJer<sup>a, b, c, d and e</sup> (4Q70, 4Q71, 4Q72, 4Q72a and 4Q72b) are published in DJD XV (Ulrich et. al. 1997, 22

one of these scrolls, 4QJer<sup>b</sup> (4Q71), contains a text that is shorter than the MT and shares features with the LXX. Though the edition of 4QJer<sup>b</sup> was not published until 1997,<sup>67</sup> its readings were already known and being discussed in the 1950's, particularly in the publications of Frank Moore Cross.<sup>68</sup> The effect of the scrolls for the study of Jer LXX and its translation character can already be seen in studies from the late 1950's.

In 1957, R. A. Martin completed his dissertation on Jer LXX whose sole focus was on the character of the translation. In this study, titled "The Syntax of the Greek of Jeremiah," Martin describes the use of pronouns, inflectional cases, and prepositions in the translation, with the explicit aim of contributing to a future syntax of the LXX.<sup>69</sup> In his conclusions he describes the translation character of Jer LXX as a blend of 2nd century BCE *koine* with a "considerable admixture of Hebraic coloring" sourced from the *Vorlage*. Certain features, or basic principles of the "method of translation" as he calls them, are common throughout the translation. The first of these is its literal character, by which Martin means the use of parallel and similar Greek expressions as renderings of given Hebrew constructions in a consistent manner. Equivalents are not, however, used slavishly every time a certain Hebrew word or expression occurs, by which the translation avoids many "crass" Hebraisms. Much of the Hebraic coloring of the translation is derived from the very frequent use of Greek idioms that are not common outside of the LXX, but which are syntactically possible. A certain degree of free translation can also be seen side-by-side with the literal renderings employed.<sup>70</sup> In agreement with Thackeray, Martin notes some differences between the two halves of the translation, and understands this as an indication that the translation was created by two translators. First, the use of paraphrase and the substitution of idioms is different in the two halves, and second, the translator of the second half of the book is less skilled than the translator of the first half.<sup>71</sup>

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145–207). A preliminary transcription of 4QJer<sup>a</sup> and 4QJer<sup>b</sup> was published by Janzen (1973, 173–184).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the previous footnote.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. e.g. Cross 1958, esp. 120–145. Even earlier, Cross (1956, esp. 11–12) had published a brief note on how the texts found at Qumran would prove to be significant for the textual criticism of the HB, but he did not specifically mention the Jeremiah scrolls in that publication.

<sup>69</sup> Martin 1957, 1.

<sup>70</sup> Martin 1957, 312–314.

<sup>71</sup> Martin's criteria for distinguishing the two halves are discussed in more detail below, sec. 2.4.2.

In his monograph on the infinitives in the LXX, Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen conducts a comparative study by which he groups the books of the LXX according to syntactical features that are found in them. He uses four criteria to categorize the books into three different groups, the first of which exemplify more natural Greek usage, and the third of which includes books that utilize more literalistic features. His criteria for grouping books include the use of *participium coniunctum* to render Hebrew coordinate clauses, the use of the genitive articular infinitive to render Hebrew infinitives, the use of Greek infinitives in cases where the Hebrew text has no infinitive, and the renderings of the Hebrew construction  $\text{פ} + \text{infinitive}$ . With regard to the first three of these, Soisalon-Soininen categorizes Jer LXX in the third of three groups of translations. Jer LXX rarely employs the *participium coniunctum* to render coordinate clauses (once every 648,5 verses),<sup>72</sup> it uses the genitive articular infinitive more often than other forms of the infinitive (a ratio of 111 to 108),<sup>73</sup> and it rarely uses an infinitive where the Hebrew text has no infinitive.<sup>74</sup> By comparison, in Exodus, which is categorized in the first group, the *participium coniunctum* occurs once every 13,4 verses, the ratio of the gen. articular inf. in comparison to other infinitives is 10 to 140, and infinitives are used once every 36,6 verses when there is no Hebrew infinitive, which in itself is also noted as infrequent by Soisalon-Soininen. With regard to the renderings of  $\text{פ} + \text{inf.}$ , however, Jer LXX breaks from the mold and is categorized among the first group, with the better translations. This is because in Jer LXX the construction  $\text{פ} + \text{inf.}$  is rendered more often by subordinate clauses, participial constructions and other renderings than it is by the very literal and unidiomatic  $\epsilon\nu \tau\omega + \text{infinitive}$  (by a ratio of 10 to 5).<sup>75</sup> The character of Jer LXX should not, therefore, be described as entirely literal.

Janzen briefly discusses the translation character of Jer LXX in his study, which presents a detailed analysis of the quantitative differences between the Greek and Hebrew texts of Jer. In a section in which he examines the possibility of abridgement on

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<sup>72</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 178.

<sup>73</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 186. For an analysis of the renderings of infinitives in Jer LXX, cf. ch. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 190. Although Soisalon-Soininen does not provide the statistics for Greek infinitives that correspond to non-infinitives in the Hebrew text, he does mention that Jer is to be categorized in the third group as it is according to the other criteria.

<sup>75</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 188–189. For an analysis of the renderings of  $\text{פ} + \text{inf.}$  in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 4.4.1.

the part of the Greek text, Janzen evaluates Giesebrecht's arguments for characterizing the translator as free in his disposition. Janzen's interest is to disprove Giesebrecht's reasoning that translational features revealed in the *minutiae* of the translation may be used to justify the conclusion that the translator created both small and large omissions due to his "free attitude toward his *Vorlage*."<sup>76</sup> Janzen proceeds by summarizing his analysis of Giesebrecht's examples to show that what Giesebrecht interpreted as free translation often times is actually attempts by the translator to make sense of obscure and difficult Hebrew text. Giesebrecht's examples clearly indicate the poor competence of the translator, but the number of guesses, mistranslations and transliterations should rather be taken as indications that the translator was actually trying to render his *Vorlage* faithfully, which speaks against the notion that the translator purposefully omitted text. Moreover, Janzen notes, if one were to collect data on the literal and exact renderings to be found in Jer LXX, they would far outweigh the free and inexact renderings.<sup>77</sup>

Tov has briefly weighed in on the discussion concerning the translation character of Jer LXX, and he has done so mainly in the framework of the text critical history of the Hebrew text of Jer. In two separate publications Tov stresses the importance of determining the translation character of a LXX book in order to use it for text critical purposes. In particular, he states that when the text in question occurs in a faithfully or literally rendered section, then omissions or additions by the translator should not be assumed. A different Hebrew *Vorlage* is more likely the cause of the differences in such cases. Tov categorizes Jer LXX among such faithful and literal translations, and considers the differences with Jer MT to have arisen from a different *Vorlage*.<sup>78</sup>

Min, also working on the text critical value of Jer LXX like his supervisor Tov, presents an impressive and detailed analysis of the degree of stereotyped renderings found in Jer LXX.<sup>79</sup> The motive for his study is to determine the cause of the quantitative differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX, and his underlying assumption is

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<sup>76</sup> Janzen 1973, 89.

<sup>77</sup> Janzen 1973, 90–91. Janzen's critique of Giesebrecht is not entirely justified with regard to Giesebrecht's opinion of the minuses in Jer LXX. Though Giesebrecht does consider the translation to be free in character, he regards a number of the plusses in Jer MT to reflect later expansions of the text (cf. the presentation of Giesebrecht's study above, sec. 2.3.2, and Min 1977, 8–10).

<sup>78</sup> Tov 1979, 74–75; 2015, 19–20.

<sup>79</sup> Min 1977, 183–294.

that a literal translator would not omit sections of the text that he is translating. His guiding principle is that “the degree of stereotyped translation is proportional to the literalism in the translation,” and by stereotyped translation he means the use of constant Hebrew-Greek equivalents. Since the translation *per se* is not Min’s main concern, he limits his inquiry to two samples of text, one from prose (Jer 47[40]:1–16) and one from poetry (Jer 31[48]:1–20). For comparative purposes, he conducts the same analysis on Prov 1:1–20 and Gen 1:1–23. Min’s data indicates that, within the limits of the sample texts, Jer LXX uses stereotyped equivalents to a much higher degree (92% of equivalents in prose sections and 81% in poetry) than Septuagint Proverbs (57% of equivalents), but to a slightly lesser degree than Septuagint Genesis (94% of equivalents), and he concludes that Jer LXX is “relatively literal,” as it is more literal than Proverbs and less literal than Genesis. Since Jer LXX is a relatively literal translation, Min posits that the quantitative differences between Jer LXX and Jer MT are to be ascribed to the translator’s *Vorlage*.

Min’s conclusion regarding the relation between Jer LXX and Gen LXX seems surprising, as other studies<sup>80</sup> have shown that Gen is to be considered one of the better translations in the LXX. Min’s choice of Gen LXX for comparison to Jer LXX is, as he himself expresses, based on the fact that it is “characteristic of the average LXX translation technique.”<sup>81</sup> The sample text chosen for Gen most likely affects his statistics, as the creation story was probably among one of the more familiar texts to the translators, and thus had most likely garnered a fairly fixed or common form of translation among the Egyptian Jewish population in the Ptolemaic era. Also, the equivalents used in Gen might have served as examples for later translators,<sup>82</sup> thus anachronistically increasing their profile as stereotypical equivalents. This might be the reason why Min comes to the conclusion that many “stereotyped” equivalents are used in the creation story. A sample text from elsewhere in Gen would likely produce different results with regard to the relative translation characters of Jer LXX and Gen LXX.

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<sup>80</sup> E.g. Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 177, 186, and 189; Sollamo 1979, 185; and Aejmelaeus 1982, 172–173.

<sup>81</sup> Min 1977, 263.

<sup>82</sup> For a discussion on the use of pentateuchal equivalents by translators of the later books of the LXX, cf. Tov 1981b.



Hermann-Josef Stipp has published a significant amount of research on the book of Jeremiah. In his book *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches*, he devotes an entire chapter to discussing the nature and significance of the translation character of Jer LXX, and explicitly states that it is methodologically necessary to regard the translation technique and the text critical value of Jer LXX as two separate issues.<sup>83</sup> Stipp recounts the general conclusion that Jer LXX belongs among the literal (*wortgetreuen*) and outstandingly consistent translations, and that the translator's target was to produce a reliable representation of his *Vorlage*. He advances this notion by stating that the translator intended, above all, to remain faithful to the *Vorlage*, even against conventions of intelligibility and linguistic acceptability. That is to say, the translator would produce a Greek equivalent that is reduced in comprehensibility for the sake of representing the Hebrew words even when he did not understand them.<sup>84</sup> Stipp describes the procedure of the translator as advancing mechanically, word-for-word, and producing a specific Greek equivalent for each specific Hebrew word. The result is a vocabulary and morphology that is very much that of contemporary *koine* Greek, but a syntax and idioms of the Hebrew *Vorlage*.<sup>85</sup>

Stipp also goes into details in his description of the translation character. He notes that the translator's faithfulness to the *Vorlage* applies mainly to lexical equivalents and word order, and that morphological aspects of the translation do display a degree of freedom. Other aspects of literalism include the abundance of hebraisms, such as the renditions of compound prepositions composed of human bodyparts (e.g. פְּנִים) with the corresponding body parts in the Greek language, the use of nominal clauses without a copula, and associating the wrong prepositions with verbs to match the prepositions used with the Hebrew verbs.<sup>86</sup> Another literal feature is the transcription and production of incomprehensible Greek when the translator does not understand the Hebrew text. The translator displays a degree of freedom in representing the morphological aspects of the Hebrew. He does not always adhere to the grammatical number of nouns and verbs nor to the voice and tense of verbs, his use of syndeton and asyndeton varies in relation to the Hebrew text, his use of the Greek article fluctuates between faithfulness to the

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<sup>83</sup> Stipp 1994, 10.

<sup>84</sup> Stipp 1994, 7–8 and 14–15.

<sup>85</sup> Stipp 1994, 20.

<sup>86</sup> Stipp 1994, 20–21 and 25–26.

*Vorlage* and suitability to the Greek language, and his handling of prepositions is very generous.<sup>87</sup>

In two publications, Anneli Aejmelaeus examines the relationship between the LXX and the MT in Jer 25 and 34(27) from a text critical perspective, and stresses the methodological necessity of taking the translation character of Jer LXX into account before drawing conclusions on its text critical value.<sup>88</sup> She describes the translation as “one of the most literal” in the LXX, and that it displays a disposition to produce an equivalent for each element of the Hebrew text. This is substantiated by the fact that the translation includes erroneous renderings and incomprehensible Greek, which clearly indicate that the translator had trouble understanding some of the Hebrew text. Aejmelaeus goes on to propose that such a translator should not be faulted for omitting something that he could easily translate. No conscious editorial changes, rewritings or abridgments should be attributed to the translator. Aejmelaeus does credit the translator with a degree of freedom, noting that he does vary his equivalents and occasionally appropriates the translation to Greek idiom.

Albert Pietersma and Marc Saunders discuss the profile of Jer LXX in the introduction to their translation of Jer LXX in NETS. They highlight “isomorphism” as the translator’s basic norm. This means that each morpheme in the Hebrew text has a representation in the Greek text. Their extensive list of examples of such Hebrew morphemes include both content words (lexemes) and structure words, such as *notae accusativi*, articles, the infinitive prefix *לְ*, pronominal suffixes, personal pronouns, pleonastic pronouns, prepositions, adverbs and conjunctions. The translator employs the corresponding Greek elements in the translation, but they do not result in standard Greek.<sup>89</sup> Isomorphism, however, is distinct from lexical consistency, and Pietersma and Saunders stress the variation of equivalents that is found in the translation, both on the level of individual words and of phrases and clauses. The Greek language of Jer LXX, they propose, is usually intelligible but rarely elegant, and yet unintelligible renditions are also present. A marked character of Jer LXX is also the many transcriptions that it contains. This reinforces the isomorphic nature of the translation, since transcriptions are produced even though they do not make much sense in the text. Through

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<sup>87</sup> Stipp 1994, 14.

<sup>88</sup> Aejmelaeus 2002, esp. 461, 471 and 479–80; 2005a, esp. 10–12.

<sup>89</sup> Pietersma and Saunders 2009, 876. Cf. also Pietersma 2010b, 378.

transcriptions, the translator has passed on to the reader his difficulties in interpreting the Hebrew text.<sup>90</sup>

Pietersma explores another aspect of the character of Jer LXX in separate publications, the aim of which are to reevaluate the evidence for bisectioning Jer LXX and to disprove Tov's theory of a revised text in Jer b'. In two articles he briefly describes a proposition specifically regarding Jer LXX, that is, that its "textual-linguistic makeup" comprises of two distinct features. The first is the feature of rigid isomorphism described in Pietersma and Saunders' article. The Second is discontinuity in the Hebrew and Greek equivalence both on the lexical and the grammatical level.<sup>91</sup> This latter aspect relates directly to the question of bisectioning the book and forms a significant part of Pietersma's argumentation. In Pietersma's opinion, this discontinuity points toward an exegetical dimension in the translation, which stands in stark contrast to its literal aspects that are manifested in the many transcriptions and in the isomorphic character of the translation. Essentially he argues that the variation of specific equivalents in Jer LXX can be explained by a single translator's interpretation of a Hebrew word in different contexts.<sup>92</sup>

Andrew Shead has described the translation character of Jer LXX on two occasions,<sup>93</sup> stemming in particular from a thorough study conducted on the relationship between Jer LXX and Jer MT in chapter 39(32). In that study, his aim is to explicate how Jer LXX and Jer MT relate to one another, and how both relate to a common earlier form of the text. He proceeds by discussing other preliminary questions: (1) how to determine the Greek text; (2) in what way is Jer LXX a literal translation;<sup>94</sup> and (3) how and when can the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX be recovered? Shead's description is very useful, as it goes well beyond broad generalizations of literalism and freedom.

Shead's portrayal of the literal character of Jer LXX mainly follows observations by previous scholars, and he only discusses it briefly. He notes that the translator's concern was to follow his source carefully. This is reflected in the consistent representation of

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<sup>90</sup> Pietersma and Saunders 2009, 876–880.

<sup>91</sup> Pietersma 2006a, 402 and 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ieremias-excursus.pdf>, accessed 2.3.2018.

<sup>92</sup> Pietersma presents similar argumentation in his 2010 article "Divinity Denied: Nebuchadnezzar, Divine Appointee but no God." This aspect of Pietersma's argumentation is discussed in more detail below, sec. 2.4.3.

<sup>93</sup> Shead 2002 and 2015.

<sup>94</sup> Shead's exact wording is "What is meant by 'literal' (2002, 16).

both the underlying Hebrew words and word order. Jer LXX is a careful translation but not a slavishly literal one. It adheres closely to the *Vorlage* at the expense of Greek idiom, but is not lexically or grammatically consistent. The Greek is *koine*, but is influenced by semitic interference.<sup>95</sup>

One of Shead's concerns in his own research is to elaborate on the degree of freedom that is apparent in the translation, and he does this by categorizing non-variant readings in Jer 39(32) that reflect free translation. The categories he identifies are (1) grammatical freedom, (2) lexical freedom and (3) quantitative freedom. Within the first category (1) he identifies 17 cases of alterations of grammatical tense, voice, mood, person and number.<sup>96</sup> Lexical freedom (2) refers to the inconsistent choice of renderings for certain words, and Shead stresses that this mainly applies to prepositions and technical words, of which he identifies a total of 25 cases. The lack of stereotyping prepositions suggests that the translator was not interested in the exact meaning of such words.<sup>97</sup> This statement is made in contrast to the perceived care by which nouns and verbs are rendered consistently with the same equivalents, but on a general note the variation of equivalents used to represent prepositions might rather suggest that the translator was aware of the multifaceted use and meanings of prepositions and strived to represent the actual meaning of the prepositions in their various uses and contexts. Shead notes the addition or omission of some 40 words in his material that he classifies as instances of quantitative freedom (3). These are to be distinguished from true variant readings, and they consist of only small segments of text, no more than one word in length. Shead includes among these the article, prepositions and the conjunction *καί*, but does not count the non-representation of the *nota accusativi*.<sup>98</sup>

Shead identifies several reasons for the translator's reversion to free renderings in Jer 39(32). Most cases of free renderings identified by Shead come down to Greek style, that is, the "non-tendentious free use of the article, conjunctions, and prepositions," and syntax, which refers to the different structures of the two languages in question. However, a number of these renderings may be attributed to the translator's interpretation of the text. The more corrupt state of the LXX *Vorlage*, which mainly

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<sup>95</sup> Shead 2015, 473–476.

<sup>96</sup> Shead 2002, 251.

<sup>97</sup> Shead 2002, 252.

<sup>98</sup> Shead 2002, 253.

refers to a high incidence of haplographic errors,<sup>99</sup> is reflected in the translation, and Shead identifies strategies that the translator uses to compensate for the corrupt text. Discourse literalism is another feature that Shead appeals to in order to explain inconsistent renderings. Discourse literalism means consistency on the level of discourse, which can result in inconsistency on the level of single words. This is to say that the context can be seen to consistently determine the translator's choice of equivalent or grammatical form.<sup>100</sup> In addition, a small amount of free renderings are classified by Shead as attempts to clarify the text by way of exegesis, the avoidance of syntactic or lexical leveling, and the rewriting of unacceptable statements, particularly concerning YHWH, which he terms "amelioration."<sup>101</sup>

Georg A. Walser briefly describes the translation character of Jer LXX in his commentary on the Greek text of Jer in codex Vaticanus. He likewise depicts the translation as very literal, and presents the renderings of the Hebrew בן 'son' as an example. In its singular form, it is always rendered by υἱός save for the one definite article in 1:1. The use of υἱός results in frequent unidiomatic Greek expressions, such as *Ιωσεία υἱοῦ Αμωζ* (1:2) and *Σεδεχία υἱοῦ Ιωσεία* (1:3). In Walser's opinion, this literal character is not caused by the translator's knowledge of Greek, but by his intention to preserve as much of the Hebrew *Vorlage* as possible in the translation. In this vein, he presents a few features of the translation that indicate the translator's good knowledge of Greek. These are the use of aorist participles, of comparative forms, and of the antecedent. Other characteristics of the Greek text that Walser highlights are the infrequent use of participles and particles, except for *καί* and *ἰδου*, which goes against common Greek usage, the high frequency of *figurae etymologicae*, even in cases where the Hebrew does not have such, and the very limited use of subordinate clauses in comparison to main clauses.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Cf. also the discussion on Janzen's study, sec. 2.2.2 (1973, 128)

<sup>100</sup> An example that Shead presents is the translations of the adjectives טוב 'good' and (רע) 'evil,' which are rendered by singular forms when they modify singular nouns or when they are the sole object of a verb. They are rendered by plural forms when they are modified by words like כל 'all,' זאת 'this,' and prepositions (2015, 478).

<sup>101</sup> Shead 2002, 250–255.

<sup>102</sup> Walser 2012, 13–16.

Georg Fischer's appraisal of the translation character of Jer LXX is reminiscent of the sentiments of Graf, Kiel and von Orelli<sup>103</sup> in that he regards the differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX to have largely derived from the process of translation. He states that "lxx-Jer shortened, interpreted, and rearranged the Hebrew text of Jeremiah."<sup>104</sup> The translation is also the occasion for the rearrangement of the text and for its adaptation to the Hellenistic environment of the Jewish community in Egypt.<sup>105</sup> Fischer continues the line of thought of Graf, Kiel and von Orelli by fusing both the issues of translation character and of textual criticism into the point of the translation.

Fischer explicitly indicates that his evaluation of the translation character of Jer LXX is dependent on his view of the translation's text critical value.<sup>106</sup> This notion forms a pivotal axiom in his argumentation, but it is a very problematic approach. An understanding of the translation character of a translation should rather be regarded as a prerequisite for assessing its text critical value. To work the other way around, i.e. to form an opinion on the translation character based on one's understanding of the text critical value of the translation, is nonsensical, and is conducive to circular reasoning. An understanding of the text critical value of a translation is directly dependent on its translation character.<sup>107</sup>

Fischer describes the Greek translation of Jer as mixed or ambiguous in character, explaining that its translation technique combines "seemingly contrasting features." On the one hand, in some aspects he posits that the translation follows its original text closely. This is manifested in sequential equivalence, denotative equivalence and

<sup>103</sup> For an introduction to the studies by Graf, Kiel and von Orelli, cf. sec. 2.3.2.

<sup>104</sup> Fischer's use of the abbreviation "lxx-Jer" is not consistent. The quote above (2016, 7.3.3.2) implies that "lxx-Jer" refers to the translator, while occasionally "lxx-Jer" clearly seems to refer to the translation itself, as in "lxx-Jer differs greatly from the Hebrew text" (7.3.1.2 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> accessed 8.2.2018).

<sup>105</sup> Fischer 2016, 7.3.3.3 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> accessed 8.2.2018.

<sup>106</sup> Fischer 2016, 7.3.3.2 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> accessed 8.2.2018. He states that "a definition of the character of the lxx-Jer translation is dependent upon one's view of its text-critical value."

<sup>107</sup> Previously scholars have generally contended that the text critical value of a translation should be determined based on the character of the translation, e.g. Workman (1889, 211-212), Tov (Tov 1979, 74-75; 2015, 19-20), Min (1977, 183) and Aejmelaeus (2002, esp. 461, 471 and 479-80; 2005a, esp. 10-12); cf. presentations of their arguments above. For further discussion on the methodological relationship between textual criticism and translation technique, cf. Aejmelaeus 1987, 60 (reprinted in Aejmelaeus 2007, 73), and the discussion on methodology in sec. 3.2.

occasional phonetic equivalence. Hebraisms, literality to the degree of unintelligibility and transliterations are also marks of this closeness. On the other hand, in Fischer's view, certain aspects of the text portray the translator's freedom to change the composition and to interpret the text anew. As illustrations of this, he presents a few examples which he deems to represent changes to the meaning of the text, reductions of the text, and attempts to make the text more understandable to its readers. Upon closer examination, his examples of changes to the meaning of the text are more readily explained as different interpretations of the consonantal text, misunderstandings or scribal errors.<sup>108</sup> Among the reductions, Fischer particularly mentions the reduction of the role of Babylon and its king,<sup>109</sup> leaving out the second occurrence of repetitions that occur in Jer MT and reducing the form of titles and formulaic expressions.<sup>110</sup> Most recent studies view these plusses in the MT as later additions to that tradition.<sup>111</sup> Fischer does note that the shortness of Jer LXX in comparison to Jer MT can be due to haplography. He also mentions inconsistency as a feature of the translation and discusses means through which the translator deals with difficulties in understanding the Hebrew text.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Several of Fischer's examples (esp. in section 7.3.4.1 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> accessed 8.2.2018) are more readily explained as errors or misinterpretations of the Hebrew text rather than free translations. The rendering *μετὰ ὁλωλότων ἐν μαχαίρα* (38[31]:2) clearly understands *עם* as the preposition *עם* 'with' and *וירידי* as deriving from the verb *דדש* 'to destroy.' The difference in the pronominal object in 38(31):3 is clearly due to a *v*/*h* interchange, from *לִי* to *לוֹ*. The rendering of *יִתְּנָה* in 38(31):4 by *λαμβάνω* is not as easily explained. *עדה* is not a frequent verb in the HB, and only in Jer b' and in Job 40:10 is it rendered by a derivative of *λαμβάνω*. The correct interpretation of the verb in Jer 4:30, rendered as *κοσμέω* 'to adorn,' suggests that the equivalent in 38(31):4 might be an indication of the bisectioning of the book. Finally, the lack of the third occurrence of the verb *נטע* in 38(31):5 is more easily explained by haplography.

<sup>109</sup> Fischer 2016, 7.3.4.3 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> accessed 8.2.2018.

<sup>110</sup> Fischer 2016, 7.3.5.2 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> accessed 8.2.2018.

<sup>111</sup> Janzen (1973) and Tov (1981a and 1985), among other, argue that Jer MT adds material to the text from elsewhere in the book; Aejmelaeus (2002 and 2017c) and Mäkipelto, Tekoniemi and Tucker (2017) argue that the role of Babylon and its king are enhanced in the later editorial reworking of Jer MT. For further discussion on the differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX and their text critical evaluations, cf. sec. 2.2.

<sup>112</sup> Fischer 2016, 7.3.4–7.3.6 <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> accessed 8.2.2018.

James Seth Adcock also describes the translation character of Jer LXX in his recent study on the text forms of Jer 10:1–18. The aim of his study is to determine the textual history of the passage, and he concludes that Jer MT represents the earlier form of the text.<sup>113</sup> Contrary to previous advocates of MT priority in the textual history of Jer,<sup>114</sup> Adcock argues against the notion that the translator is responsible for the textual variants in relation to Jer MT. He appeals to the presence of transcriptions as evidence for “extremely literal renderings,” and proffers that the translator would not, therefore, omit text when he did not understand the Hebrew. The translator had a compulsion to render every element in the Hebrew text.<sup>115</sup> Adcock notes this in particular regard to Jer 10:1–18, but also states that “many, if not all, of the LXX Jeremiah variations from MT would likely indicate straightforward renditions,” signifying that the textual variants are present in the *Vorlage* of the translation.<sup>116</sup> Adcock briefly discusses free aspects of the translation, in which frame he specifically refers to translation equivalents and plusses. He entertains the possibility that plusses in the translation were not present in its *Vorlage*, but he does not present a judgement on the matter.<sup>117</sup>

### 2.3.4. Summary

Early assessments of the translation character of Jer LXX concentrated on the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew texts of Jer and the quantitative differences in particular. These early assessments stem from inquiries into the text critical value of Jer LXX, and oftentimes their description of the translation character of Jer LXX reflects aspects of textual variance more so than translation character. This is evident, for example, in Graf’s description of the translation as a mutilated and corrupt text, in Kiel and von Orelli’s attribution of omissions to the translator, and the features of purity, priority and superiority that Workman ascribes to the translation in relation to Jer MT. This is not to say that the early assessments missed their mark completely. Each

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<sup>113</sup> Adcock 2017, 245.

<sup>114</sup> Particularly Graf, Kiel, von Orelli, and Fischer.

<sup>115</sup> Adcock 2017, 102–103.

<sup>116</sup> Adcock 2017, 106.

<sup>117</sup> Adcock 2017, 104–105. Adcock touches on an issue here that is rarely mentioned in text critical discussions on the text of Jer. The plusses in Jer LXX in comparison to Jer MT are few in number, but in light of the nature of the other differences between the two textual witnesses, i.e. that the plusses in Jer MT reflect later editorial additions and changes, it is plausible to entertain the possibility that the minuses in Jer MT reflect later omissions.



scholar makes a number of important remarks regarding the translation and how it reflects its *Vorlage*, particularly the recognition of mistranslations, and some note specific aspects of the translation that are still considered pertinent, such as the Hebrew syntax that is reflected in the Greek word order and the occasional variance of tense, number, gender and person between the Hebrew and the Greek words.

Thackeray made the first clear forays into describing the translation character of books in the LXX apart from their text critical value. This development placed more emphasis on the quantitative agreements between the MT and the LXX, which allowed a more focused concentration on the nature of the translation and how the translator moved from his source text to the translated product. The discovery of the DSS solidified the validity of this approach for Jeremiah studies as 4QJer<sup>b</sup> indicated that even when Jer LXX differs from Jer MT, it is most likely following a Hebrew *Vorlage* that is itself at variance with the MT. The methodological distinction between text critical and translation technical aspects of Jer LXX has now become a threshold for credible studies on Jer LXX, as explicitly expressed by Stipp.<sup>118</sup>

Early descriptions of the translation character of Jer LXX can mostly be divided into two poles on a continuum. At the one end stand the assessments by Graf, Kiel and von Orelli, who argue that the translator was disposed toward arbitrary and free translation, and they ascribe most, if not all, differences between the MT and the LXX to the translator. At the other end stand scholars such as Scholz, Workman and Streane, who argue that the translator produced a faithful translation that follows its *Vorlage* very closely, claiming that the *Vorlage* already embodied the differences in relation to Jer MT. Between these poles stand the assessments by Eichhorn and Giesebrecht, the first of whom proposed that Jeremiah himself was responsible for both of the variant text types, implying that the translation is a faithful rendering of its *Vorlage*. Giesebrecht argued for a somewhat middle position, indicating the opinion that the LXX minuses are not omissions made by the translator, and that the translation contains some free elements in it.

The DSS have effected a significant change on this continuum, as only rarely have scholars argued for the notion that Jer LXX is a free and arbitrary translation after the discovery of 4QJer<sup>b</sup>. Most studies after the 1950's argue that Jer LXX is a fairly literal

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<sup>118</sup> Stipp 1994, 10.

translation that attempts to produce a quantitatively faithful representation of its *Vorlage*. From a text critical perspective, scholars both prior to and after the DSS discoveries who argue that Jer LXX represents an earlier text form than Jer MT share this assessment of the translation character of Jer LXX. Change has occurred mainly among scholars who argue that Jer MT represents the earlier text form. Prior to the DSS discoveries, they considered the translation to be a free translation, but after the discoveries, they too mainly argue that Jer LXX is a literal translation. The notable exception to this convention is Fischer, who continues to argue that the differences between Jer LXX and Jer MT were created by the translator.

## 2.4. Bisectioning Theories and Counter Explanations

### 2.4.1. Overview

Similar to the translation character of Jer LXX, the composition of Jer LXX as it has been transmitted has been the subject of discussion in scholarly literature since the 18th century. The main feature of Jer LXX that has driven the discussion on its composition is the different translation equivalents that are used in separate parts of the book, generally identified as chapters 1–28 (Jer a') and 29–52 (Jer b').<sup>119</sup> In the case of certain equivalents, the difference is so stark and abrupt that a casual reader can easily identify it. The rendering of the frequent phrase *יְהוָה אֱמַר*, for example, is almost consistently *τάδε λέγει κύριος* in Jer a' and *οὗτος εἶπε κύριος* in Jer b'. This example and a few others were already noted by scholars in the 18th and 19th centuries who entertained the notion that the translation was produced by different translators.<sup>120</sup> It was not, however, until the work of Thackeray in the early 20th century that this question received the attention of more thorough scholarly work. This section will proceed by first presenting and evaluating the arguments in favor of bisectioning the book, either by advocating for two translators or a later revision, followed by arguments against bisectioning the book, which essentially amount to the notion of one translator who varies his renderings. This sequence is facilitated by the chronological order in which

<sup>119</sup> The precise chapter division between the different parts of the translation were not discussed before Thackeray's publication "The Greek Translators of Jeremiah" in 1903.

<sup>120</sup> Most notably M. G. L. Spohn (1794, 9–10, 17 and 20), P. F. Frankl (1872, 448–449), J. J. Kneucker (1879, 83 n. 8), G. C. Workman (1889, xxvii) and A. W. Streane (1896, 1 n. 1). For other surveys of early research regarding this issue, cf. Tov 1976, 1–2, and Soderlund 1985, 9 n. 18.

the arguments have been published and does not reflect a value judgement regarding them. I present my own objections and counter-arguments when the occasion arises.

## 2.4.2. Arguments in Favor of Bisectioning Jer LXX

### 2.4.2.1 Arguments for Two Translators

From the previous section (2.3.), it is clear that scholars have generally characterized Jer LXX as a literal translation. A certain amount of variation in the renderings in different sections of the translation, however, prompted scholars to question its unity. J.J. Kneucker notes that Jer LXX seems to be translated by at least two hands.<sup>121</sup> Workman comes to a similar conclusion, stating that “sufficient irregularity appears in certain portions of it [Jer LXX] to justify the supposition that several persons were employed in making the Greek version.”<sup>122</sup>

Thackeray was the first to present a broad characterization of most books in the LXX, classifying each on a scale from free, literary Greek to literal and unintelligent Greek.<sup>123</sup> In several publications, Thackeray advanced the theory that the first half of Jer LXX, roughly chapters 1–28, and the second half, chapters 29–51, were translated by two different translators, and that a third translator was responsible for the translation of chapter 52.<sup>124</sup> He calls these sections Jer  $\alpha$ , Jer  $\beta$ , and Jer  $\gamma$ , respectively. In his 1903 article, “The Greek Translators of Jeremiah,” he provides 28 examples of Hebrew words and phrases that are rendered differently in Jer  $\alpha$  and Jer  $\beta$ , the most striking example being the translation of כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה as mentioned above.<sup>125</sup> Thackeray’s rationale is the following, published in “A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint,” in 1909:

if [...] it is found that a phrase is consistently rendered in one way in one portion of the Greek Bible, and in another way elsewhere, and if, as we proceed to extend our investigations to the renderings of other Hebrew

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<sup>121</sup> Kneucker 1879, 83 n. 8.

<sup>122</sup> Workman 1889, xxvii. For a discussion on Workman's view of the translation character and text critical value of Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.2.

<sup>123</sup> Thackeray 1909, 13. For a discussion on Thackeray's view of the translation character of Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.3.

<sup>124</sup> Thackeray 1903a, 246; 1909, 11.

<sup>125</sup> Thackeray 1903a, 247–251.

phrases, the same divergence between two portions of the LXX is apparent, we gain an increasing assurance that we have to deal with two distinct groups of books, which are the production of different translators.<sup>126</sup>

In the same context he states that these types of divergences in style are to be found within single books as well.<sup>127</sup> As a qualifier to Thackeray's theory, he acknowledges that the exact point of the juncture between Jer  $\alpha$  and Jer  $\beta$  cannot be precisely determined due to a certain mixture of equivalents characteristic to both Jer  $\alpha$  and Jer  $\beta$  at the juncture, which is Jer LXX 29.

Thackeray classifies the first half of Jer LXX as indifferent Greek and the second half as literal or unintelligent. This different characterization of the second half of Jer LXX is attributed by Thackeray to a "tendency towards pedantic literalism."<sup>128</sup> James Barr, in his delineation of types of literalism found in ancient biblical translation, states that the trend to favor more rigorous and consequent translations is a late development among ancient biblical translations.<sup>129</sup> In this scheme, the implication is that the first half of Jer LXX, characterized as less literal than the second half, represents an early manner of translation, while the second half represents a later and more literal manner of translation.

In conjunction and in support of his multiple-translator theory, Thackeray suggests a certain affinity between Jer LXX and the Septuagint translation of the Minor Prophets (MP LXX). In his articles "The Greek Translators of Jeremiah" and "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," Thackeray presents two tables of renderings in Jer LXX, Ezek LXX and MP LXX that are distinct from all other books in the LXX. In the case of Jer LXX, Thackeray claims that Jer a' manifests the agreeing renderings, while Jer b' does not.<sup>130</sup> According to Thackeray, his evidence suggests that "it is not

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<sup>126</sup> Thackeray 1909, 6.

<sup>127</sup> Thackeray reiterates these arguments in *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (1920), 28–29.

<sup>128</sup> Thackeray 1909, 9. Though Thackeray does not explicitly mention the second half of Jer among his examples of pedantic literalism, its inclusion in this group may be deduced from his other examples (Judg., Ruth, 2 Rgns. 11:2–3 Rgns. 2:11, 4 Rgns. 22:1–4 Rgns. 25:30, and 2 Esdras) that are similarly classified in his chart on p. 13.

<sup>129</sup> Barr 1979, 281. For discussion on the developing nature of LXX translation, cf. sec. 3.4 and 3.5.

<sup>130</sup> Thackeray 1903a, 247–251 (table I), and Thackeray 1903b, 580–582 (table IV). In his table I, Thackeray presents 28 instances of difference in renderings between Jer a' and Jer b', listing similarities with MP LXX, which happen to occur under the column of Jer a' for the most part, and rarely under the column of Jer b'. In Table IV, he presents 35 examples in which Jer a', Ezek LXX, and MP LXX agree in

improbable” that these translations (i.e. Jer a’, Ezek LXX and MP LXX) were made by the same translator, and if not by a single translator, then by several collaborators.

Ziegler, in his introduction to the Göttingen edition of Jer LXX, notes that the translation character of Jer LXX is not uniform, and that he therefor agrees with Thackeray’s notion of multiple translators.<sup>131</sup> His adoption of this stance is evident in his *Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta*, in which he refers to the two translators on several occasions, and even allows the theory to guide him in making critical decisions in the text. One example is the conjectural reading ἐπίχειρα in 29:11(49:10). He argues for the conjecture based on the fact that Jer b’ uses this equivalent on two out of three occasions (31[48]:25 and 34:3[27:5]) to render זרוע ‘arm,’ with an express appeal to the second translator.<sup>132</sup> Ziegler does, however, go on to suggest that further investigation would be useful to determine whether the different equivalents suggest the work of a later redactor on the part of Jer b’ rather than a second translator.<sup>133</sup>

In his syntax of Jer LXX, Martin argues in favor of Thackeray’s conception of two translators based on findings in his material. He notes that distinctive syntactical features confirm Thackeray’s suggestion that the text was divided at Jer LXX 29 for translation purposes. These distinctive features, he claims, are not coincidental, and their nature does not allow them to easily be designated as later revisions.<sup>134</sup> Among the pronouns, Martin notes only two aspects of difference between Jer a’ and b’, namely the use of emphatic pronouns apart from prepositions in Jer a’<sup>135</sup> and the more frequent

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rendering certain hebrew words or phrases against the other books in the LXX. The most significant rendering Thackeray presents is that of יהוה צבאות, though only to show the connection between the translation of the prophetic books and not in support of bisectioning Jer LXX. In Jer, in the MP, in the originally Greek books of the LXX, and only in a few other instances is the expression κύριος παντοκράτωρ used, while elsewhere the Hebrew phrase is translated by either κύριος σαβαώθ or κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων. Cases from Jer LXX are not included in every example in table IV.

<sup>131</sup> Ziegler 1957, 128 n. 1.

<sup>132</sup> Ziegler 1958, 28. For an analysis of the renderings of זרוע in Jer LXX cf. sec. 6.8.

<sup>133</sup> Ziegler 1957, 128 n. 1.

<sup>134</sup> Martin 1957, 312. Though Martin does not discuss the possibility that the differences between Jer a and Jer b result from revision, the fact that he mentions revision suggests that he is aware of Ziegler’s suggestion. Since Ziegler’s note was published in the same year as Martin’s thesis, Martin was possibly no longer able to incorporate such a discussion in his work. For a discussion on Martin’s view of the translation character and text critical value of Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.3.

<sup>135</sup> Martin 1957, 41.

completion of the relative clause with adverbs in Jer a'.<sup>136</sup> Regarding the use of cases, he notes how Jer a' and Jer b' employ different cases with certain verbs and equivalents.<sup>137</sup> Most of Martin's evidence is derived from his analysis of prepositions in Jer LXX. He notes differences in the renderings of certain prepositions and improper prepositions<sup>138</sup> and in the employment of prepositions and cases in conjunction to certain words.<sup>139</sup> Martin argues that these syntactical features create distinguishable styles for the two translators. The similarities between the two halves are explained by an appeal to literalism as the basic underlying principle of both translations, and Jer b' is noted to be the less skilled of the two.<sup>140</sup>

#### 2.4.2.2 *Tov's Translator-Reviser Theory*

Tov has proposed a different theory to explain the lexical differences between the two halves of Jer LXX in his Ph.D. dissertation, published in 1976. The novelty of Tov's study is not his analysis of the differences between Jer a' and Jer b', but rather his interpretation of the important similarities between the two halves that distinguish them from the rest of the LXX. Tov argues that Thackeray's explanation for the similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' constitutes a weakness in his thesis.<sup>141</sup> Instead of assigning significant agreements between the two sections of Jer LXX to a secondary reason, as would be necessary in the case of a two translator theory, Tov takes the agreements as

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<sup>136</sup> Martin 1957, 65–66.

<sup>137</sup> Martin 1957. The verbs and equivalents are *ειπον προς*+acc. in Jer a' vs. *ειπον*+dat. in Jer b' (118); the equivalents of לָחַטַט (122); the equivalents of עָבַד (123–124); and the use of cognate accusatives in Jer a' vs. cognate datives in Jer b' as renderings of infinitives absolute (145–148).

<sup>138</sup> E.g. מֵאֵין (190–191), יָחַד (242–243), לְמַעַן and לְבִלְתִּי (276–279).

<sup>139</sup> E.g. different prepositions in conjunction to the equivalents of the verb נָחַם (though this might also be due to the different equivalents that are used in Jer a' and Jer b' to render this word, 175–178; and cf. sec. 6.16); the preference for different cases in conjunction to the preposition ἐπὶ (226–227); the more frequent use of the genitive case in conjunction with κατὰ in Jer a' (248–249); the use of ὁμνύμι κατὰ in Jer a' as opposed to ὁμνύμι+dative in Jer b' (276 n. 2). Other notable differences mentioned by Martin include the use of ἔναντι with reference to God in Jer a' (292 n. 6; cf. also sec. 5.4 and 5.5) and the use of articular prepositional phrases (210–212).

<sup>140</sup> Martin 1957, 312–313.

<sup>141</sup> Thackeray identifies a few distinctive similarities between Jer a' and Jer b'. He suggests that the translator of Jer b' is familiar with the equivalents chosen in Jer a', and that he imitates the vocabulary of Jer a' (1903a, 253–254).

evidence of an original or first translation, which he identifies with Jer OG. If this is the case, he argues, the significant differences between Jer a' and Jer b' are to be explained as the result of a revision of Jer OG. Since Tov's treatment of the issue is the most extensive, it is presented here in greater detail.

Tov's hypothesis is that Jer OG consisted of Jer and the Book of Baruch 1:1–3:8. This text is extant in Jer a'. Later, Jer OG was revised (Jer-R). This revision is extant in Jer b'.<sup>142</sup> Tov proposes that this combination of the first half of Jer OG and the second half of Jer-R's revision could have come about from a mistake in which two bisected scrolls of Jer, which were of the two different text types, were connected by a scribe who did not notice their difference. The first scroll of Jer OG was connected to the second scroll of Jer-R.<sup>143</sup> Though this is a possibility, the careful art of copying and transmitting texts would rather suggest that the two text types became mixed due to necessity. For example, if the second bisected scroll of Jer OG was missing, the second half of the revised text had to be used to fill out the text. Existing manuscripts attest to such procedures, though not on the same scale as Jer LXX.<sup>144</sup>

A common basis between Jer a' and b' is to be established by the indication of distinctive agreements<sup>145</sup> between them that link them together and at the same time distinguish them from the rest of the LXX. If unique agreements can be shown, they suggest a connection between the two sections of Jer, and thus provide a reason to assume that underlying Jer b' is Jer OG.<sup>146</sup> Tov provides 30 examples of unique and rare renditions common to Jer a' and Jer b', and 15 rare Greek words common to the two halves.

The following are examples of rare and unique renditions found in Jer a' and Jer b'. They serve to distinguish Jer LXX from other translated books in the LXX because these equivalents are either not used or are very rarely used in other translated books.

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<sup>142</sup> Tov 1976, 6.

<sup>143</sup> Tov 1976, 162–3.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. e.g. the text of I Sam in the Ms 245 which attests a mixed text. The parent Ms was clearly lacking text at the edges and corners of the pages. The missing text was filled in from a Lucianic Ms. Later copies of this parent MS (including Ms 245) would not differentiate between the two text types used in the text. I owe this insight to the suggestion by Anneli Aejmelaeus.

<sup>145</sup> For a discussion on the significance of distinctive agreements in identifying revised texts, cf. sec. 3.5.

<sup>146</sup> Tov 1976, 19.

The number at the beginning of each example refers to the number Tov assigns to each of his examples in chapter II of his publication:<sup>147</sup>

- II. 1. אהה rendered as ὁ ὤν – Jer a' 1:6, 4:10, 14:13; Jer b' 39(32):17.
- II. 6. היליל rendered as ἀλαλάζω – Jer a' 4:8; Jer b' 29(47):2, 30(49):3, 31(48):39, 32:20(25:34).
- II. 14. חוץ / חצות rendered as ἔξωθεν – Jer a' 9:21(20), 11:6, 28(51):4; Jer b' 40(33):10, 44(37):21, 51(44):6, 9, 17, 21.
- II. 25. הלך rendered as οἴχομαι – Jer a' 9:10(9), 16:11, 27(50):6; Jer b' 31(48):11, 35(28):11, 48(41):10, 12, 15, 17.
- II. 27. מסגר rendered as δεσμώτης – Jer a' 24:1; Jer b' 36(29):2.
- II. 30. הועיד rendered as ἀνθίστημι – Jer a' 27(50):44; Jer b' 29:20(49:19).

The following are examples of rare Greek words common to Jer a' and b'. These distinguish Jer LXX from other translations because the Greek words are either not used or are very rarely used elsewhere in the LXX.<sup>148</sup>

- II. 31. ἐγχειρέω – Jer a' renders שִׁיחָה בְרוּ 18:22, זָמַם 28(51):12; Jer b' renders הִשִּׂיא 29:17(49:16).
- II. 36. ἰταμός, ἰταμία – Jer a' renders אֶכְזָרִי 6:23, 27(50):42; Jer b' renders זָרוֹן 29:17(49:16).
- II. 39. ἀλγηρός – Jer a' renders נֶחֱלָה 10:19; Jer b' renders נֶחֱלָה 37(30):12, לְמִזּוֹר 37(30):13.

Tov attempts to show the revisional nature of Jer b' by highlighting characteristic differences between Jer a' and Jer b'. His examples indicate how a Hebrew word is translated with one Greek word in Jer a' and with another Greek word in Jer b'. By analyzing the different kinds of differences he is able to classify them into characteristic tendencies of Jer-R:

1. more precise renditions

<sup>147</sup> Tov 1976, 24–32. In examples II. 1., II. 6., II. 14., II. 25., II. 27. and II. 30., the Hebrew word is presented first, followed by its equivalent in the LXX and the verses it is found in.

<sup>148</sup> Tov 1976, 32–36. In examples II. 31., II. 36. and II. 39., the Greek word is presented first, followed by its Hebrew *Vorlage* both in Jer a' and in b'.



2. corrections of erroneous renditions
3. stereotyped (literal) replacing non-stereotyped (free) renditions
4. renditions reflecting the Hebrew more consistently
5. other changes<sup>149</sup>
6. Synonymous renditions<sup>150</sup>

Examples are provided below from each of these tendencies.<sup>151</sup> In each example, according to Tov, the rendering in Jer a' represents the OG translation, while the rendering in Jer b' represents the change from the OG brought about by Jer-R. The number at the beginning of each example refers to the number Tov assigns to each example in chapter III of his publication. Examples of the tendency towards more precise renditions include the following:<sup>152</sup>

III. 1. שמה / שממה – Jer a' renders as ἀφανισμός 18 times (25); Jer b' renders as ἄβατος 12 times (15).

III. 6. לבלתי – Jer a' renders as τοῦ μή 10 times (11); Jer b' renders as πρὸς τὸ μή 10 times (11).

III. 7. למען+inf. – Jer a' renders as a finite clause 3 times (4); Jer b' renders as πρὸς τὸ+infinitive 4 times (6).

In such cases, Tov proposes that Jer-R's revisions attempt to express the meaning of the Hebrew more accurately than the OG renditions. Most of Tov's examples in this category consist of content words, but examples 6. and 7. are not. The renderings of לבלתי and למען in Jer b' do not reflect the meaning of the Hebrew more accurately, but rather its formal qualities.<sup>153</sup> In addition, the notion that the renderings in Jer b' express

<sup>149</sup> Tov 1976, 43. For further discussion on the revisional tendencies of Septuagint revisions, cf. sec. 3.4 and 3.5.

<sup>150</sup> Tov lists synonymous renditions in a separate chapter from the other changes. He reasons that synonymous renditions do not display a revisional tendency as do the previous five categories that he proposes (1976, 93).

<sup>151</sup> Tov 1976, 46–75.

<sup>152</sup> In these examples the Hebrew word is first presented, followed by its renditions in both Jer a' and b'. The number in parenthesis, when it appears, e.g. (25) and (15) in example III. 1., represents the total number of renderings for the Hebrew word in either Jer a' or b'.

<sup>153</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the renderings of לבלתי and למען, cf. sections 5.7 and 5.8.

the meaning of the Hebrew better than the OG renderings is misleading, since consistency in translation equivalents seems to be more important to the reviser. Naturally, the choice of equivalent might be affected by a certain conception of meaning, but consistency generally overrides different nuances of meaning in particular cases.

The following are examples of a tendency toward correcting OG renditions which Jer-R presumably considered erroneous or incorrect:

III. 12. נִפְץ – Jer a' renders as διασκορπίζω 10 times (10); Jer b' renders as συγκόπτω once (1).

III. 17. אֹלִי – Jer a' renders as εἰ or εἰ πῶς 3 times (3); Jer b' renders as ἴσως 3 times (3).

Examples of Jer-R's tendency towards replacing non-stereotyped OG renditions with stereotyped renditions include:

III. 18. כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה – Jer a' renders as τάδε λέγει κύριος 58 times; Jer b' renders as οὕτως εἶπε κύριος 68 times.

III. 19. אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים – Jer a' renders as θεοὶ ἄλλότριοι 12 times (13); Jer b' renders as θεοὶ ἕτεροι 6 times (6).

The following examples express a tendency of Jer-R toward reflecting the Hebrew more consistently:

III. 42. the noun עֶבֶד – Jer a' renders as παῖς or δοῦλος 7 times; Jer b' renders as παῖς 14 times.

III. 44. The verb דָּבַר – Jer a' renders as λαλέω; Jer b' renders as λαλέω when the subject is human, but as χρηματίζω when the subject is God or a prophet.

This tendency differs from the previous one in that here, Jer-R strives for consistency in rendering each Hebrew word with its own equivalent, and even each meaning of the Hebrew word, based on its context, with its own equivalent.

Tov's final category, "other changes," contains three examples, each with its individual reason behind the revision. One of these examples is:

III. 51. גִּבּוֹר – Jer a' renders as μαχητής or ἰσχυρός 11 times; Jer b' renders as ἰσχυρός or δυνατός 6 times.

In this case Tov claims that Jer-R preferred using standard renditions of גבור instead of Jer-OG's renditions.

Having identified the above-mentioned characteristics of Jer-R's revision, Tov describes its inconsistent nature as well. Based on the evidence available for Jer-R's revisional technique, one finds certain inconsistencies. First, Tov has noticed several free and erroneous equivalents that are common to both Jer a' and Jer b'. One would expect Jer-R to have revised such equivalents. Similarly, there are certain free and inconsistent renditions that Jer-R did not revise, but that are revised in later Jewish and Christian revisions. Third, some renditions in Jer b' are revised in certain cases, but in other instances are not. Jer b' therefore contains both revised and unrevised renditions. This can only be ascribed to inconsistency. Jer-R's intention, Tov argues, was to conform the OG to his conception of a "more literal and stereotyped" translation, but in carrying out his intention, he was not very consistent.<sup>154</sup>

Tov's point is pertinent. Known revisions generally tend to focus on certain aspects of text and not on the text as a whole, and the principles of revision are not usually applied to all equivalents in the text. Also, evidence for the earliest revisions of the LXX indicate that they were not as thorough in applying their principles as later revisions were, as Tov himself notes.<sup>155</sup> However, certain differences reflect a change in Jer b' toward more natural Greek expression and away from the conception of a literal and stereotyped translation. These changes are more difficult to define as revisional since early revisions do not display this type of characteristic. The present study agrees with Tov regarding the revisional nature of most of the differences in Jer b', but the changes toward more idiomatic Greek expression that do not reflect the formal qualities of the Hebrew text are more naturally explained as part of the OG than revisional.

Soderlund discusses Thackeray and Tov's theories of bisectioning Jer LXX mainly by critiquing Tov's proposal. He centers his critique of the Translator-Reviser theory on the distinctive agreements between Jer a' and Jer b', which are an essential part of Tov's argumentation. Soderlund's main concern is with Jer LXX 29, and he confines himself to examining the distinctive agreements listed by Tov that appear in that chapter. He chooses chapter 29 because it is the juncture between Jer a' and Jer b' and the point at

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<sup>154</sup> Tov 1976, 44–45, 158–159.

<sup>155</sup> Tov 1976, 45.

which Thackeray noticed a mixture of equivalents between both halves. The primary aim of Soderlund's study is to determine whether Tov's evidence of distinctive agreements between Jer a' and Jer b' is conclusive enough to overturn Thackeray's multiple-translator theory, and he comes to the conclusion that it is not. Tov's criticism of the multiple-translator theory does not convince Soderlund, and the examples of distinctive agreement that Soderlund analyzed are found by him, in several instances, to be "open to challenge and amenable to other interpretations."<sup>156</sup>

Soderlund discusses 12 of Tov's examples of distinctive agreements, from Tov's chapter II, all occurring in Jer LXX 29. Two of Soderlund's examples are presented here. The number refers to Tov's numeration:

II. 6. Ἀλαλάζω – In the LXX, the most frequent translation of הִלִּיל is ὀλολύζω, which is similar in sound and meaning to ἀλαλάζω, which in turn is a unique equivalent to Jer LXX. Soderlund proposes that it would not seem "unusual" for either word to suggest itself to separate translators as a suitable equivalent, and deems this example as "ambiguous evidence" for identifying the translators.<sup>157</sup>

II. 36. Ἰταμός, ἰταμία – The three occurrences in Jer LXX are the only instances of these words in the whole LXX. Ἰταμός translates אֶכְזָרִי in the parallel passages of 6:23 and 27(50):42. For Soderlund, however, the use of the ἰταμία to translate a different word in 29:17(49:16) does not constitute very persuasive evidence for identifying the translators of these words.<sup>158</sup>

The examples of differences between Jer a' and Jer b', Soderlund suggests, can as well be explained by a second translator as they can by a reviser. Though we are in the "post-Barthélemy" era," as he calls it,<sup>159</sup> and should therefore be wary of the possibility of revision in ancient translations of the HB, Soderlund concludes that Tov's analysis of the distinctive similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' is not sufficient to prove a common text base between Jer a' and the supposed revisional text in Jer b'. Therefore, the notion of multiple translators is as good an explanation, or even a better one, than a translator-

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<sup>156</sup> Soderlund 1985, 190–191.

<sup>157</sup> Soderlund 1985, 155–156.

<sup>158</sup> Soderlund 1985, 160–162.

<sup>159</sup> Soderlund 1985, 185.

reviser hypothesis. Soderlund finds the lack of manuscript evidence for the presumed OG of Jer a' and a revision of Jer b' to be particularly damaging to Tov's theory.<sup>160</sup>

Further evidence in support of Tov's proposal of a revised text in Jer b' has seldom been presented. In a response to Soderlund's criticism of Tov's arguments, however, Janzen reevaluates the material analyzed by Soderlund and concludes to defend Tov's thesis.<sup>161</sup> The main fault he finds in Soderlund's rebuttal is inadequacy, that is, Soderlund does not give Tov's arguments for distinctive agreements fair treatment, particularly by considering only the examples found in Jer LXX 29. Janzen stresses that Tov presents six examples of unusual or incorrect renditions in both Jer a' and Jer b' that reflect a "common understanding of a certain Hebrew word," and that therefore support the notion of a common basis between the two halves. Of these six, Soderlund examines only the weakest.<sup>162</sup> Janzen sees the strength of Tov's thesis in a core of strong cases and in a large number of supporting cases. Of Tov's 45 examples of distinctive agreement between Jer a' and Jer b', Soderlund evaluates only twelve.

### **2.4.3. Arguments against Bisectioning Jer LXX**

Despite the differences among the translation equivalents in Jer a' and Jer b', some scholars have maintained that only one translator is responsible for the whole translation. Early proponents of this position include Scholz, who suggested that the one translator likes to change the expressions that he uses,<sup>163</sup> and Ernst Kühl.<sup>164</sup> On account of the attention that the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' have received through Thackeray and Tov's studies, it has been necessary for later proponents of the single translator theory to give an explanation for these differences. Doubts regarding bisectioning theories were already raised by Stipp in the 1990's, but especially the publications of Albert Pietersma and his students, Jannes Smith, Tony S. L. Michael and

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<sup>160</sup> Soderlund 1985, 190–192.

<sup>161</sup> Janzen 1989, 18–28.

<sup>162</sup> Janzen 1989, 21 and 23.

<sup>163</sup> Scholz 1875, 14.

<sup>164</sup> Kühl 1882, 8.

Marc Saunders in particular,<sup>165</sup> present alternative explanations for these differences that argue in favor of a single translator responsible for the whole translation.

Stipp, categorizing the question of bisectioning the book as “Übersetzungskritik,” examines some of Tov’s arguments for the translator-reviser theory and intimates that it is not a plausible explanation of the evidence. He suggests that the differences may simply reflect a break in a single translator’s translation process. Once he continued translating after chapter 28, he changed some of his previously preferred equivalents without bothering to go back and alter his earlier work.<sup>166</sup>

Stipp’s main design is to argue against the notion of a revision in Jer b’ rather than to advocate for a single translator, which he proposes only in passing. He presents four criticisms of Tov’s proposal.<sup>167</sup> First, he draws attention to the mixed nature of Jer LXX 29, which includes equivalents Tov has categorized as belonging to both the OG translation extant in Jer a’ and to the revision that is extant in Jer b’. This undermines the consistency of the hypothetical revision. Second, Stipp sees the lack of a well defined motive for revision as a challenge, since a goal or motives are essential to distinguishing a revised text. According to Stipp, Tov’s categories of more precise renditions and synonymous renditions are not well defined, and in many of Tov’s examples the equivalents in Jer b’ vary to a greater degree than in Jer a’, again undermining the consistency in Jer b’. Third, the distribution of the revised equivalents proposed by Tov do not always match each other. One revised equivalent, *ῥομφαία*, occurs in a block of text (Jer LXX 44–51[37–45]) which simultaneously employs the equivalent *ἐντέλλομαι*, which elsewhere in Jer b’ is revised to *συντάσσω*. Fourth, Stipp claims that some of Tov’s distinct equivalents to which he appeals for identifying a common base text between Jer a’ and Jer b’ are not suitable to the task, thus diminishing the list of elements that connect the two halves to each other.

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<sup>165</sup> Smith 2002, 55–96; Pietersma 2002, 101–108; 2006a, 403–413; 2008, 351–371; 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ieremias-excursus.pdf>, accessed 2.3.2018; 2010b, 359–387; Michael 2006, 93–104; Pietersma and Saunders 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/34-ieremias-nets.pdf>, accessed 2.3.2018.

<sup>166</sup> Stipp 2015, 153–154. For a discussion on Stipp’s understanding of the text critical value and translation character of Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.3. Fischer (2016, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0007030000](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0007030000)> accessed 8.2.2018) seems to agree with Stipp’s suggestion regarding the differences between Jer a’ and Jer b’, proposing that the differences are more likely due to a change in the translator’s translation practices.

<sup>167</sup> Stipp 2015, 147–153.

The mixed nature of the equivalents in Jer LXX 29 and the perceived lack of a motive for revision should not be considered detrimental to the possibility of revision. Other known early revisions of the LXX, e.g. the *kaige* revision, present similar challenges. The precise starting point of the *kaige* section in 2. Sam is not clear, and scholars disagree whether it should be in chapter 10 or 11. In addition, no specific motive has been defined for the *kaige* revision, and it is usually characterized in general terms as correcting the Greek text towards a text type similar to the MT. The inconsistent distribution of the revised equivalents also should not be considered beyond the constitution of early revisions of the LXX.<sup>168</sup> Finally, most of Tov's examples of distinctive agreements between Jer a' and Jer b' are very accurate. The objections that Soderlund and Stipp raise are pertinent, but they pertain to only a few examples and do not affect Tov's stronger arguments.

Stipp's suggested explanation for the differences between Jer a' and Jer b', that a single translator changed his disposition in some way during a hiatus between translating Jer a' and Jer b', deserves consideration. The book of Jer is the longest book in the HB, and it would be natural for a translator to take breaks while translating. Besides refreshment and rest, breaks would also allow for reflection and contemplation of the work in progress, which might very well lead to a reorientation towards the process. The likely time and place of the OG translation, the first half of the second century BCE in Egypt,<sup>169</sup> precludes the influence of early revisionary practice, which is thought to have originated in Palestine in the first century BCE.<sup>170</sup> Changes made in Jer LXX in the nature of the *kaige* tradition, which a significant portion of the differences in Jer b' manifest, would be very unlikely at an earlier period and in a different locale, but changes toward more natural Greek expression are a very plausible outcome of Stipp's proposal.

In a series of articles, Pietersma also presents a reexamination of some of Tov's examples. In his first such article, he surveys the use of ἐπίχειρον, a fairly infrequent Greek word that appears in Jer b'. He argues against the proposals that the word was

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<sup>168</sup> These issues concerning the nature of early revisions of the LXX are discussed further in sec. 3.4 and 3.5. Cf. also n. 183 concerning Daniel Olariu's criticism of Tim McLay and Chukwudi J. Obiajunwa's unwarranted expectations of coherency and consistency for a revision in Dan θ.

<sup>169</sup> Shead 2015, 472–473.

<sup>170</sup> Aitken, 2015, 39; Aejmelaus *forthcoming*.

coined by the translator and that it is a correction toward the Hebrew, and he posits that this second proposal is susceptible to circular reasoning, as such an argument presupposes the notion of a revision.<sup>171</sup> The notion that a translator or reviser would coin a new word in order to correct a LXX translation toward a Hebrew text might seem contradictory, but Pietersma himself also explicates how literal revisers such as Aquila are known to have done so in order to represent the Hebrew text more precisely.<sup>172</sup>

In subsequent articles, Pietersma begins to develop his own explanation for the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' while framing his arguments around criticism of Tov's work in each case. In two articles, Pietersma analyses the renderings of the Hebrew nouns שְׁמָה / שְׁמָמָה (2006a) and the verb עֲבַד (2008) in Jer LXX. In both cases, Tov's suggested revisions appear inconsistently within Jer b',<sup>173</sup> and in the case of עֲבַד, Pietersma does not deem ἐργάζομαι to be a more precise rendering of the Hebrew than δουλέω, as Tov proposes.<sup>174</sup> Pietersma's own explanation of the evidence amounts to a single translator who would occasionally vary his rendering based on exegetical considerations. The concept of ἄβατος, for example, a rendering of שְׁמָה / שְׁמָמָה found in Jer b', was borrowed from the Septuagint translation of Leviticus (Lev LXX) and appropriated to specific contexts within Jer LXX, which happen to be located in Jer b'.<sup>175</sup> The variation of the renderings of עֲבַד is also explained exegetically by Pietersma. Service to YHWH was to be termed by δουλέω, of which almost all cases are found in Jer a', and service to Nebuchadrezzar was to be termed by ἐργάζομαι, of which almost all cases are found in Jer b'.<sup>176</sup> These equivalencies are discussed further in the analysis below.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Pietersma 2002, 107. For further discussion on ἐπίχειρον in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 6.8.

<sup>172</sup> Pietersma 2002, 102.

<sup>173</sup> Pietersma 2006a, 409; 2008, 359.

<sup>174</sup> Pietersma 2008, 357.

<sup>175</sup> Pietersma 2006a, 405–412.

<sup>176</sup> Pietersma 2008, 354–364 and 371.

<sup>177</sup> For further discussion on the renderings of שְׁמָה / שְׁמָמָה and עֲבַד in Jer LXX, cf. sections 6.25 and 6.17 respectively.



Pietersma's most recent articles on Jer LXX articulate his position in more detail. While explaining the shift from *τάδε λέγει κύριος* in Jer LXX 1–29 to *οὕτως εἶπε κύριος* in 30–52 as the rendering of *כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה*, he proposes that the translator recognized a certain duology in his Hebrew *Vorlage*. This duology divides the LXX *Vorlage* into chapters 1–32 (LXX-H1) and chapters 33–52 (LXX-H2). LXX-H1 is a conceptual overview of history, beginning in Israel's exodus from Egypt and ending in a cosmic judgement of the nations. In this section the prophet Jeremiah is portrayed as a "divine mouthpiece" who presents the "divine *ipsissima verba*," and accordingly the oracular formula *τάδε λέγει κύριος* is used as the rendering. LXX-H2 portrays a shorter period of history, from Jehoiakim's reign to the flight of the Judean refugees to Egypt. In this context the prophet Jeremiah is portrayed as a "preacher of God's word" who rather reports "divine speech," which is then appropriately rendered by *οὕτως εἶπε κύριος*. As an explanation for the fact that *οὕτως εἶπε κύριος* begins as the equivalent in chapter 30 instead of 33, Pietersma proposes that the translator mistakenly switched the equivalent a few chapters too early.<sup>178</sup> A similar kind of "textual accommodation and exegesis" is proposed in Pietersma's later article on the subject as well, "Of Translation and Revision: From Greek Isaiah to Greek Jeremiah," where he does not present any lengthy analysis of equivalents but rather briefly analyses a number of examples that Tov uses in his argumentation.<sup>179</sup>

Though it is true that the character of the text of Jer changes from predominantly poetry to mainly prose after Jer LXX 32, the notion that the translator would conceive the two parts of the book in such clear and diverse terms as described by Pietersma, and that this conception would affect the renderings of so many Hebrew terms, is very difficult to prove. The simple fact that a number of the changes between Jer a' and Jer b' converge at Jer LXX 29, in the middle of the OAN, instead of after Jer LXX 32 also speaks against Pietersma's proposition. Additionally, exegetically motivated renderings are usually not based on the interpretation of such broad sections of texts as is suggested by Pietersma, but they are rather born from the translator's perception of single terms, concepts or narratives from the immediate context of the word, generally confined to

<sup>178</sup> Pietersma 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ieremias-excursus.pdf>, accessed 2.3.2018.

<sup>179</sup> Pietersma 2010b, 386.

within a single sentence or paragraph from the word in question.<sup>180</sup> To presume that the translator bases his rendering on his delimitation of such a large portion of text at a time is unconventional.

Pietersma also criticizes Tov's methodology and classification of the types of changes that he proposes to have occurred in the revision of Jer LXX. He posits that Tov's methodology and argumentation condition the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' in a manner that allows the classification of all differences as "hebraizing" revision, and the resulting profile of the revision does not resemble any of the hebraizing revisions that have been identified.<sup>181</sup> Regarding Tov's classification of revisionary changes, Pietersma argues that they consist of "multiple and contradictory forms" of revision that do not give a coherent picture of its direction, assuming that the forms of revision should "add up."<sup>182</sup>

Pietersma is correct in noting that Tov's classification of revisional tendencies do not conform with other known early revisions. A quick glance at Tov's examples reveals that several of them actually indicate a change in Jer b' away from the formal equivalency that is found in Jer a', and even change toward more idiomatic Greek expression. These examples do not fit the profile of known revisional tendencies, such as the *kaige* tradition, and should rather be defined otherwise.

Pietersma's projected expectation of a coherent revision that should manifest itself were Jer b' to be classified as a revision, on the other hand, is unfounded.<sup>183</sup> Coherence and uniformity in revisionary practice are characteristics that appear only in later, more developed exemplars of revision, such as the *Naḥal Hever* MP scroll and the later translation of Aquila. Earlier forms of revision, such as are found in the *kaige* sections of 1–4 Rgns, do not exhibit such coherency and consistency. The revision in Jer b' is

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<sup>180</sup> For analyses of exegetically motivated changes in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 8.1.2.

<sup>181</sup> Pietersma 2010b, 365–366.

<sup>182</sup> Pietersma 2010b, 368.

<sup>183</sup> For similar criticism of unfounded expectations on consistency and coherence of revisional practice, cf. the discussion in Olariu 2015, 30. Olariu argues that McLay and Obiajunwa project such expectations on the presumed revisionary character of Dan θ. Both McLay (1996) and Obiajunwa (1999) assert that Dan θ is a separate translation from Dan LXX, implying that the differences between Dan LXX and Dan θ are not revisionary in nature. Olariu contends that they project an ideal of a consistent revision in order to show that the inconsistent manifestation of differences between Dan LXX and Dan θ cannot be the result of a revision. Olariu (2017 and 2019) maintains that Dan θ is a revision of Dan LXX.

very early, as it has permeated most, if not all, of the Ms tradition, and should not be expected to project a similar degree of coherence and consistency as later exemplars of revised LXX translations.

Michael approaches the issue of bisectioning Jer LXX by analyzing the translations of doublets. He criticizes Thackeray and Tov for approaching the issue “from-the-top-down,” that is, taking the evidence that divides the book as their starting point and adding “scattered differences” in support of their conclusions.<sup>184</sup> In contrast, he advocates a “from-the-bottom-up” approach, by which he means an examination of all differences in translation equivalents throughout the book, not only those that display differences between its two halves. By focusing on the different renderings of doublets within Jer a’, Michael argues that the translational inconsistency evident in his material should be understood to indicate that consistency and inconsistency in translation equivalents are not effective means by which to determine translational or revisional activity within a translation. He stresses that different translation equivalents are common throughout the book, not only between Jer a’ and Jer b’, but within each half as well, and that such equivalents should be considered and examined as well as the ones which indicate differences between the two halves.<sup>185</sup>

Michael is correct in noting the differences within each half of Jer LXX. This in itself does not refute the possibility of a revision in Jer b’. Most of Michael’s examples come from Jer a’, which in Tov’s theory represents the OG. Inconsistency and variation in the OG is to be expected of a text that has been revised according to tendencies of other known revisions of the LXX. Inconsistency and variation in Jer b’ is more of a concern in evaluating Tov’s proposition. Even so, Michael’s plea does not eradicate the evidence for consistent differences between Jer a’ and Jer b’. A from-the-bottom-up approach towards the translation character of Jer LXX will definitely yield numerous agreements between Jer a’ and Jer b’, since most of the Hebrew words in the text do not have more than one viable alternative equivalent for a literal-minded translator, and it will yield many inconsistencies within both halves of the translation.<sup>186</sup> The nature of an early revision of the LXX, however, cannot be defined in such absolute terms as

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<sup>184</sup> Michael 2006, 94.

<sup>185</sup> Michael 2006, 104.

<sup>186</sup> For further discussion on translation technique as a method of study, cf. sec. 3.2.

Pietersma and Michael seem to advocate. No known revision applies its principles with absolute perfection, and early attempts at revision should be expected to be far less consistent than later exemplars of a more refined revisionary tradition as is displayed by Aquila, for example. Early attempts to revise books of the LXX were not necessarily concerned with revising a large amount of equivalents, nor were they necessarily as methodical in their application as the later revisers.

#### **2.4.4. Summary**

Differences in the translation equivalents between the two halves of Jer LXX had already been noticed by scholars in the 19th century, and the possibility that this reflects the work of more than one translator had been proposed. Thackeray, however, was the first to present more thorough research on the issue, and he concluded that the translation was made by multiple translators. Ziegler, Martin and Soderlund follow Thackeray in this conclusion, and Martin in particular presented more arguments in favor of multiple translators. Thackeray's insights into the different styles of translation in different sections of the LXX have later proven their merit, since Barthélemy's research concerning the *kaige* sections of Samuel-Kings are in near accord with the different sections Thackeray identified in those books. Though no external evidence in the manner of Thackeray's Jer  $\beta$  has been discovered, his conclusions on Jer LXX should be taken no more lightly than his conclusions on Sam-Kgs.

Tov suggested the translator-reviser theory as a better explanation for the distinctive agreements between the two halves of the translation. This also led him to categorize the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' according to revisional principles which he determined by analyzing the differences in the two sections. Though Tov's principles have been criticised, no research has been presented that has thoroughly overturned Tov's proposition. His strongest arguments for the distinctive agreements between Jer a' and Jer b' persist in their validity, and the large number of differences that Tov has collected and identified continue to present a body of work that critics have struggled to surmount. The present study regards the distinctive agreements between Jer a' and Jer b' to be an essential characteristic of Jer OG that, at its inception, comprised the whole of the translation. The differences, on the other hand, are understood as mostly comprising revisional changes in agreement with Tov.

Arguments against bisectioning Jer have mainly focused on critiquing the evidence presented by Tov. Stipp questioned the lack of apparent motive for the differences between Jer a' and Jer b', citing the opinion that identifying such a motive is necessary for identifying a revision. He also emphasizes the mixed nature of the equivalents found in chapter 29, which makes it difficult to pinpoint the location where the OG text ends and the revised text begins. Stipp's other objections concern the uneven distribution among the equivalents in Jer b' and the unconvincing nature of some of Tov's distinctive agreements between Jer a' and Jer b', which Soderlund had also claimed. Stipp suggests that the differences result from a hiatus in the translation process of a single translator who varied his equivalents more after returning to the task from chapter 29 onward, but he does not argue for this conclusion in detail.

Pietersma and his students also criticise Tov's arguments, and in the process Pietersma has developed his own explanation for the differences between Jer a' and Jer b'. Pietersma proposes that the translator employed a degree of exegetical appropriation that is reflected in the different equivalents chosen in different sections of Jer LXX. A major component in Pietersma's argument is his appeal to the different textual nature of Jer a' and Jer b'. The *Vorlage* of Jer a' is a conceptual overview of Israel's history while the *Vorlage* of Jer b' portrays a shorter and more immediate period in its history, according to Pietersma. This difference in the textual nature, together with other contextual factors, have contributed to the translator's decisions in producing the different translation equivalents.

A particular note of critique regarding the study of translation style and character has been presented by Soisalon-Soininen. In his study on the text forms of Judges he concludes that more careful research is needed on the sentence structure of the LXX translations in order to determine more precisely the relationship between different text forms. He laments that most research on LXX syntax at the time had been based on phonetic and vocabular aspects of the translations, and only a few studies had syntactical constructions in their focus.<sup>187</sup> Research on the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' has also largely been based on a comparison of vocabulary, though a few forays into the structural and contextual influences on the choice of equivalents have been presented. This study intends to approach the differences through a more thorough

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<sup>187</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1951, 116–117. This same critique is presented in Aejmelaeus 2020, 169–170.

syntactical analysis that considers both the syntactical and contextual factors that influence the choices of equivalent.

### **3. Methodology: Translation Technique and Revisions**

#### **3.1. The Necessity of a Translation Technical Analysis for this Study**

The study of translation technique is the means for determining the character of a translation. This is the aim of this study with regard to the Greek translation of Jer. Since Jer LXX has significant translational differences between its two halves, a translation technical study is the only means for determining how these differences reflect on the translation character of these two sections. Previous studies have focused mainly on lexical equivalents with only minor remarks on the syntactical and semantic features that effect these differences. This study will concentrate on the syntactic and semantic aspects of the translation in order to better understand the nature of these differences. A determination of the difference in translation character allows a more precise description of the cause of the differences and ultimately of the relationship between the two sections.

Revisions are usually identified through a comparison of different versions of the same text. In the case of Jer LXX, however, the manuscript tradition is invariant to the extent that, apart from the Hexaplaric and Lucianic recensional features, the text is quite uniform. There is not enough variance between the manuscripts to indicate a revision solely based on variant readings. For this reason, the revision in Jer b' has been argued for on the basis of a comparison between the translation equivalents in Jer a' and Jer b'. Certain differences manifest such a great contrast that commences at Jer LXX 29, the break point between the two sections, that it is obvious that some kind of change has occurred between Jer a' and Jer b'.

Since this change cannot be analyzed by comparing variant texts to each other, it is necessary to analyze them on the basis of the comparison between Jer a' and Jer b'. The most plausible method of conducting such an analysis is by characterizing the differences according to their translation character. This is fulfilled by a translation technical study that considers the syntactical and semantic contexts in which the different equivalents occur in order to determine the cause of the different choices that the translator and reviser made.

The use of the translation technical method to study revisions was pioneered by Soisalon-Soininen on his study of the variant texts of Judges. He argues that a study of translation technique, or the peculiarities of the translation, may well indicate whether the two text forms can be traced back to the same translation that was later corrected and changed, or whether there are two different translations. When both texts share the same translation characteristics, a strong case can be made for their common origin.<sup>188</sup> An analysis of the translation's treatment of the structure of the text and its syntactical features can provide further information on the identification and nature of revisions that cannot be derived merely from research on the changes in vocabulary, which is the more common approach taken to identify revisions.<sup>189</sup> The emphasis on vocabulary in the study of revisions is understandable since changes in vocabulary are more easy to identify than changes to syntactical features.

In this section, I introduce the concept of translation technique and discuss different types of translation found in the LXX and how they reflect on the textual history of the LXX. This is followed by a discussion on the identification and characterization of revisions in the LXX.

## 3.2. Translation Technique

This study employs a translation technical approach in characterizing the Greek translation of Jer. This characterization is carried out by a comparison between the extant Hebrew text, or in some cases the reconstructed Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translation, and the Greek translation itself. The Hebrew text serves as the point of departure.<sup>190</sup> The Greek renderings of each Hebrew word and expression chosen for this study are analyzed according to their representation of the grammatical categories attested by the source text in order to determine the syntactic and semantic aspects that influenced the translation. The goal of such an inquiry is to determine how and why the translator arrived at his choice of equivalent.

This approach is employed in order to describe the translation from as many relevant angles, and with as many relevant criteria, as possible, and to consider all

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<sup>188</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1951, 14

<sup>189</sup> Aejmelaeus 2020, 169–170. Examples of vocabulary lists that have been drawn up to characterize the *kaige* tradition include Greenspoon 1983, 270–273 and McLay 1998, 131–134.

<sup>190</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 10.



possible factors that played a part in the translator's decisions. The examination of the relationship between the translation and its *Vorlage* allows one to distinguish how the syntax of the *Vorlage* affects the translation, how the demands of the target language affect the translation, and how the peculiarities of the translator affect the translation;<sup>191</sup> it enables the description of the different syntactic phenomena used in the translation and a close characterization of the lexical choices made by the translator.<sup>192</sup>

Aejmelaeus has defined translation technique as a designation of the relationship between the text of the translation and its *Vorlage* and as a description of the translator's work.<sup>193</sup> Barr describes the process of assessing the nature of the translator's decisions in similar terms: "the setting forth of a semantic path which may reasonably be taken to have led from the one text [the Hebrew *Vorlage*] to the other [the Greek translation]."<sup>194</sup> To discern the path of the translator is to unravel the decision making process, whether conscious or unconscious, that the translator went through to arrive at his translation. Translating from Hebrew, a semitic language, to Greek, an indo-European language, presents certain linguistic challenges that force the translator to make decisions about lexical and grammatical representation.<sup>195</sup>

Textual criticism, both of the Hebrew text and of the Greek text, is a necessary factor to take into consideration when undertaking a translation technical study.<sup>196</sup> This is apparent from the fact that both the Hebrew and the Greek texts are assessed in the process. In order to perform a translation technical study on a Greek text, both the Greek text itself and the underlying Hebrew *Vorlage* must be established. The equivalents to be assessed depend on which Greek reading is considered to represent the OG text, and the translation technical evaluation requires a determination of the Hebrew reading that was translated. On the other hand, in many cases a knowledge of the character of the

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<sup>191</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 12; This distinction is reiterated by Aejmelaeus (1982, 1; and 2007, 212).

<sup>192</sup> For an in-depth presentation of these methodological issues, cf. Aejmelaeus 1982, 1; and Aejmelaeus 2007, 63 and 205–222.

<sup>193</sup> Aejmelaeus 2007, 63 and 205–206.

<sup>194</sup> Barr 1979, 285

<sup>195</sup> Regarding the distinctions between the Hebrew and the Greek languages and how they affected the translation process, cf., for example, Barr 1979, 291–292; Wevers 1990a, vii; and Aejmelaeus 2007, xiv.

<sup>196</sup> Aejmelaeus 2007, 73. Cf. Also Wirth 2016, 24.

translation is a significant factor in determining both the OG and the Hebrew *Vorlage* that it is translating.

When progressing toward evaluating the translation character of a translation, establishing the Hebrew *Vorlage* and establishing the OG text, there can be no predetermined sequence in which these three processes are to be carried out. They are rather mutually dependent on each other, and should all be taken into consideration when performing each task. The particular text to be analyzed should be taken as the determining factor in deciding which step to carry out first. Each text has its own history and peculiarities. Generally speaking, the analysis of unquestionable readings and translation forms should form the basis of such research, after which uncertain readings and translations can be examined to complete the picture. Furthermore, the usual and regular translations should be presented first, as a depiction of the regular procedure of the translator, and the unusual equivalents only afterwards in order to evaluate whether they render similar Hebrew constructions or whether they reflect a different Hebrew *Vorlage*.<sup>197</sup>

### 3.3. Different Types of Translation in the Septuagint

Each book in the Septuagint embodies a different translation character from the other books. This is because the text of each book was produced by different translators. Accordingly, each translation should be evaluated separately. The translation character of some books are very similar to each other. For example, there are several books whose translations are considered to exemplify the *kaige* tradition. The range of translation character is generally evaluated on a continuum between literal and free translation. This outlook is derived from modern translation studies, and should not be applied as such to ancient translation.

James Barr, among others, has determined that all the books translated in the LXX more or less represent a literal translation of their *Vorlage* in relation to the modern notions of free and literal translation. They can, nevertheless, be distinguished from one another through various means in which literalism is manifested in ancient translation. Barr has proposed six aspects by which literalism can be identified and delineated:

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<sup>197</sup> Wirth 2016, 25.

1. The division into elements or segments, and the sequence in which these elements are represented.
2. The quantitative addition or subtraction of elements.
3. Consistency or non-consistency in the rendering [...]
4. Accuracy and level of semantic information, especially in cases of metaphor and idiom.
5. Coded “etymological” indication of formal/semantic relationships obtaining in the vocabulary of the original language.
6. Level of text and level of analysis.<sup>198</sup>

Though a translation is characterized as literal, it is not necessarily so according to all of Barr’s categories. A translation can be literal in one aspect and free in another.<sup>199</sup> One translation may manifest one aspect of literalism, such as a close quantitative representation of the elements in the *Vorlage*, while another translation manifests care in producing consistent renderings of each Hebrew word. Some translations may be literal in more aspects than others.<sup>200</sup>

Several studies have proposed a classification of the translations according to the character of their translation. Thackeray proposed four classes of translation:

- 1) Good κοινή Greek, including the Pentateuch, parts of Josh, Is and 1 Macc;
- 2) Indifferent Greek, including Jer a’, Ezek, MP, 1 and 2 Chron, the non-*kaige* sections of Sam-Kgs, Psalms, Sirach and Judith;
- 3) Literal or unintelligent versions, including Jer b’, the B text of Judges, Ruth, the *kaige* sections of Sam-Kgs, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Dan Θ, 2 Esdras and Ecclesiastes;
- 4) Paraphrase and free rendering (literary Greek), including 1 Esdras, parts of Dan LXX, Esther, Job and Proverbs.<sup>201</sup>

The criteria that Thackeray uses for his classification are somewhat vague, and he himself professes that it is a very general classification. Though the categories reflect

<sup>198</sup> Barr 1979, 294. Tov (2015, 18–26) has presented a similar list of aspects of literalism.

<sup>199</sup> Barr 1979, 323–324.

<sup>200</sup> Barr 1979, 281.

<sup>201</sup> Thackeray 1909, 13–14.

notions related to translation character, such as free rendering, Thackeray explains that he groups the books according to Greek style. There is a clear continuum between groups 1, 2 and 3, and group 4 is separate from these. Later studies have refined the characterizations of many of these translations, and a general consensus regarding which translations are more rigorous in following the Hebrew structure and features of the *Vorlage* and which are not is perceivable from general introductions to the LXX.<sup>202</sup> Jennifer Dines lists Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Ruth as examples that portray the most formal equivalence, and Job, Isaiah, Proverbs, Dan LXX and Chronicles as representing the most dynamic equivalence in the LXX.<sup>203</sup> Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva present a classification based on Rajja Sollamo's study on the translations of semiprepositions in the LXX. They note that the "freest" of the translations are Esther, Exodus, Proverbs, Isaiah, Dan LXX and Job, and that the "most slavish" of the translations are 2 Esdras, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, both text types of Judges, and 2 and 4 Reigns.<sup>204</sup>

### 3.4. Translation Technique and Revisions

The characterizations of the sections Jer a' and Jer b' are in some ways different, as both previous studies have shown and as this study contends.<sup>205</sup> By comparing the way in which specific syntactic and semantic contexts affect the renderings of certain words and expressions in the two sections, one can begin to identify the different approaches and solutions that have been applied to them. This not only allows the definition of particular and distinct characteristics for different sections, but it also enables their comparison to the character of other books in the LXX and their further placement within the broader development of the text of the LXX as a whole.

Soisalon-Soininen has poignantly described the necessity of the study of translation technique for differentiating between the characters of different translations and

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<sup>202</sup> Cf. for example, Dines 2004, 120; Tov 2015, 28–29; Jobes and Silva 2015, 301; and the characterization of each translated book in the LXX in Aitken (ed.) 2015.

<sup>203</sup> Dines 2004, 120.

<sup>204</sup> Jobes and Silva 2015, 301. For the original study by Sollamo, cf. Sollamo 1979, 284–287. Sollamo's classifications do not include Ruth, Eccl and Song of Songs. For a similar classification based on the uses of *participium coniunctum* and *genetivus absolutus* as renderings of infinitives, cf. Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 177–179.

<sup>205</sup> For previous characterizations, cf. section 2.4. For the conclusions of this study, cf. chapter 9.

different translators. By analyzing how the different Hebrew grammatical categories are rendered, one can differentiate between the differences that already exist in the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of the two translations and between the different features that are introduced by the translators. This elucidates how the translators have worked, what expressions they render literally, and in what circumstances do they avoid verbatim expressions in favor of free expression. Only by this means can the peculiarities of each translator be distinguished from the fundamental features of translation that occur in most LXX translations.<sup>206</sup>

Based on certain patterns of difference in the translation character of different sections of text in the LXX, one notices a development towards favoring a more literal and closer representation of the Hebrew text in the later translations than in the former ones. As noted above, the Pentateuch, especially Gen and Ex, is considered to represent a better quality of Greek than most of the later translations. At the other extreme are books that bear more literalistic aspects and that were translated very late, possibly as late as the 1st century CE, such as Ruth, Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon.<sup>207</sup> Barr describes this phenomenon as a late development. Increasing literalism was a trend that can be seen developing for some centuries within ancient biblical translation.<sup>208</sup>

The first translators have been described as working with no defined policy or pattern of dealing with specific Hebrew structures. Their translations rather reflect an ad hoc approach, even spontaneity in the way they are varied. The original translators employ equivalents both literal and free according to what suits both the character of the *Vorlage* and the immediate context.<sup>209</sup> Characteristics of literalism and its consistent application become more pronounced only in the later translations and revisions of the

<sup>206</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 14–15.

<sup>207</sup> On the dating of these three translations, cf. Bons 2015, 119. On Ecclesiastes as probably the latest of the translations, cf. Aitken 2015a, 26.

<sup>208</sup> Barr 1979, 281. A good example of increasing literalism within LXX translations is presented by Mikhail Seleznev (2018). He shows that the renderings of the Hebrew semipreposition בְּעֵינֵי start out as the idiomatic Greek expressions ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον in the Pentateuch and progress to the literal renderings ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς in Ruth and Ecclesiastes. One factor that Seleznev argues to have affected this change is the different regard for anthropomorphisms in relation to YHWH. The earlier translations avoided such anthropomorphisms, e.g. by more idiomatic Greek expressions such as ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον, but the later translations valued close representation of the Hebrew text more so than anti-anthropomorphism. For an analysis of the renderings of בְּעֵינֵי in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 5.5.

<sup>209</sup> For this vein of thought, cf. Barr 1979, 281 and Aejmelaeus 2020, 172.

LXX. The revisions in particular display specific patterns of change that indicate their intention to “correct” the translation to represent the Hebrew text with more precision and consistency.<sup>210</sup>

Barr proposes some factors that might have influenced the development toward increased literalism in ancient biblical translation:<sup>211</sup>

- 1) practical problems of translating: e.g. convenience, word-lists etc.
- 2) a drive to achieve greater accuracy: early translations had unaccountable variations and unevennesses.
- 3) conception of inspired scripture: even smallest elements/details of text were meaningful.
- 4) conception of multiple meaning: free translation yielded only one meaning.
- 5) a deepening conviction that real authority lay in the original Hebrew text, rather than the Greek text.

Most of these factors proposed by Barr are the same factors that have been identified as motivations for the later revisions of the LXX. Barr’s second, third and fifth factors in particular convey principles of translation that have been linked to the *kaige* tradition.<sup>212</sup> The currents of literalistic translation and LXX revision ran hand-in-hand in the early development of the text of the LXX, as can be seen in the character classifications of the LXX books presented above. The more rigorous and formally equivalent renderings are precisely those that are considered exemplars of the *kaige* tradition: Ruth, Eccl, Song, which are thought to be among the last books translated into Greek, and the B text of Judges and the *kaige* sections of Sam-Kgs.

This development of translation character among the books in the LXX should be taken into consideration when defining the relationship between Jer a’ and Jer b’. In comparison to Jer a’, Jer b’ displays a higher degree of consistency in its renderings and more frequent use of equivalents that represent the formal qualities of the Hebrew text. According to Barr’s aspects of literalism, the character of Jer b’ embodies a greater degree of literalistic tendencies than does Jer a’.

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<sup>210</sup> Aejmelaesus *forthcoming*.

<sup>211</sup> Barr 1979, 324–325. The following is not a direct quotation, but a summary of Barr’s explanation.

<sup>212</sup> For discussion on similar features in the *kaige* tradition, Aitken 2015a, 39–40; Gentry 2016 [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0001030102](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001030102) (2.5.2018); Aejmelaesus *forthcoming*.

### 3.5. Criteria for Identifying Revisions

Soisalon-Soininen's study on the different text forms of Judg LXX presents his criteria for differentiating between separate translations and an original translation and its revision. If two variant Greek texts share similar translation characteristics, it is likely that they can be traced to the same original translation, and that the differences derive from later corrections and changes. For Judg LXX, he identified shared mistranslations, peculiarities of syntax and certain choices of equivalent between the A and the B texts.<sup>213</sup>

Tov has articulated similar criteria. In his study on Jer LXX, he defines Jer b' as a revision based on both the significant differences between Jer a' and Jer b' and on the distinctive agreements between them.<sup>214</sup> These criteria are important factors for the study and identification of revisions since they lay the foundation for arguing both for a common basis between one text and its revision and for the changes that the reviser produced. Tov's criteria for identifying a revision comprise two conditions:

- LXX and the revision share a common textual basis [i.e. the same OG translation]. This assumption is based on the recognition of distinctive agreements in vocabulary between the two texts that set them apart from the remainder of the LXX. If such a common basis cannot be recognized, the two sources comprise separate translations rather than a source and its revision.
- The revision corrects LXX in a certain direction, generally towards a more precise reflection of its Hebrew source.<sup>215</sup>

As noted above, shared translation characteristics, distinctive agreements and revisional changes are generally identified between two versions of the same text. To identify a common basis between Jer a' and Jer b', which are two different texts, one must refer to shared characteristics and distinctive agreements between their translation equivalents. Distinctive translation equivalents must be of a nature that distinguishes them from the rest of the LXX by their absence or rarity in other translated books.<sup>216</sup> For Jer a' and Jer b', Tov has listed thirty unique and rare common renditions and 15 rare Greek words

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<sup>213</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1951, 23–70.

<sup>214</sup> For a summary of Tov's arguments, cf. section 2.4.

<sup>215</sup> Tov 2012, 141.

<sup>216</sup> Tov 1976, 19.

shared by the two.<sup>217</sup> It is very improbable that separate translators would both employ these rare and unique features. They are indicative of a common original translation.

The other criterion for identifying a revision is defining a motive for the change in the text. Once distinctive agreements have been found, the focus of inquiry should again shift to the differences between the texts, and an attempt should be made to discern the possible reasons that instigated the change. Defining a motive for change strengthens the argument for a revision, but even the absence of a clear motive does not rule out the possibility of a revision. Motives for revision are identified through patterns that emerge among the changed equivalents. The more consistent these patterns are, the more clearer the motives become.

Revisions that have been identified, and which are accepted as such, are largely understood to have changed the text towards a more quantitative and qualitative alignment with the concurrent Hebrew text. The principles of later revisions are better known than those of early revisions. For example, the Hexaplaric recension aims at a close quantitative alignment with the Hebrew,<sup>218</sup> yet it does not remove plusses in the Greek text, and does not change equivalents. The Lucianic recension, on the other hand, changes equivalents to match better Greek style, and it makes certain editorial changes.<sup>219</sup> Characteristics of quantitative and qualitative alignment are sought for when considering the possibility of identifying a revision in other texts as well.

On the other hand, some exemplars of the *kaige* tradition for example, particularly with regard to their revisional nature, were not as developed in their consistency as, for say, the later Jewish translation of Aquila.<sup>220</sup> Moreover, the revisional principles of these exemplars have not been fully realized. The general development of revisional practices is from small, inconsistent changes in early revisions to the systematic and extensive corrections in later ones.<sup>221</sup> The *kaige* tradition exhibits exemplars from different stages on this continuum, e.g. the *kaige* sections of 1–4 Rgns do not display *kaige* features as

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<sup>217</sup> For a summary of Tov's evidence and its later critique, cf. section 2.4.

<sup>218</sup> Gentry 2016, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0001030102](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001030102)> (06.09.2019).

<sup>219</sup> Gentry 2016, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0001030102](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001030102)> (06.09.2019).

<sup>220</sup> For examples of inconsistent revisional practice in the *kaige* sections of Sam-Kgs and in the Armenian translation of the Greek Old Testament, cf. Tucker *forthcoming*. For examples of inconsistent application of *kaige* equivalents within the translated books ascribed to the *kaige* tradition, cf. Aitken 2015a, 25–27.

<sup>221</sup> Tov 2012, 141; and Olariu 2015, 30 note 53.



consistently as the later translations of Eccl and Song, and even less so than the *Nahāl Hever* MP scroll (8ḥevXIIgr). But even the *kaige* sections of 1–4 Rgns evince such a pervasive application of *kaige* features that it must be rooted in a history of development that extends to an earlier period in the history of the LXX. The earliest practice of revision was most likely not as pervasive and systematic as what is evident in identified revisions of the LXX. Changes in a text that are not simply occasional and which seem to follow or fulfil a principle, no matter how inconsistently, are rather to be attributed to revisional activity than to the vagaries of a single translator.

Some of the motives that have been attributed to the reviser of Jer b' include a penchant for expressing the meaning of the Hebrew text more adequately than the OG, correcting erroneous renderings, and using equivalents in a more consistent manner. These tendencies, however, are not applied exhaustively in Jer b', and their application is not always consistent, as noted by Tov.<sup>222</sup> Despite the vague impression that the evidence presents regarding possible motives for revision, this should not be taken as a refutation of the hypothesis. The definition of an exact motive for the *kaige* recension itself is likewise under dispute,<sup>223</sup> though it is generally held that texts depicting *kaige* type readings have been altered to follow a proto-MT text more closely<sup>224</sup> and that a *kaige* reading is identified among variants by being the reading that corresponds more closely to the MT than the other variants.<sup>225</sup> The *kaige* tradition has been defined largely along the lines of lists of lexical items used as translation equivalents.<sup>226</sup> Its characterizations in terms of translation technique are few, though some important features have been identified.<sup>227</sup> Despite these issues, the existence of a reworking of the

<sup>222</sup> Tov 1976, 44–45 and 158–159. For a discussion of Tov's characterization of the revision in Jer b' and its critique, cf. section 2.4.

<sup>223</sup> McLay 1998, 128–129.

<sup>224</sup> Dines 2004, 82.

<sup>225</sup> Kauhanen 2017, 148.

<sup>226</sup> Lists of 96 equivalents attributed to the *kaige* tradition may be found in Greenspoon 1983, 270–273 and McLay 1998 131–134. Tekoniemi (2019, 258) has listed 16 further equivalents that have been identified by other scholars. Tuukka Kauhanen and Leonardo Pessoa intend to publish a complete updated list of *kaige* features in Samuel-Kings with an explanation of criteria for recognizing such features. They are also planning an online database for the known *kaige* features and their instances in the texts (private communication).

<sup>227</sup> With regard to the lexical equivalents attributed to *kaige*, Kauhanen (2017, 147) has noted that a *kaige* rendering most likely fulfills one or several different criteria. These include the notion that "the Greek word produces the basic meaning of the Hebrew word or a rendering that might be theologically

LXX in the *kaige* tradition has not been disputed, largely due to the evidence provided by the *Nahal Hever* MP scroll. The lack of an all-encompassing motive that can explain all or a majority of the differences should not, therefore, be considered a catalyst against identifying a revised text.

In addition to the above criteria, it is possible to identify revisionary characteristics through a comparison with the translation character of books known to represent revisionary traditions, such as the *kaige* tradition. When a certain equivalent is typical to a section of text, and at the same time different from the corresponding equivalent used in another section of text, and is the same or bears the same qualities as an equivalent typical of a known revisionary tradition, then it is possible to characterize that equivalent as deriving from the same vein as the one represented by the revisionary tradition. In this manner, the *kaige* sections in 1–4 Reigns have been identified as revised translations according to similarities with features of the *Nahal Hever* MP scroll.

Thackeray was able to distinguish between different sections of the LXX based on the different translation equivalents in those sections, but his interpretation was that the differences result from the work of different translators. In addition to identifying the different characters of Jer a' and Jer b', Thackeray also identified the sections in 1–4 Reigns that have been later classified as *kaige* sections and non-*kaige* sections of those translations.<sup>228</sup> The later discovery of the *Nahal Hever* MP scroll 8hevXIIgr and its analysis and characterization by Barthélemy demonstrated that the *kaige* sections in fact contain a revision of the OG translation instead of a separate translation.

Tov has categorized the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' according to observations on the semantic and formal correspondence between the Hebrew and Greek equivalents and on the consistency of the equivalents. The categories are defined as the working principles of the reviser, whose revision is evident in Jer b':

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meaningful," and that "the reading produces the same number of elements (particles and lexemes) as the corresponding Hebrew reading" (147). Kauhanen's other criteria are not directly related to translation technique. Elsewhere (2018, 64), Kauhanen mentions concordance as one of the principles for revising lexical equivalents. Aejmelaeus (2017a, 41–53) has identified an exegetical feature that may be attributed to the *kaige* recension among the renderings of the Hebrew verb נחם *nif'al* 'to regret / to change one's mind' (for a similar tendency in Jer b', cf. sections 6.7 and 8.) A few features of verbal syntax are described by Raimund Wirth. These include the elimination of *praesens historicum* and a change in verbal tenses from perfect forms (identifiable in *L*) to aorist forms (Wirth 2017, 196 and 2014, 125 n. 36).

<sup>228</sup> For Jer LXX, cf. Thackeray 1903a; for 1–4 Reigns, cf. Thackeray 1907. For a discussion on Thackeray's arguments, cf. section 2.3.3.

- 1) more precise renditions;
- 2) corrections of erroneous renditions;
- 3) stereotyped (literal) replacing non-stereotyped (free) renditions;
- 4) renditions reflecting the Heb more consistently;
- 5) other changes.<sup>229</sup>

Though these categories serve well to describe certain aspects of the differences between the two sections of LXX-Jer, Tov notes that at times these principles produce incompatible results.<sup>230</sup> For example, the more precise equivalent is not always the stereotyped equivalent, and a number of the differing equivalents in Jer b' do not reflect the Hebrew in a more consistent manner than do the equivalents in Jer a'.

In comparison to the *kaige* tradition, some of the changed equivalents in Jer b' seem outright contradictory to the notion that they are revised equivalents,<sup>231</sup> though this in itself does not rule out their characterization as revisional equivalents. This issue raises the question whether all the differences ought to be attributed to a reviser. Comparison with *kaige* can serve as a control in defining the types of changes that occur between Jer a' and Jer b' from the perspective of known revisional tendencies. If *kaige* attests the same or a similar change that occurs in Jer b', then that feature may be defined as revisional with greater confidence. Assessing the differences in Jer LXX against revisional principles identified as part of the *kaige* tradition is a more precise method for placing the changes in Jer LXX within the textual history of the Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible than simply assessing their character in relation to each other.

Tov does note a number of similar lexical choices between Jer b' and the three later translators Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which he correctly asserts to increase the probability that Jer b' contains a revised translation.<sup>232</sup> However, additional features of early revisional practices have been identified in the past few decades which can assist in more precisely profiling the changes that have taken place in Jer LXX.

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<sup>229</sup> Tov 1976, 43. For examples of each of these tendencies, cf. sec. 2.4.2.

<sup>230</sup> Tov 1976, 157. Cf. also Pietersma's critique of Tov's revisional tendencies (sec. 2.4.3).

<sup>231</sup> For a list of these equivalents, cf. sec. 8.1.2.

<sup>232</sup> Tov 1976, 161.

Descriptions of the *kaige* tradition focus on its literal translation character that closely follows its source language to produce “awkward, stilted, and wooden” Greek,<sup>233</sup> and the use of transliteration to represent Hebrew words is cited as a prominent feature.<sup>234</sup> The underlying motive of the recension is to make the Greek translation represent the Hebrew text, the proto-Masoretic text, more precisely in both quality and quantity than the Old Greek frequently does. This is achieved through concordant translation equivalents in which each Hebrew word is consistently rendered by the same Greek word, through a close representation of small details in the Hebrew text, such as prepositions, particles and articles, through the addition of elements for which the OG has no correspondence to the Hebrew text, and through the omission of elements in the Greek that have no corresponding element in the Hebrew.<sup>235</sup> This disposition of the *kaige* revision also manifests a degree of exegetical interest in the text that was not characteristic of the first translators, as shown by the equivalents of *niph'al* forms of נִפְּלָה 'to regret'.<sup>236</sup>

### 3.6. Summary of Methodology

In this study, I first perform a translation technical analysis of the Greek renderings of chosen Hebrew words and expressions (sections 4., 5. and 6.). The choice of words and expressions has been made based on identified translational differences between Jer a' and Jer b' with the intention of explaining the cause and nature of these differences from a translation technical perspective.

A number of the chosen words and expressions occur often in Jer, and for these I have calculated the expected value for each equivalent in each half of the translation. The purpose of these calculations is to determine the amount of occurrences to be expected for each equivalent if they were randomly distributed between Jer a' and Jer b'. The greater the difference between the expected value and the actual value of occurrences in each half the more likely it is that a difference in the distribution patterns of equivalents between Jer a' and Jer b' did not occur by accident. I have chosen the

<sup>233</sup> Gentry 2016, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0001030102](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001030102)> (06.09.2019).

<sup>234</sup> Marcos 2000, 146-147.

<sup>235</sup> Aejmelaeus *forthcoming*.

<sup>236</sup> Aejmelaeus 2017a, 41-53. For a discussion on similar features in Jer b', cf. section 6.7 and 8.

expected value of 5 as a threshold for consideration. Words and expressions that do not occur so often will yield an expected value lower than 5 in each half of Jer, in which case statistical analysis becomes less relevant.

In chapters 7. and 8., I present two categorizations based on observations made in my analysis. Chapter 7. classifies the qualitative differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX that appear in my material. The purpose of this classification is to better characterize the competence and disposition of the translator towards the task of translation. In chapter 8., I categorize the noted differences between Jer a' and Jer b' according to their correspondence to known characteristics of the *kaige* tradition. The categories that I focus on in particular are renderings that reflect a more formal equivalence of the Hebrew text, more consistent renderings, and exegetical concerns that are observable in the changes. Most of the differences that I analyze below fit these categories, but a number of the differences do not. I have categorized these other differences also according to the characteristics of the *kaige* tradition, but as examples of opposite or non-conforming tendencies.

## 4. Infinitives

### 4.1. Overview

#### 4.1.1. Infinitives in Septuagint Jeremiah

The renderings of infinitives (inf.) are a good means by which to characterize a LXX translation since they occur very often in the Hebrew text and since they are used in various expressions that do not always translate into Greek via the same syntactical structures. In the case of Jer LXX, the renderings of inf. have already been noted in passing in a few studies regarding its translation character,<sup>237</sup> but no broad characterization has been written on the matter.

The most common uses of inf. in the Hebrew Bible are infinitives without prepositions (0+inf.) and infinitives that are prefixed with the לְ preposition (לְ+inf.). The most common renderings for both of these expressions in the LXX are anarthrous infinitives (0+inf.) and genitive articular infinitives (τοῦ+inf.). Less frequent renderings consist of nouns or finite verbs, particles such as ὥστε and ἵνα followed by an inf., or prepositional phrases with or without an article. The most common rendering in the LXX of inf. as direct objects is 0+inf. Final inf. are usually rendered by either 0+inf. or by τοῦ+inf.

Jer LXX largely employs the same equivalents that are most common in the LXX as a whole to render 0+inf. and לְ+inf. There are a total of 636 inf. in the Hebrew text of Jer. Of these, 501 are infinitives construct (inf. cs.) and 135 are infinitives absolute (inf. abs.).<sup>238</sup> Of the 501 inf. cs., the infinitival לְאָמַר, which often introduces direct speech, forms its own group.<sup>239</sup> The remaining 387 instances consist of inf. without prepositions and inf. with prepositions, the most common of which is לְ+inf.

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<sup>237</sup> E.g. Thackeray 1908b; Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 173–174; and Tov 1976, 97.

<sup>238</sup> These figures are derived from a search of infinitives construct and infinitives absolute from the BibleWorks 8 program. Of the 501 infinitives construct, five have *Qere* -readings, therefore the total depends on how these are calculated. These five *Ketiv/Qere* differences are found in 7:22; 13:16; 17:23; 25:7 and 32:35. All five cases are included in the sum 501.

<sup>239</sup> For a discussion on the renderings of לְאָמַר in the LXX, cf. Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 71.

Soisalon-Soininen summarizes the Greek renderings of different inf. constructions in Jer in his charts.<sup>240</sup> He indicates that inf. without a preposition are translated 10 times by 0+inf., four times by an articular inf., and 17 times by other means; the expression לְ+inf. is rendered 68 times by 0+inf., 91 times by an articular inf., and 34 times by other means; the expressions לָמַעַן, בְּעִבּוּר or לְבִלְתִּי+inf. are rendered 10 times by an articular inf., and 19 times by other means, though never by 0+inf. Other uses of the Hebrew inf. are rendered only once by 0+inf. The Greek 0+inf. occurs 29 times when the Hebrew attests something other than an inf. Likewise the articular inf. occurs 10 times when there is no inf. in the Hebrew text. When בְּ+inf. occurs in Jer, it is rendered three times by ἐν τῷ+inf., twice by ἐν+noun, six times by a ὅτε -phrase, three times by a genitive absolute, and once by different means.<sup>241</sup>

Both Thackeray and Tov appeal to the renderings of inf. in support of their arguments for bisectioning Jer LXX, but neither analyze these in detail. Thackeray observes that in Jer a', 0+inf. is rare and that τοῦ+inf. is usual. On the other hand, in Jer b', 0+inf. is common, but τοῦ+inf. is also used.<sup>242</sup> Soisalon-Soininen comments on Thackeray's argument regarding the renderings of infinitives in Jer LXX and notes the difference between the two halves of Jer LXX with regard to their use of τοῦ+inf. He also concludes that a break point occurs between chapters 28 and 29. For the purposes of his own study, however, he proceeds to address Jer LXX as a single unit in comparison to other LXX books. The material, he observes, does point toward the work of two translators, but as some of Thackeray's other multiple translator theories had been disproven at the time, Soisalon-Soininen suggests a cautious approach to Jer LXX as well.<sup>243</sup>

Tov restricts his comments to the renderings of the Hebrew construction לְ+inf. According to his calculations,<sup>244</sup> these are rendered 56 times by an articular inf. and 16

<sup>240</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 184.

<sup>241</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 188.

<sup>242</sup> Thackeray 1903a, 251.

<sup>243</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 174.

<sup>244</sup> Tov 1976, 97 n. 13. Tov states that his figures for Jer a' and Jer b' derive from Soisalon-Soininen's

times by 0+inf. in Jer a'. In Jer b', the corresponding figures are 35 times an articular inf. and 59 times 0+inf. He concludes that Jer a' prefers the article as a formal equivalent for the preposition  $\text{בְּ}$ , while the reviser has often omitted the article because of its "un-Greek employment." Notably, Tov does not attribute this difference to any revisional tendency of the reviser, but rather lists it as a synonymous difference between the two sections.

Critics of Thackeray and Tov's theories on bisectioning Jer LXX have rarely discussed the renderings of inf. Raija Sollamo, in an article on the translations of inf. abs. in Jer LXX, states that the renderings of inf. abs. in Jer LXX do not lend themselves to support bisectioning the translation,<sup>245</sup> but no critique has been applied to the evidence cited by Thackeray and Tov, namely the use and non-use of the articular inf.

As is evident from the calculations of Soisalon-Soininen and others, most of the Greek equivalents of Hebrew inf. in Jer LXX consist of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. and 0+inf., which are mainly used to render both the Hebrew  $\text{בְּ}$ +inf. and 0+inf. In the following analysis, the renderings of  $\text{בְּ}$ +inf. and 0+inf. are presented together due to their functional overlap and shared equivalents (section 4.2.). The data is presented according to the Greek form of the renderings, both 0+inf. and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf., but an explanation of how the translator handles each Hebrew expression is included within this section as well (section 4.2.4). The renderings of the Hebrew inf. abs.,  $\text{בְּ}$ +infinitive ( $\text{בְּ}$ +inf.) and  $\text{בְּ}$ +infinitive ( $\text{בְּ}$ +inf.) are presented separately (sections 4.3. and 4.4.). Their occurrence rate is not as numerous as  $\text{בְּ}$ +inf. and 0+inf., but they deserve separate treatment.

The analysis will examine the semantic and syntactical contexts in which the renderings of inf. are used. The summary at the end of each section discusses the implications of the analysis for the translation character of Jer LXX and for the theories of its bisectioning. Before the analysis, some relevant background information on the use and functions of infinitives in the HB and their renderings in the LXX is presented.

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calculations.

<sup>245</sup> Sollamo 2012, 19.



### 4.1.2. Infinitives in the Hebrew Language

In the Hebrew language, the inf. cs. is a verbal noun, i.e. it functions in a sentence either as a noun or as a verb. In both functions it is used both with and without prepositions.

The most common use of the inf. in the HB is with the preposition לְ. The prepositions בְּ and אֶת are not as frequent, but they are common and are especially used to express temporal relations. The other form of the inf. is independent, i.e. it is used without a preposition (0+inf.). In many instances, the use and meanings of לְ+inf. and 0+inf. overlap, but there is an occasional distinction of meaning. Adnominal לְ+inf. gives the impression why something is used or why it is convenient or suitable, a meaning which the independent inf. does not have.<sup>246</sup> The negation used in connection to the infinitive construct is בְּלֹא.

As a noun, the inf. cs. may assume the role of subject, predicate, the object of a verb, or it may be a part of a genitive construction. As a verb it is often used as a direct object to the main verb or to express the purpose or result of the action of the main verb. With prepositions, inf. cs. often convey the meaning of a subordinate clause. The inf. cs. is used less frequently as a main verb. In such cases, it is usually associated with either a subject or an object, and less often with both. Occasionally it is employed in parallel with finite forms.<sup>247</sup>

The most common functions of inf. are as direct objects or as final inf. As direct objects, they usually complement another verb, and either 0+inf. or לְ+inf. is used in such expressions. Final inf., on the other hand, express the purpose or result of a specific action, which in turn is expressed by another verb or by a nominal phrase. The Hebrew form of final inf. is usually לְ+inf. A third common function of inf. is the epexegetical use of inf. An epexegetical inf. functions to explain or clarify the meaning of a previous verb or statement.

### 4.1.3. Infinitives in the Greek Language

In classical Greek, the inf. likewise has characteristics of both verbs and nouns. As a verb, it may be used either in an adverbial sense or independently in the manner of a

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<sup>246</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 27.

<sup>247</sup> Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 600–611; Joüon and Muraoka 2003, 432–439; Aspinen 2011, 366–369.

finite verb. The adverbial use denotes purpose, result, temporal relationship, cause and means. As a noun, its usage is mainly substantival, while it may also be used in an adjectival sense. Substantival infinitives are mostly used as subjects, direct objects, in apposition or as epexegetical inf.<sup>248</sup>

The use of infinitives in Greek may further be divided into 0+inf. and articular inf. Without the article, inf. may function as the subject, predicate, object or appositive in a sentence. The inf. with an article may likewise be treated as a subject, predicate and object in a sentence, but it also admits to the use of an ordinary noun, and may therefore be employed in the different cases.<sup>249</sup>

For the translated texts in the LXX, Soisalon-Soininen has determined that the use of 0+inf. and τὸ+inf. can function as a criterion for distinguishing translations that prefer literal renderings from those that contain more free renderings. Τοῦ+inf. is the most common renderings of final לְ+inf. in books that contain the least amount of free renderings,<sup>250</sup> and it should be identified with a translation character that is more literal in nature. Tov also considers τὸ+inf. to indicate an “un-Greek employment of the article” that betrays an attempt to produce a formal equivalent for the Hebrew preposition לְ.<sup>251</sup> 0+inf., on the other hand, appears in books that favor more instances of free renderings. Genesis, for example, which is considered to represent a higher degree of good Greek style than most of the later books of the LXX, prefers 0+inf. almost exclusively.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Wallace (2000, 263) contends that an infinitive ought to be considered as epexegetical only when it qualifies a noun or an adjective. When an infinitive qualifies a verb, he proposes that it ought to be treated as a complementary infinitive. He does, however, acknowledge that “some grammars” claim the epexegetical infinitive to qualify verbs as well. Soisalon-Soininen categorizes epexegetical infinitives under the adverbial use of infinitives (1965, 62–68).

<sup>249</sup> Smyth 1956, 437–453; Wallace 2000, 254–265.

<sup>250</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 61.

<sup>251</sup> Tov 1976, 97.

<sup>252</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 51.

## 4.2. Renderings of Independent Infinitives and לְ+Infinitive

### 4.2.1. The Anarthrous Infinitive (0+inf)

#### 4.2.1.1 Overview

The anarthrous infinitive (0+inf) occurs 101 times in Jer LXX<sup>253</sup> and is the direct equivalent of לְ+inf. in 70 cases.<sup>254</sup> It represents other Hebrew constructions to a much lesser extent: finite verbs 16 times,<sup>255</sup> independent inf. six times,<sup>256</sup> inf. abs. four times (9:23[2x], 30:12[49:23] and 51[44]:17), and a few cases of other Hebrew constructions.<sup>257</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Jer LXX 1:6, 10(5x); 5:3(2x); 6:10; 9:5-6, 24(2x); 11:10-11, 13; 12:16; 13:10, 22, 23; 14:9-10; 15:20; 16:8; 17:24; 19:11; 20:9, 11; 21:9; 22:15; 27:33; 29:7, 11-13; 30:12; 31:16; 32:14-15; 33:2(2x), 5, 8, 12, 15, 21; 34:5; 35:14-15; 36:10, 31; 37:21; 38:15, 28(2x), 32, 37; 39:8, 19, 23-24, 31-33, 39; 41:15, 18; 42:18; 43:3, 5, 20-21, 26; 44:17; 45:21, 26; 47:4, 10, 14; 48:12; 49:15, 17, 22(2x); 50:2, 4-5; 51:3(2x), 5, 7, 8(3x), 17(2x), 22, 25(2x), 26 and 28.

<sup>254</sup> Jer LXX 1:10(5x); 5:3; 6:10; 11:10-11, 13; 12:16; 13:10; 14:9-10; 15:20; 16:8; 17:24; 19:11; 29:13; 31:16; 32:14-15; 33:2(2x), 5, 8, 12, 15; 34:5; 35:14; 37:21; 38:15, 28(2x), 32; 39:19, 24, 31-33, 39; 43:3, 5, 21, 26; 45:21, 26; 47:4, 10, 14; 48:12; 49:15, 17, 22(2x); 50:2, 4-5; 51:3(2x), 5, 7, 8(3x), 17, 22, 25(2x) and 28. Some cases of 0+inf. are used to render לְ+inf. as free renderings together with auxiliary words, such as εὖ ποιῆσαι in 13:23 to render לְהַיְטִיב. I do not consider such cases to be direct equivalents of לְ+inf. since their form reflects other aspects of the Hebrew word as well, e.g. the *hiph'il* stem in this case.

<sup>255</sup> Jer LXX 13:22; 20:9, 11; 21:9; 22:15; 29:7, 11-12; 35:15; 36:31; 39:23; 41:15, 18; 42:18; 43:20 and 44:17.

<sup>256</sup> Jer LXX 1:6; 5:3; 9:5(4), 6(5); 27(50):33 and 33(26):21.

<sup>257</sup> A participle in 51(44):26, מְ+inf. in 38:37(31:36) and לְפִי+inf. in 36(29):10. The occurrence of κτῆσασθαι in Jer 39(32):8 presents a text critical problem with regard to its *Vorlage*, since the MT has a plus of a few words. The most likely Hebrew equivalent is קָנָה.

#### 4.2.1.2 Uses of the Anarthrous Infinitive and Their Hebrew Vorlagen

##### Direct Object

The simplest use of 0+inf. is as a direct object of the main verb. As such, 0+inf. mainly renders the Hebrew לְ+inf. in Jer LXX (20 times).<sup>258</sup> A good example of a simple, isomorphic representation of the Hebrew is presented in 6:10.

6:10 וְלֹא יוּכְלוּ לְהִקְשִׁיב – ἰδοὺ ἀπερίτμητα τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν,  
καὶ οὐ δύνανται ἀκοῦειν

A Similar example, 14:9, indicates that the translator is not always obliged to follow the forms of the Hebrew words while keeping the overall sense intact:

14:9 לָמָּה תְהִיָּה בְּאִישׁ נִדְהָם כְּגִבּוֹר לֹא־יֻכַּל לְהוֹשִׁיעַ – μὴ ἔσῃ ὥσπερ  
ἀνθρώπος ὑπνῶν ἢ ὥς ἀνὴρ οὐ δυνάμενος σῶζεσθαι

The clause לֹא־יֻכַּל לְהוֹשִׁיעַ has prompted the use of a participle οὐ δυνάμενος to represent the Hebrew imperfect לֹא־יֻכַּל.

The present tense of the inf. in the two examples above, ἀκοῦειν and σῶζεσθαι, describe an aspect of continuation in the meaning of the verbs:<sup>259</sup> deafness of the ears in 6:10 and the powerlessness of man in 14:9. These correspond well to the sense of the Hebrew text.

The aorist inf., generally reflecting a simple occurrence, is also employed in a contextually suitable manner:

43(36):5 אֲנִי עֹצֹר לֹא אוּכַל לְבוֹא בֵּית יְהוָה – Ἐγὼ φυλάσσομαι, οὐ μὴ  
δύνωμαι εἰσελθεῖν εἰς οἶκον κυρίου

32:15(25:29) בִּי הִנֵּה בָּעִיר אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עָלֶיהָ אֲנֹכִי מִחֵל לְהָרַע – ὅτι ἐν  
πόλει, ἐν ἣ ὠνομάσθη τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἐγὼ ἄρχομαι κακῶσαι

<sup>258</sup> Jer LXX 5:3; 6:10; 11:10-11; 12:16; 13:10; 14:9-10; 19:11; 32:14-15; 33:2, 8; 38:15; 43:3, 5, 26; 45:21; 49:22 and 51:22.

<sup>259</sup> Smyth 1920, § 1865.

43(36):3 אֲוִלֵי יִשְׁמְעוּ בֵּית יְהוּדָה אֶת כָּל־הֶרְעָה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי חֹשֵׁב לַעֲשׂוֹת – ἰσως ἀκούσονται οἶκος Ἰουδα πάντα τὰ κακά, ἃ ἐγὼ λογίζομαι ποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς

In the first example (43[36]:5) it is obvious that the restriction is related to the present circumstances of the prophet Jeremiah, who is giving instructions to his scribe Baruch. In 32:15(25:29) and 43(36):3, the question over the duration of YHWH's punishment might have imbued the verbal tense with theological meaning. The aorist, indicating a one-time event, was a natural solution for the translator. The use of the present inf., signifying durative action, could have been problematic.

In a few cases 0+inf. complements the verb *δύναμαι* in the future tense (11:11 and 19:11) or as a subjunctive (43[36]:5 cf. the previous examples):

11:11 לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנְנִי מְבִיא אֵלֵיהֶם רָעָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יֹדְכֻלוּ לְצַחַת  
 – διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον  
 κακά, ἐξ ὧν οὐ δύνησονται ἐξελθεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν

The translations of the frequently occurring expression  $\aleph_1 + \text{inf.}$  are noteworthy:

5:3 הַבִּיתִּיתָ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי־כְלִיתָ מִצָּנָה כַּחַת מוֹסֵר תִּקְרֶה בְּנֵי־מִשְׁפָּחָ לְעַל מִצָּנָה 5:3  
 לִשְׁבוּ – ἐμαστίγωσας αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ ἐπόνεσαν· συνετέλεσας αὐτούς, καὶ  
 οὐκ ἠθέλησαν δέξασθαι παιδεῖαν· ἐστερέωσαν τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ  
 πέτρων καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐπιστραφῆναι

45(38):21 וְאַיִם־מֵאֵן אֶתָּה לְעֹדֶךָ יְהוָה הַדִּבֵּר אֲשֶׁר הִרְאֵנִי יְהוָה – καὶ εἰ μὴ  
θέλεις σὺ ἐξελεθῆναι, οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ὃν ἔδειξέ μοι κύριος

הָעַם הַזֶּה הָרַע הַמְּאֲנִים לְשִׁמּוֹעַ אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הַהֲלָכִים בְּשָׂרֹות לָבָם וַיִּלְכּוּ 13:10  
 τὴν πολλήν ταύτην ὕβριν, τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους  
 ὑπακούειν τῶν λόγων μου καὶ πορευθέντας ὀπίσω θεῶν ἄλλοτρίων

32:14(25:28) לִקְחַתְּהוֹס מִיָּדָי לְשׁוֹת – και ἔσται ὅταν μὴ  
βούλωνται δέξασθαι τὸ ποτήριον ἐκ τῆς χειρός σου ὥστε πιεῖν

Instead of rendering the verb מִצַּח with a semantically equivalent Greek word, the translator has opted to use a negation of its near antonym, either θέλω or βούλομαι, a translational solution that is common for this Hebrew term elsewhere in the LXX as well.

In a few cases 0+inf. complements bitransitive verbs. These are διδάσκω, συντάσσω and ἐντέλλομαι:

וְהָיָה אִם-לָמַד יִלְמְדוּ אֶת-דַּרְכֵי עַמִּי לְהַשְׁבֵּעַ בְּשָׂמִי חֵי-יְהוָה בְּאַשֶׁר 12:16  
לְמַדוּ אֶת-עַמִּי לְהַשְׁבֵּעַ בְּבָעַל וְנִבְנוּ בְּתוֹךְ עַמִּי – καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν μαθόντες  
μάθωσιν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ὁμνῦναι τῷ ὀνόματί μου Ὡς κύριος,  
καθὼς ἐδίδαξαν τὸν λαόν μου ὁμνῦναι τῇ Βααλ, καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσονται ἐν  
μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ μου

וַיִּצְוֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-יִרְחֻמְאֵל בֶּן-הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת-שָׂרִיָּהוּ בֶן-עֲרִיָּאֵל 43(36):26  
וְאֶת-שְׁלֵמִיָּהוּ בֶן-עֲבְדָאֵל לְקַחַת אֶת-בְּרוֹךְ הַסֶּפֶר וְאֶת יִרְמְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא – καὶ  
ἐνετείλατο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Ἰερεμῇ υἱῷ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῷ Σαραϊᾷ υἱῷ  
Ἑσριηλ συλλαβεῖν τὸν Βαρουχ καὶ τὸν Ἰερεμῖαν

וַיְדַבֵּר עַל-כָּל-עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַבָּאִים לְהַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת בֵּית-יְהוָה אֵת 33(26):2  
אֱלֹהֵם לְדַבֵּר אֶשְׁר צִוִּיתִךָ לְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהֵם – καὶ χρηματιεῖς ἅπανσι τοῖς  
Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἐρχομένοις προσκυνεῖν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους,  
οὓς συνέταξά σοι αὐτοῖς χρηματίσαι

וַיְהִי כַכְּלוֹת יִרְמְיָהוּ לְדַבֵּר אֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה לְדַבֵּר 33(26):8  
אֵתוּ – καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰερεμίου παυσασμένου λαλοῦντος  
πάντα, ἃ συνέταξεν αὐτῷ κύριος λαλῆσαι παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ  
συνελάβοσαν αὐτὸν

In each example the inf. serves as the second object of the verb. The translator has reproduced the first object of the verb in each example, including 33(26):8 where the Hebrew text does not have an equivalent for αὐτῷ.

0+inf. is described as a natural equivalent of the Hebrew infinitive without a preposition by Soisalon-Soininen.<sup>260</sup> However, there are only five cases of this equivalence in Jer. Here are three examples:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶּהָ אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה הִנֵּה לֹא-יִדְעָתִי דָּבָר כִּי-נָעַר אֲנִכִּי 1:6  
”Ὡν δέσποτα κύριε, ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι λαλεῖν, ὅτι νεώτερος ἐγὼ εἰμι.

וַיֵּשׁ בְּרַעְיָהוּ יְהִתְּלוּ וְאָמַת לֹא יִדְּבָרוּ לְשׁוֹנָם דְּבַר-שֶׁקֶר הָעוּהָ 9:5(4)  
ἐκαστος κατὰ τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ καταπαίξεται, ἀλήθειαν οὐ μὴ

<sup>260</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 22.

λαλήσωσι· μεμάθηκεν ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν **λαλεῖν** ψευδῆ, ἡδίκησαν καὶ οὐ διέλιπον τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι

27(50):33 **בְּשִׁשִּׁיּוֹתָם וּבְיָהוּדָה וּבְיִשְׂרָאֵל** וּבְנֵי־יְהוּדָה יִחַדּוּ וְכָל־שְׂבִייהֶם הִחִיזוּקוּ בָּם  
**שְׁלֵשִׁי מֵאֲנֵי** – Καταδεδυνάστευνται υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ υἱοὶ Ἰουδα ἅμα,  
 πάντες οἱ αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες αὐτοὺς κατεδυνάστευσαν αὐτούς, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἠθέλησαν **ἐξαποστεῖλαι** αὐτούς

These infinitives function as objects of the verbs θέλω, μανθάνω, and ἐπίστημι,<sup>261</sup> represented in the three examples above. Each of these represents a semantic match for its Hebrew counterpart.

0+inf. as a direct object is used to render a few other Hebrew expressions. In two of these it renders a Hebrew prepositional phrase with an infinitive:

38:37(31:36) **אִם־יִמְשׁוּ הַחֲקִים הָאֵלֶּה מִלְּפָנַי נֹאֲמִי־יְהוָה גַּם יָרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל**  
**יִשְׁבְּתוּ מִהָיֹתָ גֹי לְפָנַי כָּל־הַיָּמִים** – Ἐὰν παύσωνται οἱ νόμοι οὗτοι ἀπὸ  
 προσώπου μου, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰσραὴλ παύσεται **γενέσθαι** ἔθνος  
 κατὰ πρόσωπόν μου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας

36(29):10 **כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה כִּי לִפִּי מְלֹאֶת לְבַבְּךָ שְׁבַעַיִם שָׁנָה אֶפְקֹד**  
**אֶתְּךָ** – ὅτι οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ὅταν μέλλῃ **πληροῦσθαι** Βαβυλῶνι  
 ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη, ἐπισκέψομαι ὑμᾶς

In 38:37(31:36), the Hebrew **מן**+inf. is rendered by the simple inf., an equivalent which functions suitably with the verb παύω.<sup>262</sup> The usual LXX equivalents of the preposition **מן** are the Greek prepositions ἀπό and ἐκ. When in conjunction with an infinitive, the rendering is often τοῦ μή+inf., even though the sense of **מן**+inf. would correspond to the non-negated form very well in certain cases.<sup>263</sup> The translator, however, has not followed the Hebrew rigorously at this point. In addition to the more natural Greek

<sup>261</sup> As objects of θέλω in 5:3, 9:6(5) and 27(50):33; as an object of μανθάνω in 9:5(4); and as an object of ἐπίστημι in 1:6.

<sup>262</sup> Though the verb παύω is generally followed by an accusative or a participle in classical Greek, its use with inf. is attested a few times.

<sup>263</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 100–101. For a discussion of the renderings of **מן** as part of the expression **מן מֵאֲנֵי** in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 5.9.

expression of the simple inf., he has rendered the plural verb יִשְׁבְּתוּ with the singular παύσεται, which is in agreement with the singular subject τὸ γένος.

In the second case, לִפְי מְלֵאָת in 36(29):10, the Greek inf. does not by itself represent the prepositional phrase. Rather, the translator has employed an auxiliary verb, μέλλω, to convey the meaning: μέλλω πληροῦσθαι. The use of the auxiliary verb coincidentally allows the translator to both preserve a close representation of the *Vorlage*, by rendering an inf. with an inf., and also by conforming to the requirements of the target language, since the auxiliary verb requires an infinitive as its object. Although Greek papyri generally attest the aorist inf. as the object of μέλλω, the present inf. is more common in the LXX.<sup>264</sup>

There are also a few instances in which 0+inf. renders a finite verb form, including a few cases in which a *hiph'il* verb form is rendered by a combination of a finite verb and an object infinitive.

35(28):15 שְׁמַע־נָא חֲנֻנָּה לֹא־שִׁלַּחְךָ יְהוָה וְאַתָּה הִבְטַחְתָּ אֶת־הָעַם הַזֶּה לֵעַל־שִׁקָּר – Οὐκ ἀπέσταλκέ σε κύριος, καὶ πεποιθέναι ἐποίησας τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ

39(32):23 כָּל־אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָהּ לָהֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת לֹא עָשׂוּ וַתִּקְרָא אֹתָם אֶת כָּל־הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת – ἅπαντα, ἃ ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐποίησαν· καὶ ἐποίησας συμβῆναι αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα

Jer 36(29):31 is semantically similar to 35(28):15 as it renders וַיִּבְטַח with the same words πεποιθέναι ἐποίησεν. The verb ποιέω is used as an auxiliary verb to represent the causative aspect of the *hiph'il* stem. According to Tov, auxiliary verbs are one of the four methods used in the LXX to render the causative aspect of *hif'il* verb forms.<sup>265</sup>

In some instances the translation represents a slightly different text than the MT. The translator has simply misread his text, or his *Vorlage* had a small variant:<sup>266</sup>

<sup>264</sup> Muraoka 2016, 273 esp. n. 5, 298 and 299 esp. n. 1.

<sup>265</sup> Tov 1999, 195–202. Soisalon-Soininen (1965, 135) notes such cases among his examples of free renderings.

<sup>266</sup> The case of 29(49):11 might also be included here, though it might rather be a case of orthography. The Greek infinitive κρυβῆναι *to hide* would seem to translate the Hebrew נִתְּבָא instead of the MT attested נִתְּבָה.



20:11 יִכְּלוּ וְלֹא יִכְּשְׁלוּ רִדְפֵי יְפִי כְּגִבּוֹר עָרִיץ עַל-כֵּן רִדְפֵי יְפִי יִכְּשְׁלוּ וְלֹא יִכְּלוּ – καὶ κύριος μετ’ ἐμοῦ καθὼς μαχητῆς ἰσχύων· διὰ τοῦτο ἐδίδωξαν καὶ νοῆσαι οὐκ ἠδύναντο

29(47):7 עֲדָה שָׁם הָיָה חֹהֵן וְאֶל-חֹהֵן וְאֶל-שָׂרֵי צִוְּהָהּ וַיְהִי וַיִּהְיֶה צִוְּהָהּ – πῶς ἡσυχάσει; καὶ κύριος ἐνετείλατο αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσκαλῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς παραθαλασσίους, ἐπὶ τὰς καταλοίπους, ἐπεγεροῦσθαι

In the first case, the verb νοέω translates the Hebrew verb כָּשַׁל 'to stumble'. The translation attests a metathesis of כ and ש, for a common equivalent of νοέω is the Hebrew verb שָׁכַל. A similar misreading has taken place in the second example as well. Ἐπεγείρω 'to awaken' is often the equivalent of the verb עוֹר, suggesting that the translator had this verb in mind rather than the MT attested יַעַד 'to meet' / 'to appoint.'

### Purpose Expressing Infinitives (Final Infinitives)

There are slightly more cases of 0+inf. that function as final inf. than those that function as direct objects. There are 47 in total.<sup>267</sup> 0+inf. is a natural way of expressing the final aspect of inf. in the Greek language and can be considered a verbatim equivalent of the Hebrew inf.<sup>268</sup> Nevertheless, τοῦ+inf. is a much more common manifestation of final inf. in the LXX. Final inf. generally express the purpose of movement. Thackeray suggests that some portions of the LXX admit a tendency to use 0+inf. of purpose (final) with verbs of motion.<sup>269</sup> This cannot be said to apply fully to Jer LXX, since most such cases are rendered by an articular inf.<sup>270</sup>

A majority of 0+inf. that express the purpose of other verbs (40 cases) render the Hebrew prepositional phrase לְ+inf.<sup>271</sup> Mostly they are used to express the purpose of the verb ἔρχομαι and its compound forms, verbs of sending, of giving and of doing:<sup>272</sup>

<sup>267</sup> Jer LXX 1:10 (5x); 11:13; 13:22; 15:21; 16:8; 21:9; 33:2, 12, 15, 21; 34:5; 35:14; 37:21; 38:28 (2x), 32; 39:8, 19, 24, 31, 32, 33, 39; 41:15, 18; 43:20, 21; 45:26; 47:10, 14; 48:12; 49:15, 17, 22; 50:2, 5; 51:3 (2x), 5, 7, 8 (2x) and 28.

<sup>268</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 49.

<sup>269</sup> Thackeray *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 24.

<sup>270</sup> Cf. below, sec. 4.2.4.

<sup>271</sup> Jer LXX 1:10 (5x); 11:13; 15:21; 16:8; 33:2, 12, 15; 34:5; 35:14; 37:21; 38:28 (2x), 32; 39:19, 24, 31, 32, 33, 39; 43:21; 45:26; 47:10, 14; 48:12; 49:15, 17, 22; 50:2, 5; 51:3 (2x), 5, 7, 8 (2x) and 28.

<sup>272</sup> The verbs of motion whose purpose these final anarthrous inf. express consist of ἔρχομαι Jer LXX

16:8 וְלִשְׁתּוֹת לֹאֲכַל אֹתָם לִשְׁבֹּת לֹא־תִבּוֹא וְבֵית־מִשְׁתָּה לֹא־תִבּוֹא – εἰς οἰκίαν πότου οὐκ εἰσελεύσῃ συγκαθίσαι μετ’ αὐτῶν τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν

33(26):2 וְדַבַּרְתָּ עַל־כָּל־עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַבָּאִים לְהַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת בֵּית־יְהוָה – καὶ χρηματιεῖς ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἐρχομένοις προσκυνεῖν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου

43(36):21 וַיִּשְׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־יְהוּדִי לְקַחַת אֶת־הַמִּגְלָה – καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἰουδιν λαβεῖν τὸ χαρτίον

51(44):7 לָמָּה אָתָּם עֲשִׂים רָעָה גְדוֹלָה אֶל־נַפְשֵׁיכֶם לְהַכְרִית לָכֶם – ἵνα τί ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε κακὰ μεγάλα ἐπὶ ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἐκκόψαι ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπον καὶ γυναῖκα, νήπιον καὶ θηλάζοντα ἐκ μέσου Ἰουδα

In each of these examples the translation can be seen to follow the Hebrew word order, and לִּ+inf. is rendered by a simple 0+inf. The use of τοῦ+inf. can also be observed in 16:8 (τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν) in the same context, suggesting that the translator had no qualms with switching the form of the inf.

Final 0+inf. expresses the purpose of a few other verbs as well,<sup>273</sup> but in a few cases it expresses the purpose of a nominal phrase:

39[32]:19 וַיִּנְיֹף פֶּקֶחַת עַל־כָּל־דֶּרֶכֶי בְנֵי אָדָם לִתֵּן לְאִישׁ כְּדֶרְכּוֹ – οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ

Though the Hebrew text contains the passive participle פֶּקֶחַת, the Greek provides no direct equivalent for it, apart from the hexaplaric and a few other witnesses which supply *ανεωγμενοι*.<sup>274</sup>

Not all cases are straightforward. There are several occasions in which the Hebrew and the Greek texts differ and do not exactly correspond in semantic terms:

33:2; εἰσέρχομαι 16:8, 49:15, 22; 50:2; 51:8; ἤκω 39:24; οἶχομαι 48:12; πορεύομαι 51:3; δίδωμι 34:5; 37:21; 39:39; ἀποστελλῶ 33:12, 15; 43:21; 47:14; ἀποστρέφω 45:26; 50:5; τίθημι 35:14; 49:17; ποιέω 39:32; 51:3, 7, 8 (all four are final resultative); and κλίνω "to incline" 51:5.

<sup>273</sup> Namely ἀκούω (39[32]:33), γρηγορέω (38[31]:21), εἶναι (39[32]:31), ἐπιλαμβάνω (38[31]:32), καθήμι (47[40]:10), καθίστημι (1:10 and 51[44]:28) and τάσσω (11:13).

<sup>274</sup> O–233 L' C'–239–613 46.

וְהִקְרַבְתִּיו וְנָגַשׁ אֵלַי כִּי מִי הוּא־זֶה עָרַב אֶת־לְבֹי לְגִשָּׁת אֵלַי 37(30):21  
 נֶאֱמַר־יְהוָה – καὶ συνάξω αὐτούς, καὶ ἀποστρέψουσιν πρὸς με· ὅτι τίς ἐστὶν  
 οὗτος, ὃς ἔδωκε τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἀποστρέψαι πρὸς με; φησὶ κύριος

The infinitive לְגִשָּׁת is rendered by ἀποστρέψαι, which is an unusual equivalent found elsewhere only earlier in this verse, where נָגַשׁ is translated by ἀποστρέψουσιν. The preceding verb ἔδωκε also does not semantically correspond to its Hebrew counterpart עָרַב, which might result from the translator's poor understanding of the passage, as עָרַב is quite rare in the Hebrew Bible.

There are also cases in which there is most likely a textual variant:

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִם־אַתֶּם שׂוֹם תִּשְׁמֹן פָּנֵיכֶם 49(42):15  
 שֶׁם לְבַא מִצָּרִים וּבְאַתֶּם לְגֹרֶשׁ – Οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ἐὰν ὑμεῖς δῶτε τὸ  
 πρόσωπον ὑμῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ εἰσέλθῃτε ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν  
 וַיִּקַּח יוֹחָנָן בֶּן־קָרַח וְכָל־שָׂרֵי הַחֵילִים אֶת כָּל־שְׂאֲרֵית יְהוּדָה 50(43):5  
 אֲשֶׁר־שָׁבוּ מִכָּל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר נָדְחוּ־שָׁם לְגֹרֶשׁ בְּאֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה – καὶ ἔλαβεν  
 Ἰωαννὰν καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆς δυνάμεως πάντας τοὺς καταλοίπους  
 Ἰουδα τοὺς ἀποστρέψαντας κατοικεῖν ἐν τῇ γῇ

In 49(42):15, there is a difference between the Hebrew verb לְבַא and the Greek participle εἰς. The hexaplaric witnesses add the verb εἰσέλθειν to accord with the Hebrew text. The loss of the verb may be caused by haplography in the LXX *Vorlage*.<sup>275</sup> Verse 50(43):5 attests a larger difference between the two texts. The Hebrew phrase אֲשֶׁר נָדְחוּ־שָׁם מִכָּל־הַגּוֹיִם lacks a counterpart in the LXX. Here again the hexaplaric witnesses supply an equivalent to the Hebrew,<sup>276</sup> strongly suggesting that it is a later addition.

As noted above, in the case of the final infinitives in verse 16:8, the translator has employed articular inf. in close conjunction to 0+inf. Such interchange between the two

<sup>275</sup> Another case of haplography with regard to the main verb of the final infinitive may be found in 11:13, where מְזַבְּחוֹת לְבִשָּׁת lacks an equivalent in the LXX. This most likely results from haplography between מְזַבְּחוֹת 1° and מְזַבְּחוֹת 2° in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, or from βωμους to the missing βωμους in the transmission of the Greek text.

<sup>276</sup> εκ παντων των (> 62) εθνων ου διεσπαρθησαν εκει O-233 L' Arm.

forms of the inf. can be seen elsewhere in Jer LXX as well. There are three passages that list a chain of inf. which describe YHWH's actions towards the judeans and the nations:

1:10 רָאָה הַפְּקִדְתִּי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַל־הַגּוֹיִם וְעַל־הַמַּמְלָכוֹת לַנְּתוּשׁ וְלַנְּתוּץ וְלַנְּטוּעַ וְלַנְּטוּץ וְלַהֲרוֹס לְבָנוֹת וְלַהֲאָבִיד – ἰδοὺ κατέστακά σε σήμερον ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλείας ἐκρίζουν καὶ κατασκάπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύειν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν

18:7 and 9 <sup>(9)</sup> ... וְלַהֲאָבִיד וְלַנְּטוּעַ וְלַנְּטוּץ וְלַנְּטוּעַ וְלַנְּטוּץ וְלַהֲרוֹס לְבָנוֹת וְלַהֲאָבִיד – <sup>(7)</sup> Πέρας λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἡ ἐπὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ ἐξῆραι αὐτούς καὶ τοῦ ἀπολλύειν ... <sup>(9)</sup> καὶ πέρας λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ καταφυτεύεσθαι

38(31):28 וְהָיָה בְּאִשְׁרֵי שְׁקִדְתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם לַנְּתוּשׁ וְלַנְּטוּעַ וְלַהֲרוֹס וְלַהֲאָבִיד וְנָאִם יְהוָה וְלַהֲרֹעַ בֶּן אֶשְׁקֹד עֲלֵיהֶם לְבָנוֹת וְלַנְּטוּעַ נָאִם יְהוָה – καὶ ἔσται ὥσπερ ἐγγρηγόρουν ἐπ' αὐτούς καθαιρεῖν καὶ κακοῦν, οὕτως γρηγορήσω ἐπ' αὐτούς τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν, φησὶ κύριος

The chains of final inf. express the purpose of different verbs: καθίστημι in 1:10, λαλέω in 18:7 and 9, and γρηγορέω in 38(31):28. In verse 1:10, 0+inf. is used for each inf., and in 18:7 and 9 the articular inf. is used for each inf. The last example 38(31):28, like 16:8 above, demonstrates the use of both forms of the inf. in the same verse. Both 0+inf. and the articular inf. express the purpose of the verb γρηγορέω, the only difference being the time reference of the verb. The articular inf. portray YHWH's intentions for the future, while 0+inf. refer to past action.

0+inf. as final is used seven times<sup>277</sup> to render other Hebrew forms besides ל+inf. These include finite verbs, an inf. without a preposition and an imperative:

21:9 הַיֵּשֶׁב בְּעִיר הַזֹּאת יָמוּת בְּחֶרֶב וּבְרָעַב וּבְדָבָר וְהַיֹּצֵא וְנָפַל עַל־הַכְּשָׁדִים הַיְּהוּ – ὁ καθήμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἀποθανεῖται ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ, καὶ ὁ ἐκπορευόμενος προσχωρήσαι πρὸς τοὺς Χαλδαίους τοὺς συγκεκλεικότας ὑμᾶς ζήσεται

<sup>277</sup> Jer 13:22; 21:9; 33(26):21; 41(34):15, 18 and 43(36):20.

41(34):15 וַתֵּשְׁבוּ אַתֶּם הַיּוֹם וַתַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַיֶּשֶׁר בְּעֵינֵי לִקְרֹא דְרוֹר אִישׁ לְרֵעֵהוּ – καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν σήμερον ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου τοῦ καλέσαι ἄφεςιν ἕκαστον τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ

33(26):21 וַיִּשְׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹיָקִים וְכָל־גִּבּוֹרָיו וְכָל־הַשָּׂרִים אֶת־דִּבְרָיו וַיִּבְרָךְ וַיִּבְרָךְ וַיִּבְרָךְ – καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰωακὶμ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες πάντας τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐζήτουν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, καὶ ἤκουσεν Ουρίας καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον

39(32):8 קָנָה נָא אֶת־תְּדִי אֲשֶׁר־בַּעֲנֹתַי אֲשֶׁר בְּאַרְץ בְּנִימִין כִּי־לִּי מִשְׁפָּט 8 – Κτῆσαι τὸν ἀγρόν μου τὸν ἐν γῇ Βενιαμιν τὸν ἐν Αναθωθ, ὅτι σοὶ κρίμα κτήσασθαι, καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος. καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι λόγος κυρίου ἐστὶ

The Greek word *προσχωρέω* 'to go over to' / 'to join,' in 21:9, is rare in the LXX, occurring elsewhere only three times. The word is employed in an appropriate context each time, however, and it always renders the same Hebrew verb and preposition combination **עַל נִפְלַע**.<sup>278</sup> The Greek text renders a Hebrew coordinate clause with a final inf. A similar case is also found in Jer 13:22 **נָגְלוּ שׁוּלֵיךְ נִחְמָסוּ עֲקֵבֶיךָ** – ἀνεκαλύφθη τὰ ὀπίσθιά σου **παραδειγματισθῆναι** τὰς πτέρνας σου. The second example above, 41(34):15, renders a finite verb with a final inf.<sup>279</sup>

In the third example (33[26]:21) the Greek infinitive expresses the purpose of the verb *ζητέω* rather than its object, even though the Hebrew clause presents the infinitive as the object of **בִּקֵּשׁ**. It seems that the translator has understood the phrase as “they sought to kill him” instead of “they sought his death.”<sup>280</sup> In the last example (39[32]:8), the Greek lacks an equivalent for the words **וּלִי הַגָּאֻלָּה הַיְרֵשָׁה**, although it attests the

<sup>278</sup> The three occurrences are found in 1 Chron 12:20 and 21, and 1 Macc 10:26. There is no extant Hebrew text for 1 Macc.

<sup>279</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 123 and 125.

<sup>280</sup> There is a disagreement between the witnesses regarding the subject and the form of the verb. The MT presents the subject as “the king” with a singular verb form, while the LXX presents the subject as the king and his rulers together with a plural verb form without repeating the subject in connection with the verb. The MT plus **הַמֶּלֶךְ** 2° was most likely lacking from the translator's *Vorlage*. Since the preceding statement mentioned both the king and his rulers, the translator must have assumed that they all were intended as the subject of the verb **וַיִּבְקֹשׁ**. The second occurrence of **הַמֶּלֶךְ** in the MT is probably a later addition to the text derived from the previous sentence.

phrase καὶ σὺ πρεσβύτερος, which does not have a clear equivalent in the MT. The infinitive κτήσασθαι most likely stands for the imperative קָנֵה, the equivalence of which is already attested at the beginning of the verse.

#### 4.2.1.3 Summary and Distribution of 0+inf. in Jer LXX

Anarthrous infinitives mostly occur as renderings of הָ+inf. (70x). These function as direct objects on 20 occasions and as final inf. on 40 occasions. As direct objects, 0+inf. is the more common rendering of הָ+inf., and τοῦ+inf. is only used 12 times. Final inf., however, are more often rendered by τοῦ+inf. (69x). The remaining 30 cases of Greek 0+inf. render a various mix of other Hebrew constructions, consisting mostly of finite verbs (16x) and independent infinitives (6x).

0+inf. as renderings of הָ+inf. that function as verbal objects are distributed quite evenly between Jer a' and Jer b'. Nine occur in Jer a' and eleven in Jer b'. In Jer a', 0+inf. predominantly complements θέλω and δύναμαι, which render מֵאֵל and יָכֹל respectively,<sup>281</sup> but also the similar verb of desire βούλομαι (13:10). The other two cases of 0+inf. complementing a verb in Jer a' are ἀγαπάω (14:10) and the bitransitive διδάσκω (12:16).

In Jer b', 0+inf. as a rendering of הָ+inf. complements λογίζομαι (בִּשְׁחָ) in 43(36):3, but it is mainly used to complement the same verbs of desire and ability as in Jer a', which are θέλω (38[31]:15 and 45[38]:21), βούλομαι (32:14[25:28] and 49[42]:22) and δύναμαι (43[36]:5 and 51[44]:22). Two verbs of commanding that render צוה, ἐντέλλομαι (43[36]:26) and συντάσσω (33[26]:2 and 8), and the verb ἄρχομαι (32:15[25:29]) are also complemented by the anarthrous infinitive.

Similar Hebrew expressions are rendered by τοῦ+inf. mainly in Jer a' (10 times) and only twice in Jer b' (33[26]:3 and 51[44]:14).<sup>282</sup> These include direct objects to the renderings of the Hebrew verbs מֵאֵל, יָכֹל, צוה and בִּשְׁחָ. The *Vorlage* of Jer b' contains the same expressions that are rendered by τοῦ+inf. in Jer a', and yet these are all

<sup>281</sup> There are two cases with θέλω (5:3 and 11:10) and four cases with δύναμαι (6:10; 11:11; 14:9 and 19:11).

<sup>282</sup> For a discussion of τοῦ+inf. as a rendering of infinitives functioning as direct objects, cf. sec. 4.2.2.2.

rendered by an 0+inf., save for the one case of **בִּשְׁבֹּעַ**+inf. in 33(26):3. This distribution between Jer a' and Jer b' creates the impression that the use of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. and 0+inf. as verbal objects become imbalanced as one moves from the beginning of the book toward its end. Whereas the two forms of inf. are used evenly in Jer a' to represent verbal objects, 0+inf. becomes the predominant equivalent in Jer b'.

	0+inf	$\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf	total cases
Jer a'	9	10	19
Jer b'	11	2	13

Table 2. The distribution of the anarthrous infinitive (0+inf.) and the genitive articular infinitive ( $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf) as renderings of  $\dot{\text{ל}}$ +inf. that function as direct objects.

Elsewhere in the LXX,  $\dot{\text{ל}}$ +inf. as a direct object is generally rendered by 0+inf., which corresponds to the Hebrew expression in meaning.<sup>283</sup> The translation character of Jer b' is more in line with that of the rest of the LXX than Jer a', which in turn employs  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. slightly more than 0+inf. to render these constructions.

As renderings of  $\dot{\text{ל}}$ +inf. that function as final inf., 0+inf. is used unevenly between the two halves of Jer LXX. In Jer a', this equivalence is found only eight times, five of which occur in the same verse, while in Jer b' it is used 32 times.<sup>284</sup>  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. is used in similar cases to a much larger extent in Jer a' (43 times), and considerably less in Jer b' (26 times).<sup>285</sup>

	0+inf.	$\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf.	total cases
Jer a'	8	43	51
Jer b'	32	26	58

Table 3. The distribution of the anarthrous infinitive (0+inf) and the genitive articular infinitive ( $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf) as renderings of  $\dot{\text{ל}}$ +inf. that function as purpose expressing infinitives.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>283</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 43.

<sup>284</sup> Jer a 1:10(5x); 11:13; 15:21(20) and 16:8; Jer b 33:2, 12, 15; 34:5; 35:14; 37:21; 38:28(2x), 32; 39:19, 24, 31-33, 39; 43:21; 45:26; 47:10, 14; 48:12; 49:15, 17, 22; 50:2, 5; 51:3, 3, 5, 7, 8(2x) and 28.

<sup>285</sup> For a discussion on the use of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. as a rendering of purpose expressing inf., cf. sec. 4.2.2.2.

<sup>286</sup> The expected value for each cell in a table is the product of the row sum multiplied by the column sum, the result of which is divided by the grand total (cf. sec. 3.6). The expected value for each form in each section differs from the actual value by ca. 10, i.e. the expected value of 0+inf. in Jer a is 18.7, and for Jer b it is 21.7. The expected value of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. in Jer a is 32.3, and in Jer b it is 36.7. The difference of 10

In Jer a', 0+inf. express the purpose of the verbs καθίστημι, τάσσω and εἰσέρχομαι, which are verbs of action and movement, and of the verb 'to be' (15:21[20]). In Jer b', 0+inf. express the purpose of verbs of movement, sending, giving and doing, which are renderings of the common Hebrew words: בא, בנה, הלך, יצא, נתן, עשה and שלח. These same expressions are rendered by τοῦ+inf. in Jer a'.

Soisalon-Soininen notes that the general picture in the LXX is that both of the equivalents 0+inf. and τοῦ+inf. may be used within the same book to render similar Hebrew expressions. The books of Judg and 2 Chron, for example, display a fairly even distribution between the two equivalents. However, a number of books greatly prefer to use one equivalent over the other. The books of the Pentateuch, together with Josh, 2. Esdr, Esther and Cant, prefer 0+inf., while Ezra, for example, prefers τοῦ+inf.<sup>287</sup> Jer a' can clearly be categorized as preferring the articular inf., while Jer b' is more even in its use of the two equivalents.

## 4.2.2. The Genitive Articular Infinitive (τοῦ+inf.)

### 4.2.2.1 Overview

The genitive articular infinitive (τοῦ+inf) occurs 115 times in Jer LXX.<sup>288</sup> A majority of these, 102 cases, render the Hebrew ל+inf.<sup>289</sup> This rendering encompasses the largest group out of all the renderings of ל+inf.<sup>290</sup> Τοῦ+inf. translates other Hebrew forms only occasionally,<sup>291</sup> these being the independent inf. and a few prepositional phrases involving inf.

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renders it very unlikely that the changed proportions of the equivalents was brought about by accident.

<sup>287</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 51–53.

<sup>288</sup> This figure does not include cases of τοῦ μή+inf. (14). These render the Hebrew form לבלתי, which is analysed separately below, sec. 5.7.

<sup>289</sup> Jer LXX 1:8, 12, 19; 2:7, 18(2x), 33, 36; 4:7, 22; 7:18, 30-31; 8:5; 9:21; 10:22; 11:5, 10, 17, 19; 12:16; 13:6, 10(2x), 11; 15:20; 16:5, 8(2x); 17:10, 27; 18:4, 6, 7(2x), 8, 9(2x), 10, 15-16, 20(2x); 19:5, 12, 14; 20:18; 22:17(2x); 23:27; 24:7; 25:6(2x); 26:10, 13(2x); 27:28; 28:11, 29-31, 62-63; 29:4; 32:4; 33:3-4, 24; 35:6; 36:10-11, 26; 38:28(2x); 39:35(2x), 41; 40:2, 5(2x); 41:8-10, 15, 17; 42:9, 13, 15; 43:8; 44:7, 12(2x); 47:5; 48:5, 17; 49:11(2x); 50:3(2x); 51:11 and 14(2x).

<sup>290</sup> Apart from לאמר, the expression ל+inf. occurs 243 times.

<sup>291</sup> Jer LXX 1:5(2x); 2:2, 33; 7:10; 9:6, 16; 13:16(2x); 25:17; 36:32; 38:19; 41:16 and 45:9.



#### 4.2.2.2 Uses of the Genitive Articular Infinitive and their Hebrew Vorlagen

##### Direct Object

Toû+inf. does not often render instances of ל+inf. when they function as direct objects (12x).<sup>292</sup> Most instances are singular cases within Jer LXX: οὐκ θέλω+inf. for יָמָא+inf., δύναιμαι+inf. for יָכַל+inf., and the bitransitive ἐντέλλομαι+inf. for צוה+inf., equivalences which are all translated more often as 0+inf.<sup>293</sup>

8:5 מִדּוּעַ שׁוֹבְבָה הָעַם הַזֶּה יְרוּשָׁלַם מְשָׁבָה נִצְחָת הַחַיִּיקוּ בִּתְרַמִּית מֵאֲנֹו  
לְשׁוֹב – διὰ τί ἀπέστρεψεν ὁ λαός μου ἀποστροφὴν ἀναιδῆ καὶ  
κατεκρατήθησαν ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν τοῦ  
ἐπιστρέψαι

18:6 הַכִּיּוֹצֵר הַזֶּה לֹא-אֵיכָל לְעִשׂוֹת לָכֶם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל נְאֻם-יְהוָה – Εἰ καθὼς ὁ  
κεραμεὺς οὗτος οὐ δυνήσομαι τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ

13:6 קוּם לְךָ פָּרְתָה וְקַח מִשָּׁם אֶת-הָאֲזֹור אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לְטָמְנוּ-שָׁם –  
Ἀνάστηθι βάδισον ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ λάβε ἐκεῖθεν τὸ περίζωμα, ὃ  
ἐνετειλάμην σοι τοῦ κατακρύψαι ἐκεῖ

The phrase שָׁב+inf., on the other hand, is rendered three times with τοῦ+inf. This equivalence can be found only once in Jer LXX as 0+inf., in 43(36):3. Here are two examples:

18:8 לֹא לְעִשׂוֹת אֲשֶׁר חֲשַׁבְתִּי עַל-הָרָעָה וְנִחַמְתִּי – καὶ μετανοήσω περὶ τῶν  
κακῶν, ὧν ἐλογισάμην τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς

23:27 הַחֲשָׁבִים לְהַשְׁכִּיחַ אֶת-עַמִּי שָׁמַי בְּחִלּוּמָתָם אֲשֶׁר יִסְפְּרוּ אִישׁ לְרָעָהוּ –  
τῶν λογιζομένων τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ὀνόματός μου ἐν τοῖς ἐνυπνίοις  
αὐτῶν, ἃ διηγοῦντο ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ

<sup>292</sup> Jer LXX Jer 8:5; 12:16; 13:6; 18:4, 6, 8, 10; 23:27; 28:30, 63; 33:3 and 51:14.

<sup>293</sup> For the anarthrous infinitive as a rendering of infinitival direct objects, cf. sec. 4.2.1.2.

In two cases, *τοῦ*+inf. can be found functioning as an ablative, i.e. genitive of separation:<sup>294</sup>

28(51):30 בְּלִלְחָם גְּבוּרֵי קָדְלוֹ גְּבוּרֵי – ἐξέλιπε μαχητῆς Βαβυλωνος τοῦ πολεμεῖν

28(51):63 וְהִיא כְּכֹלֶתָּ לְקָרָא אֶת־הַסֵּפֶר הַזֶּה תִּקְשֹׁר עָלָיו אֶבֶן וְהִשְׁלַכְתָּו אֶל־תְּהוֹמֹת פָּרָת – καὶ ἔσται ὅταν παύσῃ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπιδήσεις ἐπ’ αὐτὸ λίθον καὶ ῥίψεις αὐτὸ εἰς μέσον τοῦ Εὐφράτου

In 28(51):63, the inf. complements the verb παύω. Generally, in classical Greek, this verb is followed by a participle as is the case in Jer 33(26):8 וְיִהְיֶה כְּכֹלֹת יִרְמְיָהוּ לְדַבֵּר – καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰερεμίου παυσάμενου λαλοῦντος, even though the Hebrew employs an inf. This singular case displays the translator’s ability to produce proper Greek, as the inf. is far more common in such cases throughout the LXX.<sup>295</sup>

Only one occurrence of *τοῦ*+inf. as a direct object renders a Hebrew expression other than *ל*+inf. In Jer 2:2 the translator uses the *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction to render a Hebrew inf. without a preposition: וְכִרְתִּי לְךָ חֶסֶד וְעוֹרִי אֶחָדִי בְּמַדְבָּר בְּאַרְץ לֹא זֹרְעָה – Ἐμνήσθην ἐλέους νεότητός σου καὶ ἀγάπης τελειώσεώς σου τοῦ ἐξακολουθεῖσάί σε τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰσραηλ, λέγει κύριος.

## Purpose Expressing Infinitives

Final inf. comprise the largest group of inf. in Jer, both within the Hebrew text and the Greek text. Such is the case among the occurrences of *τοῦ*+inf. in Jer LXX as well. Out of the 102 instances of *ל*+inf. that are rendered by *τοῦ*+inf., 69 function as final infinitives.<sup>296</sup> As final inf., *τοῦ*+inf. does not render any other Hebrew construction in Jer LXX.

<sup>294</sup> Smyth 1920, 329; Muraoka 2016, 360.

<sup>295</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 38–39.

<sup>296</sup> Jer LXX 1:8, 12, 19; 2:7, 18(2x), 33, 36; 4:7; 7:18, 30-31; 9:21; 10:22; 11:10, 17, 19; 13:10(2x), 11; 15:20; 16:5, 8(2x); 17:10; 18:15-16, 20(2x); 19:5, 14; 20:18; 22:17(2x); 24:7; 25:6(2x); 26:10, 13; 27:28; 28:11, 29, 31; 29:4; 32:4; 33(26):24 with a negation; 36:11, 26; 38:28(2x); 39:35 1°, 41; 40:2, 5(2x); 41:8; 42:9, 15; 44:7, 12(2x); 48:5, 17; 49:11(2x); 50:3(2x); 51:11 and 14.

Final inf. most commonly express the purpose of verbs of movement. In Jer LXX, τοῦ+inf. expresses the purpose of the frequently occurring verbs πορεύομαι, ἔρχομαι and the compound forms εἰσέρχομαι and ἐξέρχομαι.<sup>297</sup> The following are a few examples:

25:6 לְהַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לְעַבְדֵּם אֲחֵרִים אֲלֵהִים אֲחֵרִים וְאַל־תֵּלְכוּ – μὴ πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω θεῶν ἄλλοτριῶν τοῦ δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς

20:18 יָמִי בְּשֵׁת יִכְלוּ וַיִּגְדְּלוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱמַרְתִּי מִרְחֹק וְהָלַמְתָּ – ἵνα τί τοῦτο ἐξῆλθον ἐκ μήτρας τοῦ βλέπειν κόπους καὶ πόνους, καὶ διετέλεσαν ἐν αἰσχύνη αἱ ἡμέραι μου

29(47):4 אֶת־לִפְלִפְלִי וְאֶת־לִבִּי הָבָה לְעַלְיָהֶם – ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐρχομένη τοῦ ἀπολέσαι πάντας τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους.

Apart from these cases, τοῦ+inf. occurs in relation to other verbs expressing movement from one place to another. These are ἄγω (11:19), βαδίζω (11:10), ἐπιβαίνω (18:15-16) and οἶχομαι 48(41):17.

In addition to verbs of movement, Jer LXX employs the final τοῦ+inf. after verbs of sending and giving.<sup>298</sup>

33(26):24 אֲחֵיקָם בֶּן־שָׁפָן הִתְּחַלְּתָּ אֶת־יְרֵמְיָהוּ לְבַלְתִּי תַתֵּאֲתוֹ בִּיד־הָעָם – τὴν χεῖρ Ἀχικαμ υἱοῦ Σαφαν ἣν μετὰ Ιερεμίου τοῦ μὴ παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν

19:14 וַיֵּבֶא יְרֵמְיָהוּ מִהַתְּפֹת אֶשְׂרָ שְׁלַחַת יְהוָה שָׁם לְהַנְבִּיאַ – καὶ ἦλθεν Ιερεμίας ἀπὸ τῆς Διαπτώσεως, οὗ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκεῖ τοῦ προφητεῦσαι

The first example, 33(26):24, is exceptional. The Hebrew inf. לְבַלְתִּי is rendered by its negation τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν in the LXX. The translator has extended the influence of the

<sup>297</sup> Τοῦ+inf. expresses the purpose of πορεύομαι in 13:10(2x), 16:5, 25:6(2x) and 42(35):15; the purpose of ἔρχομαι in 10:22, 26(46):13, and 29(47):4; the purpose of εἰσέρχομαι in 9:21 and 16:8(2x); and the purpose of ἐξέρχομαι in 4:7, 20:18 and 44(37):12(2x).

<sup>298</sup> Τοῦ+inf. expresses the purpose of δίδωμι in 33(26):24, 36(29):26 and 50(43):2(2x), and the purpose of ἀποστέλλω in 19:14 and 44(37):7.

negation of the previous inf. לְבַלְתִּי תַתּ to cover the second inf. as well, thus making it unambiguously clear that the actions of Ahikam not only prevent Jeremiah from being handed over to the mob, but also prevent his death. The extension of the negation לְבַלְתִּי to subsequent inf. seems to be a particular tendency of this translator.

Other types of action are also expressed together with τοῦ+inf. These mainly consist of the verbs οἰκοδομέω 'to build' and ποιέω 'to do',<sup>299</sup> but also other types of action, such as raising up (ἐξάνιστημι 28[51]:29), tearing down (καθαίρειω 40[33]:5) and running (διδάσκω 28[51]:31). Here are a few examples:

וַיְהִיָּה עֲבָאוֹת הַנוֹטֵעַ אוֹתָךְ דְּבַר עָלֶיךָ רָעָה בְּגִלְל רָעַת בֵּית־יִשְׁרָאֵל 11:17  
 וּבֵית יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לָהֶם לְהַכְעִסְנִי לְקַטֵּר לְבַעַל – και κύριος ὁ  
 καταφυτεύσας σε ἐλάλησεν ἐπὶ σέ κακὰ ἀντὶ τῆς κακίας οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ και  
 οἴκου Ἰουδα, ὅτι ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ παροργίσαι με ἐν τῷ θυμῶν αὐτοῦς  
 τῇ Βααλ

וַתִּרְעַשׂ הָאָרֶץ וַתַּחֲל בִּי קָמָה עַל־בָּבֶל מַחֲשָׁבוֹת יְהוָה לְשׁוֹם 28(51):29  
 אֶת־אָרֶץ בָּבֶל לְשִׁמָּה מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב – ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ και ἐπόνεσε, διότι  
 ἐξάνεστη ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα λογισμὸς κυρίου τοῦ θεῖναι τὴν γῆν Βαβυλῶνος  
 εἰς ἀφανισμόν και μὴ κατοικεῖσθαι αὐτήν

וַיְהִיָּה כְּאֲשֶׁר שָׁקַדְתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם לְנִתּוֹשׁ וּלְנִתּוֹץ וּלְהָרֵס וּלְהָאֲבִיד 38(31):28  
 וּלְהָרַע בֶּן אֲשָׁקֵד עֲלֵיהֶם לְבָנוֹת וּלְנוֹטֵעַ נָאִם־יְהוָה – και ἔσται ὥσπερ  
 ἐγρηγόρουν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καθαίρειν και κακοῦν, οὕτως γρηγορήσω ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῦς τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν και καταφυτεύειν, φησὶ κύριος

וְשִׁשְׁתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם לְהַטִּיב אוֹתָם 39(32):41 – και ἐπισκέψομαι αὐτοὺς τοῦ  
 ἀγαθῶσαι αὐτοῦς

The translation in 38(31):28 displays the translator's willingness to vary the way he renders inf.<sup>300</sup>

Toῦ+inf. functions to express the purpose of a stative phrase whose main verb is *to be*, particularly in several cases that express YHWH's intent to deliver and save:

<sup>299</sup> Toῦ+inf. expresses the purpose of οἰκοδομέω in 7:31, 19:5, 39(32):35, 42(35):9; and the purpose of ποιέω in 11:17 and 40(33):2.

<sup>300</sup> For further discussion on the renderings of inf. in Jer 38(31):28, cf. sec. 4.2.1.2.

1:8 – אֶל־תִּירָא מִפְּנֵיהֶם כִּי־אֲתָךְ אֲנִי לְהַצִּילָךְ נֹאֲם־יְהוָה – μή φοβηθῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαί σε, λέγει κύριος

49(42):11 אֶל־תִּירָאוּ מִפְּנֵי מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל אֲשֶׁר־אַתֶּם יֹרְאִים מִפְּנֵי אֶל־תִּירָאוּ – מִן מִמְּנוּ נֹאֲם־יְהוָה כִּי־אַתֶּם אֲנִי לְהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶתְכֶם וּלְהַצִּיל אֶתְכֶם מִיָּדוֹ – μή φοβηθῆτε ἀπὸ προσώπου βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος, οὗ ὑμεῖς φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· μή φοβηθῆτε, φησὶ κύριος, ὅτι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ εἰμι τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς καὶ σῶζειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ

22:17 כִּי אִין עֵינֶיךָ וְלִבְךָ כִּי אִם־עַל־בָּצָעָךְ וְעַל דָּם־הַנָּקִי לְשָׁפוֹךְ וְעַל־הַמְרוּצָה לְעִשׂוֹת – ἰδοὺ οὐκ εἰσιν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου οὐδὲ ἡ καρδιά σου ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς τὴν πλεονεξίαν σου καὶ εἰς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀθῶν τοῦ ἐκχεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς ἀδίκημα καὶ εἰς φόνον τοῦ ποιεῖν

In each case the Hebrew attests a nominal phrase אֶתְכֶם אֲנִי לְהַצִּילָךְ (1:8), אֶתְכֶם אֲנִי לְהוֹשִׁיעַ (49[42]:11), and אִין עֵינֶיךָ וְלִבְךָ כִּי אִם־עַל־בָּצָעָךְ וְעַל דָּם־הַנָּקִי לְשָׁפוֹךְ (22:17). The translator has produced the copula in the LXX to complete the sentences in Greek.

On the other hand, there are some Hebrew nominal phrases for which the translator has not supplied a copula, resulting in ellipsis:

2:18 וְעַתָּה מִהֲלָךְ לְדָרְךָ מִצָּרִים לְשָׁתוֹת מִי שְׁחֹר וּמִהֲלָךְ לְדָרְךָ אֲשׁוּר – καὶ νῦν τί σοι καὶ τῇ ὁδῷ Αἰγύπτου τοῦ πιεῖν ὕδωρ Γηων; καὶ τί σοι καὶ τῇ ὁδῷ Ἀσσυρίων τοῦ πιεῖν ὕδωρ ποταμῶν

28(51):11 – הָעִיר יְהוָה אֶת־רוּחַ מַלְכִּי מִדִּי כִי־עַל־בָּבֶל מְזַמְּתוֹ לְהַשְׁחִיתָהּ – ἡγεῖρε κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα βασιλέως Μήδων, ὅτι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἡ ὀργὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι αὐτήν

Example 2:18 contains discourse for which Greek generally allows elision of the copula.<sup>301</sup> The Greek text in 28(51):11 is a bit awkward. The inf. is situated as part of the subordinate ὅτι clause, and therefore interpreting it as expressing the purpose of the verb in the main clause is difficult.

The translator has twice slightly departed from the Hebrew to produce the Greek *accusativus cum infinitivo* constructions with τοῦ+inf.:

<sup>301</sup> Smyth 1920, 262.

2:7 וַאֲבִיָּא אֶתְכֶם אֶל־אֶרֶץ הַכְּרָמִל לֶאֱכֹל פְּרִיָּהּ וְטוֹבָהּ – και εἰσήγαγον ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸν Κάρμηλον τοῦ φαγεῖν ὑμᾶς τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῦ και τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῦ

24:7 וְיְהוָה אֱתִי כִי אֲנִי יְהוָה לִבְלִדְעַת לָהֶם – και δώσω αὐτοῖς καρδίαν τοῦ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς ἐμὲ ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος

In both cases the subject of the inf. is expressed in the main clause, either as a direct object (ὑμᾶς in 2:7) or as an indirect object (αὐτοῖς in 24:7). The Hebrew text does not repeat the subject of the inf., but the translator decided to do so in order to conform to proper Greek usage: τοῦ φαγεῖν ὑμᾶς τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῦ (2:7); τοῦ εἰδέναι αὐτοὺς ἐμὲ (24:7).

### Other Uses of the Genitive Articular Infinitive

A small group of τοῦ+inf. function as epexegetical inf. when rendering the Hebrew ל+inf. These are mainly found in the context of obedience to YHWH, qualifying the verb ἀκούω or one of its compound forms:

17:27 וְאַם־לֹא תִשְׁמְעוּ אֵלַי לְקֹדֶשׁ אֶת־יְיֹם הַשַּׁבָּת – και ἔσται ἐὰν μὴ εἰσακούσῃτέ μου τοῦ ἁγιάζειν τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν σαββάτων

41(34):17 לָכֵן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱתֶם לֹא־שִׁמְעֶתֶם אֵלַי לְקֹרֵא דְרֹר אִישׁ לְאַחִיו – διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἠκούσατέ μου τοῦ καλέσαι ἄφεςιν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ

Epexegetical inf. can also be found qualifying other words besides verbs. Here are a few cases in which they qualify noun phrases:

41(34):15 וַתָּשֻׁבוּ אַתֶּם הַיּוֹם וַתַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַיִּשָּׁר בְּעֵינֵי לְקֹרֵא דְרֹר אִישׁ – και ἐπέστρεψαν σήμερον ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου τοῦ καλέσαι ἄφεςιν ἕκαστον τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ

11:5 לְמַעַן הִקִּים אֶת־הַשְּׁבוּעָה אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְאַבְרָהָם לֵאמֹר לָהֶם אֶרֶץ זָבֶת – ὅπως στήσω τὸν ὄρκον μου, ὃν ὥμοσα τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, τοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα και μέλι

The example from 41(34):15, τοῦ καλέσαι, refers to the previous phrase τὸ εὐθὲς πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου, substantiating its meaning for the present context. Likewise τοῦ δοῦναι

in 11:5 serves to particularize the contents of the vow that is mentioned τὸν ὄρκον μου, δὲ ὥμοσα τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν.

Similarly, τοῦ+inf. qualifies adjectives and pronouns in Jer LXX when it renders the Hebrew ל+inf.:

4:22 בָּנִים סָכְלִים הָמָּה וְלֹא נְבוֹנִים הָמָּה חֲכָמִים הָמָּה לְהָרַע וּלְהִיטִיב לֹא יִדְעוּ – υἱοὶ ἄφρονές εἰσι καὶ οὐ συνετοί· σοφοί εἰσι τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι, τὸ δὲ καλῶς ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν

26(46):13 הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֶל־יְרֵמְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא לְבֹא נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל לְהָכֹת אֶת־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם – Ἄ ἐλάλησε κύριος ἐν χειρὶ Ιερεμίου τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα Βαβυλῶνος τοῦ κόψαι τὴν γῆν Αἰγύπτου

43(36):8 וַיַּעַשׂ בְּרוּךְ בֶּן־נְרִיָּה כָּל אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּהוּ יְרֵמְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא לִקְרֹא בְּסֵפֶר יְהוָה – καὶ ἐποίησε Βαρουχ κατὰ πάντα, ἃ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ Ιερεμίας τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ λόγους κυρίου ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου

Example 4:22 attests the inf. τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι qualifying the adjective σοφοί. The syntactic affinity between an adjective and a verb is on display in this verse as the following clause, τὸ δὲ καλῶς ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν, formulates a semantically similar phrase, although antithetical in content.<sup>302</sup>

The latter two examples exhibit the inf. as qualifying preceding relative pronouns, ἃ in both cases. Though both could be considered as the second object of the bitransitive verbs λαλέω and ἐντέλλομαι, Muraoka suggest that such cases are not genuine objects but rather appositional to the preceding relative pronouns.<sup>303</sup>

Τοῦ+inf. stands as the equivalent of a finite verb on four occasions:

36(29):32 לֹא־יְהִיָּה לוֹ אִישׁ יוֹשֵׁב בְּתוֹךְ־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְלֹא־יִרְאָה בְּטוֹב אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה־לְעַמִּי – καὶ οὐκ ἔσται αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθά, ἃ ἐγὼ ποιήσω ὑμῖν

41(34):16 וַתָּשָׁבוּ וַתַּחֲלֹלוּ אֶת־שְׁמִי וַתָּשָׁבוּ אִישׁ אֶת־עַבְדּוֹ וַאֲשֶׁר אֶת־שִׁפְתָּיו – καὶ ἐπεστρέψατε καὶ ἐβεβηλώσατε τὸ ὄνομά μου τοῦ

<sup>302</sup> Muraoka 2016, 343.

<sup>303</sup> Muraoka 2016, 581.

ἐπιστρέψαι ἕκαστον τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστον τὴν παιδίσκαην αὐτοῦ,  
οὕς ἐξαπεστείλατε

2:33 מִהִיטְבִי דְרַבָּךְ לְבַקֵּשׁ אֶהְבָּה לְכֹן גַּם אֶת־הָרַעוֹת לְמִדַּתִּי אֶת־דְּרַכֶּיךָ –  
τί ὅτι καλὸν ἐπιτηδεύσεις ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου τοῦ ζητῆσαι ἀγάπῃσιν; οὐχ  
οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ ἐπονηρεύσω τοῦ μιᾶναι τὰς ὁδούς σου

45(38):9 אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ הִרְעוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה אֶת כָּל־אִשְׁרָ עָשׂוּ לִי־מִיָּהוּ 9  
הַנְּבִיא אֶת אִשְׁרָ־הַשְּׁלִיכוֹ אֶל־הַבּוֹר וַיָּמָת תַּחְתּוֹ מִפְּנֵי הָרָעָב – Ἐπονηρεύσω  
ἃ ἐποίησας τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ λιμοῦ

The first two of these, 36(29):32 and 41(34):16, render coordinate clauses by using inf. In the first case it is a final inf., and in the second case it is an epexegetical inf. expressing the manner of desecration. The latter two verses, however, display fairly clear cases of distinction between the MT and the LXX, which most likely result from a different *Vorlage*. The equivalence in 2:33, τοῦ μιᾶναι for לְמִדַּתִּי, occurs only here in the LXX, and it is very doubtful that לְמִדַּתִּי or the *qere* reading לְמִדַּת represent what the translator was translating. Μιᾶίνω commonly translates the Hebrew verb נִמַּט in the LXX. Verse 45(38):9 is significant as it attempts to locate the blame for placing Jeremiah’s life in danger. In the MT it is clear that it is the fault of a third party of “men” who had placed Jeremiah in the pit, while the LXX lays the blame on king Zedekiah himself, who is addressed by Ebed-melech in the dialogue.<sup>304</sup> The difference is characterised by more than just qualitative differences. The MT expands details in the text to accommodate the change.

There are two cases in which the rendering τοῦ+inf. occurs in Jer LXX as a representation of the Hebrew 0+inf. The first is in Jer 2:2, where the inf. לְכַתֵּב is rendered by the *accusativus cum infinitivo* τοῦ ἐξακολουθεῖν σε.<sup>305</sup> The second case is in 9:5–6(4–5):

9:5–6(4–5) לְמַדּוּ לְשׁוֹנֵם דְּבַר־שָׁקָר הָעוֹה נָלֵא: (5) שְׁבַתִּי בְּתוֹךְ מְרֻמָּה 9  
הַנְּבִיא הָאֵלֶּה נִמַּט בְּמִרְמָה מֵאֲנֹו דְּעִתְּאֻתִּי נֶאֱמַר־יְהוָה  
ψευδῆ, ἡδίκησαν καὶ οὐ διέλιπον τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι. (5) τόκος ἐπὶ τόκῳ,  
δόλος ἐπὶ δόλῳ· οὐκ ἤθελον εἰδέναι με

<sup>304</sup> Tov 1999, 372.

<sup>305</sup> Cf. the quote above.



The MT and the LXX are in disagreement over how the consonantal text should be interpreted. The Greek ἡδίκησαν καὶ οὐ διέλιπον τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι τόκος ἐπὶ τόκῳ, δόλος ἐπὶ δόλῳ reflects the *Vorlage* במרמה בתך מרמה בך, <sup>306</sup> interpreting שבתך as two separate words instead of the MT שבתך. The LXX understands שׁב as an object inf. complementing the verb נָלֹא, and the rendering reflects the genitive of separation that accompanies the verb διαλείπω.

Likewise in 28(51):62, the infinitive expression לְהַכְרִיתוֹ / τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι αὐτὸν expresses the object of דָּבַרְתָּ / ἐλάλησας.

#### 4.2.2.3 Summary and Distribution of τοῦ+inf

Genitive articular infinitives are mainly used as equivalents of the expression לְ+inf. In this capacity, they function as final inf. in 69 occurrences and as direct objects in 12 occurrences. The remaining 21 cases consist of mostly expegetical uses and object clauses. Otherwise, τοῦ+inf. renders other Hebrew expressions only a few times, such as independent inf. (2x) and finite verbs (4x).

Τοῦ+inf. in the role of a direct object occurs only 13 times in Jer LXX, and it renders לְ+inf. twelve times and 0+inf. only once.<sup>307</sup> Hebrew inf. that form direct objects are more often rendered by 0+inf., which is the case in both Jer LXX and the LXX as a whole.<sup>308</sup> Jer a' uses τοῦ+inf. to render לְ+inf. ten times, and Jer b' uses it only twice:

	0+inf.	τοῦ+inf.	total cases
Jer a'	9	10	19
Jer b'	11	2	13

Table 2. The distribution of the anarthrous infinitive (0+inf) and the genitive articular infinitive (τοῦ+inf.) as a rendering of לְ+inf. that functions as direct objects.

Jer a' is exceptional in this case, since it uses the two equivalents quite equally to render לְ+inf. in the role of a direct object. As a whole, Jer a' renders infinitival objects more

<sup>306</sup> McKane 1986, 201.

<sup>307</sup> As a rendering of לְ+inf. Jer LXX Jer 8:5; 12:16; 13:6; 18:4, 6, 8, 10; 23:27; 28:30, 63; 33:3 and 51:14.; as a rendering of 0+inf. in Jer 2:2.

<sup>308</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 38.

often by means of 0+inf. (14 times out of 24),<sup>309</sup> so it seems that the preposition לְ might have instigated the use of the genitive article to render לְ+inf. in the remaining ten instances. In Jer b', every case of the Hebrew inf. as an object is manifested by לְ+inf., and only two out of 13 cases are rendered by τὸῦ+inf.

Τὸῦ+inf. is most often used as a rendering of purpose expressing inf. in Jer LXX, and as such they render only the Hebrew לְ+inf. The total number of these cases is 69.<sup>310</sup> These cases are distributed unevenly between Jer a' and Jer b':

	0+inf.	τὸῦ+inf.	total cases
Jer a'	8	43	51
Jer b'	32	26	58

Table 3. The distribution of the anarthrous infinitive (0+inf) and the genitive articular infinitive (τὸῦ+inf) as a rendering of לְ+inf. that function as purpose expressing infinitives.<sup>311</sup>

לְ+inf. expressing purpose is generally rendered by τὸῦ+inf. in Jer a' (43 out of 51 cases<sup>312</sup>), where the anarthrous infinitive is used only 8 times. Furthermore, five cases of 0+inf. occur in a single verse (1:10), so that Jer a' attests this equivalence in only 4 verses (1:10, 11:13, 15:21[20]<sup>313</sup> and 16:8).<sup>314</sup> In Jer b', the anarthrous infinitive is used slightly more often than τὸῦ+inf. (by a ratio of 32 : 26). This constitutes a significant change between the two sections, as the Hebrew expression is used to a nearly equal extent in both halves.

<sup>309</sup> Jer LXX 1:6; 5:3(2x); 6:10; 9:5-6; 11:10-11; 12:16; 13:10; 14:9-10; 19:11 and 27:33. Cf. discussion on these cases in sec. 4.2.1.2. Nine of these render לְ+inf. (cf. Table 7) and the other five cases render the Hebrew 0+inf.

<sup>310</sup> For references, cf. note 296.

<sup>311</sup> For calculations on the expected values of the occurrence of each form in each section of Jer LXX, cf. n. 286.

<sup>312</sup> Jer LXX 1:8, 12, 19; 2:7, 18(2x), 33, 36; 4:7; 7:18, 30-31; 9:21; 10:22; 11:10, 17, 19; 13:10(2x), 11; 15:20; 16:5, 8(2x); 17:10; 18:15-16, 20(2x); 19:5, 14; 20:18; 22:17(2x); 24:7; 25:6(2x); 26:10, 13; 27:28; 28:11, 29 and 31.

<sup>313</sup> The *Vorlage* of the Greek καὶ ἐξαίρεσθαι σε at the beginning of Jer LXX 15:21 is located at the end of Jer MT 15:20 וְהַצִּילָהּ.

<sup>314</sup> For a discussion on the use of 0+inf. as renderings of final inf., cf. sec. 4.2.1.2.

In Jer a', the  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. is used in connection with verbs of action and movement and with verbs of giving and sending. The Hebrew equivalents of these verbs are common: **בא**, **בנה**, **הלך**, **יצא**, **נתן**, **עשה** and **שלח**. The translator of Jer a' clearly preferred to use  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. when rendering final inf. with the preposition **לְ**, but he used 0+inf. on rare occasions to express the purpose of verbs of action and movement. As the translator seems to aim towards isomorphism,<sup>315</sup> it may be assumed that the article is used as a formal equivalent for the Hebrew preposition.

In Jer b', the preferred rendering shifts to 0+inf., but not exclusively. 0+inf. renders final **לְ**+inf. in 32 cases, and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. renders it in 26 cases.<sup>316</sup> The articular infinitives in Jer b' are used to render the same expressions as in Jer a', that is verbs of movement, verbs of action, and verbs of giving and sending. The Hebrew counterparts are the exact same verbs: **בא**, **בנה**, **הלך**, **יצא**, **נתן**, **עשה** and **שלח**. This gives a slight impression of continuity between the two halves. However, the anarthrous infinitive is used in similar cases, rendering infinitives that express the purpose of the same verbs of movement, action, giving and sending. Some differences can be observed, but such cases are only few in number.

### 4.2.3. Exceptional Renderings of Infinitives

#### 4.2.3.1 Overview

A number of cases, **לְ**+inf. and 0+inf. are rendered by other means than  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. or the Greek 0+inf. These include relative and co-ordinate clauses in which the inf. is rendered by a finite verb, participles, nouns and other inf., such as nominative and accusative articular inf. These are to be considered exceptional renderings, but they only amount to ca. 50 cases. Some of these, especially independent inf. rendered by nouns, might be the result of a different interpretation of the form of the words.<sup>317</sup>

<sup>315</sup> For discussion on isomorphism as a characteristic trait of the translation of Jer LXX, cf. Pietersma and Saunders 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ieremias-excursus.pdf> (2.3.2018); and A. Shead 2015, 472.

<sup>316</sup> 0+inf. in Jer LXX 33:2, 12, 15; 34:5; 35:14; 37:21; 38:28(2x), 32; 39:19, 24, 31-33, 39; 43:21; 45:26; 47:10, 14; 48:12; 49:15, 17, 22; 50:2, 5; 51:3(2x), 5, 7, 8(2x) and 28;  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. in Jer LXX 29:4; 32:4; 33:24 with a negation; 36:11, 26; 38:28(2x); 39:35, 41; 40:2, 5(2x); 41:8; 42:9, 15; 44:7, 12(2x); 48:5, 17; 49:11(2x); 50:3(2x); 51:11 and 14.

<sup>317</sup> For a discussion of such cases, cf. sec. 7.3.

#### 4.2.3.2 The Renderings

In a number of instances Hebrew inf. are rendered by finite verbs. These are generally considered to be free renderings<sup>318</sup> since they do not adhere to the strict form of the Hebrew syntax. Eight of these render the Hebrew ל+inf, and thirteen render 0+inf.<sup>319</sup>

Among the renderings that are considered to be free are cases in which the inf. is represented by relative clauses, co-ordinate clauses, and special cases.

7:22 כִּי לֹא־דִבַּרְתִּי אֶת־אֲבוֹתֶיכֶם וְלֹא צִוִּיתִים בְּיוֹם הַוִּיצֵא אוֹתָם מִמִּצְרָיִם – ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάλησα πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐνετειλάμην αὐτοῖς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἄνῃγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου

41(34):13 אֲנֹכִי כְרַתִּי כְרִית אֶת־אֲבוֹתֶיכֶם בְּיוֹם הַוִּיצֵא אוֹתָם מִמִּצְרָיִם – Ἐγὼ διεθέμην διαθήκην πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἐξειλάμην αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας

2:13 כִּי־שָׁפַתִּים רַעוּת עָשָׂה עָמִי אֶתִּי עֲזָבוּ מְקוֹר מַיִם חַיִּים לְחֻצַּב לָהֶם בְּאֵרוֹת – ὅτι δύο καὶ πονηρὰ ἐποίησεν ὁ λαός μου· ἐμὲ ἐγκατέλιπον, πηγὴν ὕδατος ζωῆς, καὶ ὥρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκκους συντετριμμένους

51(44):19 וְכִי־אֲנַחְנוּ מִקְטָרִים לְמַלְכֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְלַהֲסֵד לָהּ נִסְכִּים – καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐθυμιῶμεν τῇ βασιλίᾳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐσπείσαμεν αὐτῇ σπονδάς

1:12 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלֵי הִטְבַּת לְרֵאוֹת כִּי־שָׁקַד אֲנִי עַל־דְּבָרִי לַעֲשׂוֹת – καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς με Καλῶς ἑώρακας, διότι ἐγρήγορα ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους μου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς

38(31):12 וּבָאוּ וְרָגְנוּ בְּמְרוֹם־צִיּוֹן וְנִהְרֹוּ אֶל־טוֹב יְהוָה עַל־דָּגְן וְעַל־תִּירֵשׁ – וְעַל־יִצְהָר וְעַל־בְּנִי־צֶאֱן וּבָקָר וְהִיתָה נַפְשָׁם כְּגֶן רֶוָה וְלֹא־יִוָּסִיפוּ לְדָאֲבָה עוֹד – καὶ ἥξουσιν καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιών· καὶ ἥξουσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθὰ κυρίου, ἐπὶ γῆν σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ καρπῶν καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ προβάτων, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ξύλον ἑγκαρπον, καὶ οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι

<sup>318</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 22–23 and 44–46.

<sup>319</sup> ל+inf. in Jer LXX 1:12; 2:13; 16:12; 29:4; 38:2, 12; 46:14 and 51:19; 0+inf. in Jer LXX 3:3; 6:11; 7:22; 10:23; 11:4, 14–15; 13:16; 15:6, 15, 18; 28:16 and 41:13.

Renderings of the inf. הוֹצֵאִי in 7:22 (*Qere* reading) and 41(34):13 consist of a relative pronoun with a finite verb. Similar equivalents are in 11:4 and 14. Each of these cases renders the Hebrew inf. as part of a construct chain with either בְּיוֹם or בְּעֵת preceding the inf. A similar Hebrew construction is used only once elsewhere in Jer (38[31]:32), and it is rendered by a patriciple.<sup>320</sup>

A few cases of לְ+inf. are rendered by co-ordinate clauses, as in examples 2:13 and 51(44):19. Jer 2:13 mentions two evil deeds that are described by verbs, and the translator opted to render the inf. with a finite verb to pair it with the first descriptive verb ἐγκατέλιπον. In Jer 51(44):19 the inf. לְהִסָּדֵף is independent and functions as the predicate.<sup>321</sup> The Greek finite verb captures the meaning well. Similar cases are in 29(47):4 and 46(39):14.

Other exceptional renderings of inf. in Jer LXX include 1:12, where the inf. object לְרִאיוֹת is translated as the main verb ἐόρακας, while the main verb הִיטִבְתָּ is rendered by the adverb καλῶς.<sup>322</sup> Jer 38(31):12 represents one of the few cases in which one Greek word stands for a Hebrew verb and its inf. object. Such constructions with the verb יָסָה are generally rendered with προστίθεναι in Greek, but this case is exceptional, possibly due to the use of the particle ἔτι, which already conveys the notion of repetition or addition that would be conveyed by προστίθεναι.<sup>323</sup> Another example of one Greek word representing a Hebrew finite verb and an inf. is in Jer 16:12 where הִרְעַתְּם לַעֲשׂוֹת is rendered by ἐπονηρεύσασθε.<sup>324</sup>

Also, it is highly possible that a number of infinitives have simply been misinterpreted by the translator, or that he has had a slightly different *Vorlage*. This applies to the following example:

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<sup>320</sup> Cf. below.

<sup>321</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 32.

<sup>322</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 46.

<sup>323</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 44.

<sup>324</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 46.

38(31):2 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה מִצָּא חַן בְּמִדְבָּר עִם שְׂרִידֵי חֶרֶב הָלוֹךְ לְהַרְגִיעוֹ  
 יִשְׁרָאֵל – οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ἐὖρον θερμὸν ἐν ἐρήμῳ μετὰ ὀλωλότων ἐν  
 μαχαίρα· βαδίσατε καὶ μὴ ὀλέσητε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ

The sense of 38(31):2 is different in the two texts. In the MT Israel is said to seek rest  
 הָלוֹךְ לְהַרְגִיעוֹ, but the LXX understands the inf. as consisting of the negation **לֹא** and  
 the verb הרג “to kill:” βαδίσατε καὶ μὴ ὀλέσητε.

In addition to finite verbs, some inf. have been rendered by other exceptional  
 equivalents as well. These include participles, nouns and prepositional phrases.  
 Participles occur over half-a-dozen times as renderings of **לִּ**+inf, and each case is  
 located in Jer b’. 0+inf. is translated by a participle twice.

33(26):8 וַיְהִי כְּכִלּוֹת יִרְמְיָהוּ לְדַבֵּר אֶת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה לְדַבֵּר  
 – καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰερεμίου παυσαμένου λαλοῦντος πάντα, ἃ  
 συνέταξεν αὐτῷ κύριος λαλῆσαι παντὶ τῷ λαῷ

48(41):4 וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי לְהַמִּית אֶת-גִּדְלִיָּהוּ וְאִישׁ לֹא יָדַע – καὶ ἐγένετο τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πατάξαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν Γοδολιάν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ  
 ἔγνω

51(44):18 וּמִן-אֲזַחְדִּלְנוּ לְקַטֵּר לְמַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהַשָּׁמַיִם לֵה נְסָכִים חֲסִרְנוּ כָּל  
 – καὶ ὥς διελίσπομεν θυμιῶντες τῇ βασιλίᾳ τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ, ἡλαττώθημεν πάντες καὶ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ ἐξελίπομεν.

51(44):14 וְלֹא יָהִיה פְּלִיט וְשָׂרִיד לְשֹׂאֲרֵית יְהוּדָה הַבָּאִים לְגֹר-שָׁם בְּאַרְץ  
 – καὶ οὐκ ἔσται σεσωσμένος οὐθεις τῶν  
 ἐπιλοίπων Ἰουδα τῶν παροικούντων ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι εἰς  
 γῆν Ἰουδα

The infinitives לְדַבֵּר in 33(26):8 and לְהַמִּית in 48(41):4 are rendered by the genitive  
 participles λαλοῦντος and πατάξαντος respectively. In both cases the translator uses a  
*genetivus absolutus* to render the temporal expression with וַיְהִי.<sup>325</sup> A similar temporal  
 construction בַּיּוֹם הַחֲזִיקִי בִידֶם is likewise rendered by *genetivus absolutus* in  
 38(31):32: ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν. Objects of the verb παύω

<sup>325</sup> For the *gen. abs.* in 48(41):4, cf. Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 33. For a more in-depth discussion of the use  
 of the *gen. abs.* in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 4.4.3.

(33[26]:8), as a verb of separation, are often rendered as participles instead of infinitives in the LXX, though infinitives occur often as well.<sup>326</sup> The translator has employed this construction elsewhere as well in rendering **וַיְהִי כְּבָלוֹת יִרְמְיָהוּ לַדָּבָר** with *καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς ἐπαύσατο Ἰερεμίας λέγων* in 50(43):1.

In 51(44):18, the verb **לִקְטֹר** is rendered by the participle *θυμιῶντες*. Both words function as objects to the preceding verbs **וַיִּדְּלוּ** / *διελίπομεν* 'to cease.' Objects of the Greek verb *διαλείπω* are often expressed by a participle in Greek literature, suggesting that here the translator is following Greek idiom.<sup>327</sup> The inf. in the phrase **וְשָׂאֲרִית יְהוּדָה** **לְגֹר־שָׂם הַבָּאִים** (51[44]:14) is translated by an attributive participle modifying the equivalent of the noun **וְשָׂאֲרִית**: *τῶν ἐπιλοιπῶν Ἰουδα τῶν παροικούντων*, though it is possible that the translator uses *παροικούντων* as an equivalent of the two words **הַבָּאִים לְגֹר**, since the latter lacks a formal equivalent in the Greek.

Nouns are the equivalents of inf. on a number of occasions in Jer LXX, especially nouns as a part of prepositional phrases. Nouns that are not used in prepositional phrases are not so common as renderings of inf., and often they are the result of the translator's error in mistaking an infinitive for a noun:

29:22(49:21) **מִקּוֹל נִפְלִם רַעְשָׁה הָאָרֶץ צַעֲקָה בְּיָסוֹף נִשְׁמַע קוֹלָהּ** – *ὅτι ἀπὸ φωνῆς πτώσεως αὐτῶν ἐφοβήθη ἡ γῆ, καὶ κραυγῇ ἐν θαλάσῃ Σουφ ἠκούσθη.*

38(31):20 **הָבֵן יָקִיר לִי אֶפְרַיִם אִם יֶלֶד שְׁשָׁעִים כִּי־מֵדִי דְבָרִי בּוֹ זָכַר אֶזְכָּרְנֹו** **עוֹד** – *υἱὸς ἀγαπητὸς Ἐφραιμ ἐμοί, παιδίον ἐντρυφῶν, ὅτι ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ λόγοι μου ἐν αὐτῷ, μνεία μνησθήσομαι αὐτοῦ*

In 29:22(49:21) the translator has understood **צַעֲקָה** as a noun and rendered it accordingly.<sup>328</sup> Likewise in 38(31):20, **דְּבָרִי** has been interpreted as a plural noun with a pronominal suffix "my words."

<sup>326</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 39.

<sup>327</sup> Cf. also the example 9:5–6(4–5) above, p. 99.

<sup>328</sup> HALOT s.v. **צַעַק** regards **צַעֲקָה** as an infinitive based on Bauer and Leander (1918) 354e and 354g.

A separate group among the inf. rendered by nouns is formed by inf. cs. that are translated by attributive genitives.

52:4 וַיְהִי בַשָּׁנָה הַתְּשָׁעִית לְמָלְכוֹ בַּחֹדֶשׁ הָעֲשִׂירִי בַּעֲשׂוֹר לַחֹדֶשׁ – και ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν μηνὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς

8:7 גַּם־הַיְּדִידָה בַּשָּׁמַיִם יָדְעָה מוֹעֲדֶיהָ וְתָר וְסוֹס וְעִגּוֹר שָׁמְרוּ אֶת־עַתַּת בִּאָּנָה – και ἡ ἀσιδα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔγνω τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῆς, τρυγῶν και χελιδῶν, ἀγοῦρ [στρουθία] ἐφύλαξαν καιροὺς εἰσόδων αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ λαὸς μου οὐκ ἔγνω τὰ κρίματα κυρίου

The preposition לְ in the inf. construction לְמָלְכוֹ in 52:4 expresses possession “(in the year) of his reign.” Accordingly, this is rendered by a noun in the genitive case τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.<sup>329</sup> The inf. בִּאָּנָה in 8:7 is part of a construct chain עַתַּת בִּאָּנָה “the time of its coming,” and is also rendered by a genitive noun καιροὺς εἰσόδων αὐτῶν. Inf. as part of construct chains are not always rendered by genitives, as the infinitive in the expression לְמַדִּי הָרַע is translated by an accusative object μεμαθηκότες τὰ κακά in 13:23, which possibly reflects an interpretation of הָרַע as a noun instead of an inf.

In most cases of nouns that render Hebrew inf., the nouns are part of prepositional phrases. In the LXX as a whole, εἰς is the common equivalent of the Hebrew preposition לְ. In this vein, most of these prepositional phrases consist of the preposition εἰς+noun, and all of them render the Hebrew לְ+inf.

15:3 וַפָּקְדֹתַי עֲלֵיהֶם אַרְבַּע מִשְׁפָּחוֹת נְאֻם־יְהוָה אֶת־הַחֶרֶב לְהָרֹג – και ἐκδικήσω ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τέσσαρα εἶδη, λέγει κύριος, τὴν μάχαιραν εἰς σφαγὴν και τοὺς κύνας εἰς διασπασμὸν και τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς και τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς βρώσιν και εἰς διαφθοράν

14:8 לְמָה תְּהִיָּה כְּגַר בְּאַרְץ וּכְאַרְץ נָטָה לְלוֹן – ἵνα τί ἐγενήθης ὥσει πάροικος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς και ὥς αὐτόχθων ἐκκλίνων εἰς κατάλυμα

<sup>329</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 33. Similarly Jer 28(51):59.



32:20(25:34) הִלְלוּ הָרָעִים וְהַתְּפִלָּה אֲדִירִי הַצֶּאֱן כִּי־מָלְאוּ יְמֵיכֶם – ἀλαλάξατε, ποιμένες, καὶ κεκράξατε· καὶ κόπτεσθε, οἱ κριοὶ τῶν προβάτων· ὅτι ἐπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ὑμῶν εἰς σφαγὴν

29:9(49:8) // 30:8(49:30) הָעֶמִיקוּ לְשֹׁבֶת – βαθύνετε εἰς κάθισιν

11:17 וַיְהִי הַצָּבֹאוֹת הַנוֹטֵעַ אוֹתָךְ דָּבָר עָלֶיךָ רָעָה בְּגִלְל רַעַת בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְבִית יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לָהֶם לְהַכְעִסֵנִי לְקַטֹּר לְבַעַל – καὶ κύριος ὁ καταφυτεύσας σε ἐλάλησεν ἐπὶ σὲ κακὰ ἀντὶ τῆς κακίας οἴκου Ισραηλ καὶ οἴκου Ιουδα, ὅτι ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ παροργίσει με ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ τῇ Βααλ

Jer 15:3 contains a chain of inf. with the preposition לְ, and each is rendered by εἰς+noun. In this verse, the Greek prepositional phrase retains the expression of purpose that is evident in the use of the Hebrew inf. In Jer 14:8, however, εἰς+noun is directional in meaning rather than final, as is the Hebrew inf. in this case as well. Εἰς+noun in 32:20(25:34) reflects yet another use of לְ+inf, that is, לְ+inf. expressing possession “the days of slaughter.”<sup>330</sup> The object inf. in the expression הָעֶמִיקוּ לְשֹׁבֶת in both 29:9(49:8) and 30:8(49:30) is rendered by εἰς+noun.<sup>331</sup> Jer 11:17 and 1:2 (ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ for לְמַלְכוֹ) comprise the few cases where לְ+inf. is rendered by a prepositional phrase other than εἰς+noun, though here θυμῷ is an inf.<sup>332</sup>

Finally, there are a few instances in which a Hebrew inf. is rendered by a Greek inf, but the Greek inf. is neither 0+inf. nor τοῦ+inf.. These are considered to be exceptional renderings as well.

2:16b(17a) אֶת־יְהוָה עֲזַבְךָ תַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ הָלוֹא־זֹאת תַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ – οὐχὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησέ σοι τὸ καταλιπεῖν σε ἐμέ

2:19 אֶת־יְהוָה עֲזַבְךָ וְרָאִי כִידֶךָ וְרָאִי כִידֶךָ – καὶ γινῶθι καὶ ἴδε ὅτι πικρόν σοι τὸ καταλιπεῖν σε ἐμέ

<sup>330</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 33.

<sup>331</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 46.

<sup>332</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 33 and 66.

4:22 כִּי אֲוִיל עַמִּי אוֹתִי לֹא יֵדְעוּ בָנִים סִכְלִים הִמָּה וְלֹא גְבוּרִים הִמָּה חֲכָמִים  
 יֵדְעוּ הִמָּה לְהִרְעֹ וּלְהִיטִיב לֹא יֵדְעוּ – διότι οἱ ἡγούμενοι τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐμὲ οὐκ  
 ᾔδεισαν, υἱοὶ ἄφρονές εἰσι καὶ οὐ συνετοί· σοφοὶ εἰσι τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι, τὸ  
 δὲ καλῶς ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν

32:14(25:28) וְהָיָה כִּי יִמָּאֲנוּ לְקַחַת־הַכֹּס מִיָּדְךָ לְשִׁתּוֹת וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם כֹּה  
 אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת שְׁתּוֹ תִּשְׁתּוּ – καὶ ἔσται ὅταν μὴ βούλωνται δέξασθαι τὸ  
 ποτήριον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου ὥστε πιεῖν, καὶ ἐρεῖς Οὕτως εἶπε κύριος  
 Πιόντες πίεσθε

Both Jer 2:16b(17a) and 19 render the infinitive עֲזֹבָהּ with the nominative articular inf. τὸ καταλιπεῖν.<sup>333</sup> The infinitive וּלְהִיטִיב in Jer 4:22, on the other hand, is rendered by an accusative articular inf. τὸ δὲ καλῶς ποιῆσαι.<sup>334</sup> As a natural Greek rendering of the purpose expressing inf., ὥστε+inf. occurs only once in Jer LXX, in 32:14(25:28).<sup>335</sup>

In other instances of the Hebrew inf. whose equivalent is very exceptional, it is clear that the translator either understood the text in a different manner from the MT, or that he had a different *Vorlage*.

#### 4.2.3.3 Summary and Distribution of the Exceptional Renderings

Finite verbs and nouns form the largest groups among the exceptional renderings of inf. in Jer LXX. With regards to the finite verbs, it is not always clear whether the translator has understood that he is rendering an inf., or whether he has understood the word to be a finite verb, in which case he might also be using a different *Vorlage*. Such is the case especially when the inf. occurs without any prepositions. Most such cases occur in sections of poetry in Jer a', and most likely have been caused by the translator's poor understanding of the Hebrew text.<sup>336</sup>

Co-ordinate clauses render inf. four times, one of which is located in Jer a' (2:13) and three in Jer b' (29[47]:4; 46[39]:14 and 51[44]:19). The reason for separating an inf.

<sup>333</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 21.

<sup>334</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 41.

<sup>335</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 54.

<sup>336</sup> Possible cases of the translator's different interpretation of the inf. which I have identified: Jer LXX 3:3; 6:11; 11:15; 13:16; 15:6, 15, 18; 28:16 and 38:2.

from its main verb might simply be practical. A possible reason in 2:13<sup>337</sup> might also be the two vices mentioned at the beginning of the verse, which the Hebrew describes with a finite verb (עזבו) and an infinitive (לחצב). The translator wanted to delineate between the two vices in clearer terms by rendering the inf. with a finitive verb, thus creating a co-ordinate clause to represent the second vice.

Relative clauses render inf. four times, three of which are in Jer a' (7:22; 11:4 and 14) and one in Jer b' (41[34]:13). Each of these renders the Hebrew inf. as part of a construct chain with either ביום or בעת. Finite verbs are used to render three cases in which the Hebrew inf. is paired with a *hiph'il* verb: 1:12, 16:12 and 38(31):12. In each of these cases the translator has produced an exceptional rendering, either by translating the two Hebrew words with one Greek equivalent (16:12 and 38:12) or by using a finite verb with an adverb (1:12).

Nouns that render inf. are also possible misinterpretations of the Hebrew on the part of the translator.<sup>338</sup> A few cases of construct forms are rendered by genitive attributes and seems to be correctly interpreted by the translator: 8:7, 28(51):59, 29(49):21 and 52:4.

Most nouns that render inf. are part of the prepositional phrase *εἰς*+noun, and this reflects the Hebrew preposition לְ that is used as a prefix to the inf. Generally these prepositional phrases are used to express purpose or direction. Each of the cases that express purpose are located in Jer a',<sup>339</sup> and it is possible that such cases were eliminated by a reviser in Jer b'. Of the directional cases, four occur in Jer a' and three in Jer b'.<sup>340</sup>

Among the exceptional renderings of inf. in Jer LXX, a significant difference between Jer a' and Jer b' constitutes the use of participles as the equivalent. In Jer a' only one such equivalent is used, in 18:20 זָכַר עֲמָדִי לְפָנַי – μνησθητι ἐστηκότος μου κατὰ πρόσωπόν σου.<sup>341</sup> In Jer b', however, there are a total of eight occurrences of this

<sup>337</sup> Cf. sec. 4.2.3.2.

<sup>338</sup> Likely cases of misunderstanding include 29(49):22 and 38(31):20.

<sup>339</sup> Jer 15:3(4x); 16:7 and 18:22.

<sup>340</sup> Jer a 14:8; 28(51):40 and 31(2x); Jer b 30:13(49:24); 48(41):6 and 10.

<sup>341</sup> Cf. Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 23.

equivalence.<sup>342</sup> Three of these form the *genetivus absolutus* construction in Greek (33[26]:8,<sup>343</sup> 38[31]:32 and 48[41]:4), and they all render the inf. as part of a temporal clause:

Jer 33(26):8 יְהִי כְכִלּוֹת יִרְמְיָהוּ לְדָבָר – καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰερεμίου παυσασμένου λαλοῦντος

Jer 38(31):32 בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יְהִי בְיָדֶם – ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν

Jer 48(41):4 אֶת־גְּדִלְיָהוּ לְהַמִּית בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יְהִי – καὶ ἐγένετο τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πατάξαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν Γοδολίαν

The other participles render various types of usage of the Hebrew inf., including epexegetical inf. (51[44]:3 and 45[38]:4), the inf. as a direct object (50[43]:1 and 51[44]) and a final inf. (51[44]:14). Such Hebrew constructions are elsewhere mostly rendered by the anarthrous infinitive or the genitive articular infinitive.

## 4.2.4. Reflection on the Translation Character of Jer LXX

### 4.2.4.1 Overview

The Hebrew infinitives 0+inf. and לְ+inf. form the bulk of all infinitival expressions in Jer, and a characterization of their Greek equivalents is necessary to ascertain a more complete picture of the translation character of Jer LXX. As the analysis indicates, the most common equivalents of both of these expressions are the Greek 0+inf. and τοῦ+inf. The distribution of these two equivalents is also one of the arguments on which Thackeray and Tov base their theories for bisectioning Jer LXX. The following charts depict the occurrences of each equivalent throughout Jer LXX.

<sup>342</sup> Jer LXX 33:8; 38:32; 45:4; 48:4; 50:1; 51:3, 14 and 18.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 97.

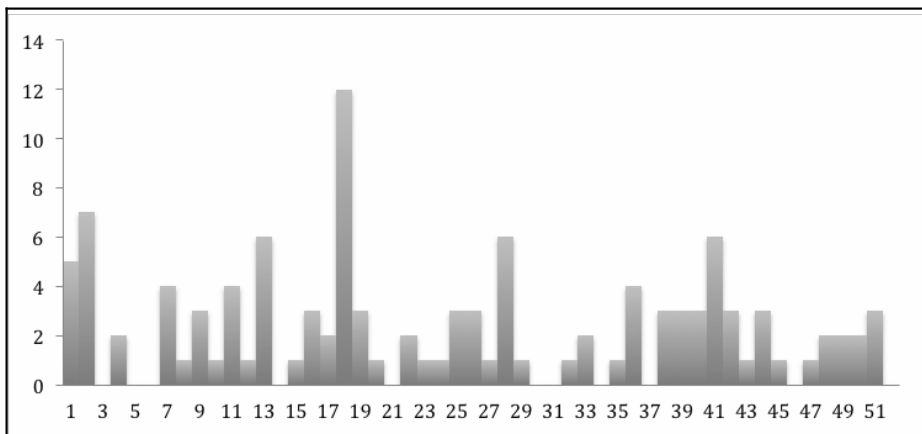


Table 4.  $\tau o\tilde{u}+inf.$  in each chapter of Jer LXX.<sup>344</sup>

Table 4. shows that there is a spike in the occurrences of  $\tau o\tilde{u}+inf.$  in chapter 18, but otherwise it appears consistently throughout the translation with only a slight decrease in the latter half of the book. The total number of occurrences in each half is 73 cases in Jer a' and 42 cases in Jer b'.

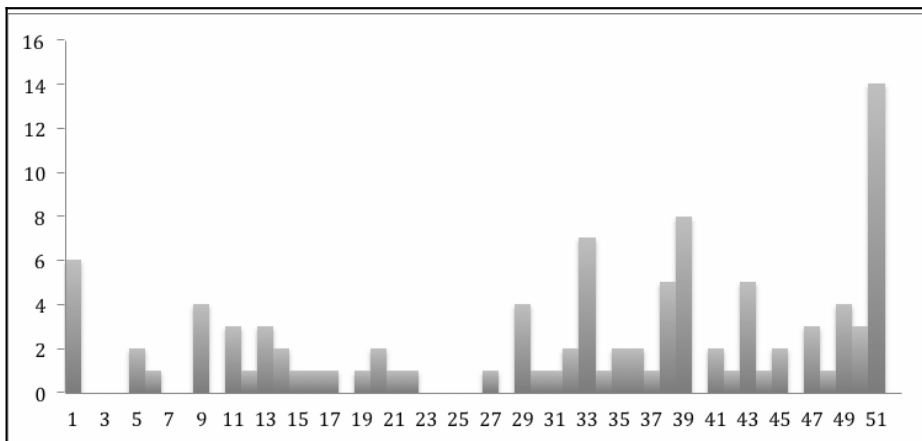


Table 5. 0+inf. in each chapter of Jer LXX.<sup>345</sup>

<sup>344</sup> These figures include the equivalent  $\tau o\tilde{u}+inf.$  both as a rendering of  $\text{ל}+inf.$  as well as of 0+inf., but exclude the renderings of  $\text{לבלתי}+inf.$ , which often are rendered with a genitive article and a negative particle ( $\tau o\tilde{u} \mu\eta$ ).

<sup>345</sup> These figures include all instances in which the anarthrous infinitive appears in Jer LXX.

Table 5. shows that there is a clear increase in the usage of 0+inf. in the latter half of the book. The number of cases more than doubles from 31 in Jer a' to 70 in Jer b'.

Why does the use of  $\tau\tilde{o}+inf.$  slightly decrease as we move toward the end of the book, and why does the use of 0+inf. increase at the same time? The previous analysis has identified certain categories of the Hebrew inf. to which this shift can be attributed. The use of  $\text{ל}+inf.$  to express the purpose of the main verb is the most obvious. Such cases are mainly rendered by  $\tau\tilde{o}+inf.$  in Jer a' (43 out of 51 cases [84%]) and by 0+inf. in Jer b' (32 out of 58 cases [55%]).<sup>346</sup> On a smaller scale, this shift is evident from the renderings of  $\text{ל}+inf.$  as a direct object and of  $\text{ל}+inf.$  in other functions. The equivalents of the direct objects in Jer a' are quite evenly divided between the two translation options, but in Jer b' 0+inf. is used almost exclusively (11 out of 13 times [85%]). When rendering other uses of  $\text{ל}+inf.$ , Jer a' mainly employs  $\tau\tilde{o}+inf.$  (10 out of 11 cases), while Jer b' displays a more equal balance of the two equivalents in using 0+inf. nine times and  $\tau\tilde{o}+inf.$  eleven times.

#### 4.2.4.2 Renderings of $\text{ל}+inf.$

The most common manifestation of the inf. in Jer is that with the preposition  $\text{ל}$ , which accounts for over 70% (357 out of 501) of all inf. in the book. The majority of these are rendered by  $\tau\tilde{o}+inf.$ , but a significant number are also rendered by 0+inf. Other renderings, such as finite verbs, prepositional phrases and participles, occur in small numbers. The following table categorizes each rendering of  $\text{ל}+inf.$  according to its form.

	0+inf.	$\tau\tilde{o}+inf.$	finite verb	prep.+noun	other	total
Jer a'	18	63	3	11	6	101
Jer b'	52	39	5	7	11	114

Table 6. Translations of  $\text{ל}+inf.$  in Jer LXX.<sup>347</sup>

This data brings Thackeray's, Soisalon-Soininen's and Tov's observations to the fore. When the two halves of the book are compared, one can clearly see that the anarthrous

<sup>346</sup> For the figures presented in this paragraph, cf. table 7 below.

<sup>347</sup> This data is collected in accord with the limits presented in note 238. The 114 cases of  $\text{ל}+inf.$  and the 28 cases in which Jer LXX does not have a representation of the Hebrew inf. are not included.

infinitive is infrequent in Jer a' relative to Jer b'. The frequency of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf. also fluctuates between the two halves, though to a lesser extent.

### The Anarthrous Infinitive

An anarthrous infinitive is the equivalent of  $\text{ל}+\text{inf.}$  70 times in Jer LXX.<sup>348</sup> Twenty of these function as the direct object of finite verbs, usually translating the Hebrew expressions  $\text{כִּל}+\text{inf.}$  and  $\text{מָאן}+\text{inf.}$ , and they are dispersed evenly between the two halves of the book: nine occur in Jer a' and eleven in Jer b'.<sup>349</sup>  $0+\text{inf.}$  is the usual equivalent in such cases in the Septuagint as a whole.<sup>350</sup>

Most of these  $0+\text{inf.}$  in Jer LXX, 40 cases, serve to express the purpose of verbs of action that mainly denote movement, sending, giving or doing something. Generally, final inf. are rendered in the LXX by  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ +inf., but Soisalon-Soininen points out that  $0+\text{inf.}$  is a verbatim equivalent of  $\text{ל}+\text{inf.}$  in such cases as well.<sup>351</sup> The distribution of these equivalents is very uneven between the two halves of the book. Only eight occur in Jer a' and 32 in Jer b'.<sup>352</sup>

The remaining cases of  $0+\text{inf.}$  as an equivalent of  $\text{ל}+\text{inf.}$  are mostly epexegetical in nature, that is, inf. used to specify the meaning of exhortations of obedience or grounds of accusations. Only one of these occurs in Jer a', and nine occur in Jer b'.<sup>353</sup>

Among the  $0+\text{inf.}$  that form equivalents of the Hebrew  $\text{ל}+\text{inf.}$ , the disparity between Jer a' and Jer b' is mainly evident with regard to final inf. and inf. that function in other forms besides direct objects and final inf.:

<sup>348</sup> Figures presented in Table 7.

<sup>349</sup> Jer a 5:3; 6:10; 11:10, 11; 12:16; 13:10; 14:9, 10 and 19:11; Jer b 32:14, 15; 33:2, 8; 38:15; 43:3, 5, 26; 45:21; 49:22 and 51:22. For examples, cf. sec. 4.2.1.2. For a summary of the context in which these occur, cf. sec. 4.2.4.4.

<sup>350</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 38–39.

<sup>351</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 49.

<sup>352</sup> Jer a 1:10 (5x); 11:13; 15:20 and 16:8; Jer b 33:2, 12, 15; 34:5; 35:14; 37:21; 38:28 (2x), 32; 39:19, 24, 31, 32, 33, 39; 43:21; 45:26; 47:10, 14; 48:12; 49:15, 17, 22; 50:2, 5; 51:3 (2x), 5, 7, 8 (2x) and 28. For examples, cf. sec. 4.2.1.2. For a summary of the contexts in which these occur, cf. sec. 4.2.2.3.

<sup>353</sup> Jer a 17:24; Jer b 29:13; 31:16; 33:5; 47:4; 50:4; 51:8, 17 and 25(2x).

	Obj. inf.		Final inf.		Other inf.		
	0+inf.	τοῦ+inf	0+inf.	τοῦ+inf	0+inf.	τοῦ+inf	Total
Jer a'	9	10	8	43	1	10	81
Jer b'	11	2	32	26	9	11	91

Table 7. The distribution of the anarthrous infinitive (0+inf.) and the genitive articular infinitive (τοῦ+inf.), according to their function, as renderings of הָ+inf. in Jer LXX.

Final הָ+inf. is rendered only eight times by 0+inf. in Jer a' in contrast to 32 times in Jer b'. Similarly, epexegetical and other infinitives are rendered by 0+inf. once in Jer a' and nine times in Jer b'. The more common rendering of similar expressions in Jer a' in both of these categories is τοῦ+inf., which is used 43 times to render final הָ+inf. and ten times to render epexegetical and other inf. The distribution pattern of these two equivalents is also uneven with regard to the object infinitives. Though 0+inf. is used to render a fairly equal amount of object inf. in Jer a' and Jer b', τοῦ+inf. is employed more often in Jer a' than in Jer b', that is, ten times in Jer a' and only twice in Jer b'.

### The Genitive Articular Infinitive

The genitive articular infinitive, τοῦ+inf, is the equivalent of the Hebrew הָ+inf. 102 times in Jer LXX. Of these, twelve are direct objects of other verbs.<sup>354</sup> Generally, these consist of singular cases within Jer LXX: οὐκ θέλω+inf. translating אֶנְחָל+inf., δύνאμαι+inf. translating יָכֹל+inf., and the bitransitive ἐντέλλομαι+inf. translating צִוָּה+inf., equivalences which all occur, in slightly greater numbers, as 0+inf. As mentioned above, there is an imbalance in the distribution of these renderings between Jer a' and Jer b'. In Jer a' there are ten cases and in Jer b' only two.<sup>355</sup>

Most cases of τοῦ+inf. express the purpose of verbs of action, just as their counterparts among 0+inf. Again, the actions denoted are generally movement, sending, giving or doing something. There are 69 of these in Jer. Forty three such renderings are found in Jer a' and 26 in Jer b'.<sup>356</sup>

<sup>354</sup> Figures presented in table 7.

<sup>355</sup> Jer a 8:5; 12:16; 13:6, 18:4, 6, 8, 10; 23:27; 28:30 and 63. Jer b 33:3 and 51:14. For examples, cf. sec. 4.2.2.2. For a summary of the contexts in which these cases occur, cf. sec. 4.2.2.3.

<sup>356</sup> Jer a 1:8, 12, 19; 2:7, 18(2x), 33, 36; 4:7; 7:18, 30, 31; 9:21; 10:22; 11:10, 17, 19; 13:10(2x), 11; 15:20; 114



The remaining 21 cases are not uniform. They include epexegetical infinitives, but also infinitives that qualify other words besides verbs, such as nouns, adjectives and pronouns, and infinitives that function as object clauses in indirect speech. These are distributed evenly between the two halves of Septuagint Jeremiah. Ten of them are in Jer a' and eleven in Jer b'.<sup>357</sup>

Like the anarthrous infinitive, the genitive articular infinitive is distributed between the two halves of Septuagint Jeremiah in an uneven manner (cf. table 7. above). When rendering both object inf. and final inf., τὸῦ+inf. predominantly occurs in Jer a'. In the case of final inf., the opposite occurs with regard to ὁ+inf., which is the more common equivalent in Jer b'. Another difference in relation to ὁ+inf. regards the object infinitives. ὁ+inf. is used evenly in both Jer a' and Jer b' to render לְ+inf. as a direct object, but τὸῦ+inf. is used more often in Jer a' than in b.

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16:5, 8(2x); 17:10; 18:15–16, 20(2x); 19:5, 14; 20:18; 22:17(2x); 24:7; 25:6(2x); 26:10, 13; 27:28; 28:11, 29 and 31. Jer b 29:4; 32:4; 33:24; 36:11, 26; 38:28(2x); 39:35, 41; 40:2, 5(2x); 41:8; 42:9, 15; 44:7, 12(2x); 48:5, 17; 49:11(2x); 50:3(2x); 51:11 and 14. For examples, cf. sec. 4.2.2.2. For a summary of the contexts in which these cases occur, cf. sec. 4.2.2.3.

<sup>357</sup> Jer a 4:22 1°; 11:5; 17:27; 18:7(2x), 9(2x); 19:12; 26:13 and 28:62. Jer b 33:4; 35:6; 36:10; 39:35; 41:9–10, 15, 17; 42:13; 43:8 and 47:5. For examples, cf. sec. 4.2.3. For a summary of the contexts in which these cases occur, cf. sec. 4.2.3.3.

## Other Renderings of לְ+Infinitive

Other renderings of לְ+inf. include finite verbs,<sup>358</sup> prepositional phrases in the form of *el*+noun,<sup>359</sup> participles<sup>360</sup> and a few exceptional renderings.<sup>361</sup> The distribution of these cases does not display a significant difference between Jer a' and Jer b'.

### 4.2.4.3 Renderings of Independent Infinitives

Independent inf. only occur 36 times in Jer. Only six are rendered by Greek anarthrous inf., five of which are direct objects and one of which is a final infinitive.<sup>362</sup> Most cases of 0+inf. are rendered by finite verbs (13 cases) as co-ordinate or subordinate clauses, and seven cases are rendered by nouns.<sup>363</sup> A number of the finite verbs and nouns, however, are likely due to the translator's misinterpretation of the consonantal text.<sup>364</sup> Other equivalents, which are few in number, include articular inf., an adverb and a participle.<sup>365</sup>

Since a majority of the independent inf. occur in Jer a' (29 out of 36 cases), it is difficult to derive any difference between the character of their renderings in the two halves of Jer LXX. On the whole, their renderings portray a translation that does not

<sup>358</sup> Jer a 1:12; 2:13 and 16:12; Jer b 29:4; 38:2, 12; 46:14 and 51:19. Co-ordinate clauses in 2:13; 29:4; 38:2, 12; 46:14 and 51:19; renderings of *hiph'il* constructions in 1:12; 16:12 and 38:12. For examples, cf. 4.2.3. For a summary of the contexts in which these cases occur, cf. sec. 4.2.3.3.

<sup>359</sup> With the preposition *el* Jer a 4:11(2x); 14:8; 15:3(4x); 28:31(2x), 40; Jer b 30:13; 32:20; 39:7; 48:6, 10 and 49:17; with the preposition *en* Jer LXX 1:2; 11:17 and 39:34. For examples, cf. sec. 4.2.3. For a summary of the contexts in which these cases occur, cf. sec. 4.2.3.3.

<sup>360</sup> For examples of participles as renderings of לְ+inf., cf. sec. 4.2.3. For a summary of the contexts in which these cases occur, cf. sec. 4.2.3.3.

<sup>361</sup> The construct *לְמַלְכוֹ*, when functioning as a genitive attribute, is twice translated by a noun in the genitive: *לְמַלְכוֹ בְּשֵׁנַת הָרִבְעִית* – *ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τετάρτῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ* (28[51]:59) and *וְהָיָה בְּשֵׁנַת לְמַלְכוֹ הַתְּשִׁיעִית* – *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ* (52:4). The conjunction *ὥστε*+inf., which is considered to be a more literary rendition, is found once as a translation of לְ+inf.: *וְלִשְׁתּוֹת מִדֶּבֶר מְרִיבֵי הַכּוֹס לְקַחַת הַכּוֹס בִּי יְהוָה* – *καὶ ἔσται ὅταν μὴ βούλωνται δέξασθαι τὸ ποτήριον ἐκ τῆς χείρὸς σου ὥστε πείνῃ* (32:14[25:28]). For a discussion of these examples, cf. sec. 4.2.3.

<sup>362</sup> Direct objects Jer LXX 1:6; 5:3; 9:5(4)–6(5) and 27(51):33; Final infinitive 33(26):21.

<sup>363</sup> For examples of finite verbs and nouns as renderings of 0+inf., cf. sec. 4.2.3.

<sup>364</sup> For a discussion of the translator's competence in understanding the Hebrew text, cf. ch. 7.

<sup>365</sup> Articular inf. 2:2, 17, 19 and 9:6(5); adverb 20:9; participle 38(31):32.

formally match its Hebrew *Vorlage* since only six cases are rendered by infinitives. However, rather than categorizing these renderings as free, it seems very likely that they reflect the translator's inability to recognize these forms as inf. The verbs in question are independent inf., which formally and without punctuation are very similar to finite verb forms and nouns. Add to this the fact that independent inf. do not occur very often in the text, the likelihood that the translator would identify the word as a finite verb or a noun increases significantly.

#### 4.2.4.4 The Translation Character of Jer a' and Jer b'

As noted earlier, the most significant differences between Jer a' and Jer b' are evident in the use of  $\tau\omicron\breve$ +inf. as a direct object and in the renderings of purpose expressing infinitives on the whole.

	Obj. inf.		Final inf.		Other inf.		Total
	0+inf.	$\tau\omicron\breve$ +inf	0+inf.	$\tau\omicron\breve$ +inf	0+inf.	$\tau\omicron\breve$ +inf	
Jer a'	9	10	8	43	1	10	81
Jer b'	11	2	32	26	9	11	91

Table 7. The distribution of the anarthrous infinitive (0+inf.) and the genitive articular infinitive ( $\tau\omicron\breve$ +inf.), according to their function, as renderings of  $\breve$ +inf. in Jer LXX.

Especially regarding the purpose expressing infinitives, there is a major drop in the use of  $\tau\omicron\breve$ +inf., from 43 out of 51 (84%) possible cases to 26 out of 58 (45%) possible cases. At the same time, the use of the 0+inf. increases from 8 cases (16%) to 32 (55%). On a smaller scale, this shift is evident from the renderings of  $\breve$ +inf. as direct objects and of  $\breve$ +inf. in other functions. The equivalents of the direct objects in Jer a' are quite evenly divided between the two translation options, but in Jer b' 0+inf. is used almost exclusively (11 out of 13 times). When rendering other uses of  $\breve$ +inf., Jer a' mainly employs  $\tau\omicron\breve$ +inf. (10 out of 11 cases), while Jer b' displays a more equal balance of the two equivalents in using 0+inf. nine times and  $\tau\omicron\breve$ +inf. eleven times. There are two main differences between Jer a' and Jer b' with regard to the exceptional renderings of  $\breve$ +inf. Most cases in which a prepositional phrase is used as the equivalent are located in Jer a', and conversely all cases in which a participle is used are located in Jer b'.

The translator of Jer a' clearly preferred  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. when rendering final  $\dot{\lambda}$ +inf., but he used 0+inf. on occasion to express the purpose of verbs of action and movement. The article is used as a formal equivalent for the Hebrew preposition. In Jer b', the preferred rendering shifts to 0+inf., but not exclusively. The use of  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. to a certain extent gives a slight impression of continuity between the two halves. However, 0+inf. is used to render both semantically and syntactically similar Hebrew constructions as are rendered by  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. in Jer a', i.e. inf. that express the purpose of verbs of movement, action, giving and sending. Some differences can be observed, but such cases are only few in number.

The evidence regarding final inf. can be described as follows.  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. is predominant in Jer a', but in Jer b' both  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. and 0+inf. are used, with a slight preference for 0+inf. The most dramatic difference is the rise in the use of 0+inf., from only 16% of cases in Jer a' to 55% of cases in Jer b'.

There are not as many occurrences of  $\dot{\lambda}$ +inf. that function as direct objects as there are occurrences that express purpose. In Jer a', nine object inf. are rendered by 0+inf. and ten by  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. Both equivalents are used to render the expressions  $\text{מֵאֵן}$ +inf. and  $\text{יֵכֶל}$ +inf. Infinitival objects of other verbs are generally rendered by  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf., with only the occasional 0+inf. In Jer b', the evidence is slightly different. The articular inf. is used to render only two cases of  $\dot{\lambda}$ +inf. as a direct object of a verb.<sup>366</sup> 0+inf., on the other hand, is used to render both the infinitival objects of the frequently occurring verbs  $\text{מֵאֵן}$  and  $\text{יֵכֶל}$  and the infinitival objects of other verbs as well, some of which are cases that are rendered by  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. in Jer a'.

The translations of inf. functioning as direct objects give the following picture. In Jer a', the renderings are split nearly half and half between 0+inf. and  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. In Jer b', on the other hand, 0+inf. is predominantly used, with a ratio of 11 cases to 2 in comparison to  $\tau\omicron\tilde{u}$ +inf. The situation is the opposite to that of the final inf., for which Jer a' displayed a strong preference for one of the equivalents, and Jer b' showed more balance between the two equivalents.

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<sup>366</sup> The verbs in question are  $\text{חָשַׁב}$  in 33(26):3 and  $\text{נָשָׂא}$  in 51(44):14.

If the change of preferred renderings of final  $\text{ḥ}+\text{inf.}$  from  $\tau\omicron\upsilon+\text{inf.}$  to  $0+\text{inf.}$  is assumed to be the work of a reviser, he would seem to prefer to use  $0+\text{inf.}$ , which would be in line with better Greek style. However, since early revisions generally strived to be more consequent and rigorous,<sup>367</sup> pedantic literalism being the tendency of early forms of conformation towards the Hebrew text,<sup>368</sup> we are left with the puzzling fact that similar Hebrew expressions are rendered by both equivalents in Jer b'. Both  $0+\text{inf.}$  and  $\tau\omicron\upsilon+\text{inf.}$  express the purpose of movement, action, giving and sending. It is difficult to find any criteria that a reviser would have based his changes on, as Stipp has suggested.<sup>369</sup> Also, with this frame of early revision in mind, one would expect  $\tau\omicron\upsilon+\text{inf.}$  to be more conducive to a revisional tendency as it represents a formal equivalent of the Hebrew preposition  $\text{ḥ}$ . This inconsistency, however, does allow the conclusion that the continued use of  $\tau\omicron\upsilon+\text{inf.}$  into Jer b' may be understood as part of the common textual basis between the OG text and the revised text, which is a necessary step in identifying a revised text.<sup>370</sup>

Assuming that the change in equivalents between Jer a' and Jer b' is the work of a single translator would lead to the conclusion that the translator changed his disposition with regard to the process of translation after he completed the translation of Jer LXX 28. The possibility of an exegetical reason for the differences must be disregarded since  $\tau\omicron\upsilon+\text{inf.}$  in Jer a' and both  $\tau\omicron\upsilon+\text{inf.}$  and  $0+\text{inf.}$  in Jer b' render the same types of Hebrew expressions, i.e.  $\text{ḥ}+\text{inf.}$  constructions that express the purpose of verbs of action, including movement, giving and sending.

In the case of direct objects, it would seem reasonable to argue that the equivalents in Jer b' might be the result of revision. The equivalents are more consistently of one kind and the second equivalent is almost completely extinguished. The only possible objection would be that the more consistent use of  $0+\text{inf.}$  does not suit the tendency of known revisions as aiming toward a more literal representation of the Hebrew text.

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<sup>367</sup> J. Barr 1979, 281.

<sup>368</sup> Thackeray 1909, 9.

<sup>369</sup> For Stipp's argumentation against the notion that Jer b' contains a revision, cf. sec. 2.4.3.

<sup>370</sup> The identification of a shared common textual basis between two texts is a prerequisite for identifying a relation of dependence between the two texts. For a discussion on the criteria for identifying a revision, cf. Tov 2012, 141, and the discussion in sec. 3.5.

On the other hand, the use of 0+inf. to express a direct object is more natural Greek than the use of τού+inf., which reflects a more obvious way of producing a formal equivalent of the Hebrew expression. A similar conclusion can be drawn from the renderings of final ה+inf. and the cases of ה+inf. that are rendered by participles and gen. abs. constructions. The use of 0+inf. is more natural Greek than τού+inf. to express final infinitives, and participles and the gen. abs. are forms that are very characteristic of the Greek language. To suggest that a single translator made a break in translation only to assume the task with a different disposition, i.e. in a more natural Greek style with regard to object infinitives, is an apt explanation of the differences. It allows for the possibility that, over time, a translator might conform to more natural Greek expressions, whether intentionally or not.

### 4.3. Renderings of Infinitives Absolute

There are 135 infinitives absolute (inf. abs.) in Jer, and 23 do not have an equivalent in Jer LXX.<sup>371</sup> Sixty nine of the translated cases of inf. abs. are part of the infinitive absolute construction (*figura etymologica*), and 43 form other uses of inf. abs.<sup>372</sup>

Thackeray has identified two means by which the translators of the LXX have rendered the *figura etymologica* (*fig. etym.*), which consists of an inf. abs. in conjunction with a finite form of the same verb. The first means of translation is the use of a finite verb with a cognate noun, either in the accusative or dative case. The second type of rendering is with a finite verb and a participle form of the same verb (*participium coniunctum*). Thackeray notes that the first of these is more akin to natural Greek usage, while the second is pure “translatese” that is not used in colloquial or literary Greek. There is no occurrence of either Greek expression in the non-translated books of the LXX. In the same context, Thackeray notes that Jer a’ contains a significant number of

<sup>371</sup> Jer MT 2:2; 7:13(2x); 8:12; 11:7(3x), 12; 13:17; 23:17, 39; 29:19(2x); 30:11; 35:15(2x); 41:6; 42:15, 22; 44:18, 29; 49:12(2x). These were most likely lacking in the *Vorlage* of the translation.

<sup>372</sup> Infinitive absolute construction Jer LXX 3:1; 4:10; 5:11; 6:9, 15, 29; 7:5(2x), 25(2x); 8:13; 9:4; 10:5; 12:16, 17(2x); 13:12; 14:19; 15:18; 17:24; 20:15; 22:4, 10; 23:32; 25:3, 3, 4(2x); 26:28; 27:4(2x), 34; 28:56, 58; 29:13; 31:9; 32:14-16; 33:5(2x), 8, 15, 19; 38:18, 20(2x); 39:4, 33(2x); 41:3; 42:14(2x); 43:16, 29; 44:9; 45:3, 15, 17; 46:18; 47:14; 49:19, 10; 51:4(2x), 17, 25(3x); other uses of the inf. abs. in Jer LXX 3:1, 12, 15; 4:18; 7:9(6x), 18; 8:15; 9:5, 24(2x); 10:5; 13:1; 14:5, 19; 17:19; 19:1, 13; 22:14, 19(2x); 23:14(2x); 30:12; 35:13; 38:2; 39:14, 33, 44(3x); 41:2; 42:2, 13; 43:23; 44:21; 46:16; 51:17, 19. My calculations of the translated cases of *figura etymologica* differ from those of Sollamo (2012, 2), who counts 76 cases. I do not count cases in which the *fig. etym.* is rendered by a finite verb alone since there is considerable doubt over whether the *Vorlage* contained the inf. abs.

cases in which the Greek does not have an equivalent of the Hebrew construction, and he proposes that this is intentional on the part of the translator.<sup>373</sup>

Martin briefly expands on a small difference in the treatment of the inf. abs. between Jer a' and Jer b'.<sup>374</sup> His statistics show that the use of cognate accusatives and cognate datives as renderings of *fig. etym.* is slightly different in the two sections. Though the participle is the most frequent equivalent of *fig. etym.* in both sections of Jer LXX, Jer a' prefers to use cognate accusatives whenever a cognate noun is employed, but only by a small margin. Cognate accusatives are used four times, cognate datives three times, and a cognate nominative once in Jer a'. On the other hand, cognate datives outnumber cognate accusatives by a ratio of 8:1 in Jer b'.

Martin suggests that this small difference is magnified by two factors: first, that Jer b' conforms more to the general treatment of the inf. abs. in the LXX as a whole in its more frequent use of the cognate dative, all-the-while Jer a' differs from this norm in using the cognate accusative more often than the dative; and second, Jer b's use of the cognate dative against the backdrop of the common use of the cognate accusative in Jer LXX to render the Hebrew cognate accusative. Both Jer a' and Jer b' frequently render Hebrew cognate accusatives with Greek cognate accusatives, and Jer a' continues to use this equivalent to render the inf. abs. as well. Cognate datives occur less frequently in both halves, yet they are used as equivalents in different ways. According to Martin's statistics, cognate datives render an inf. abs. only three times in Jer a', while they render other Hebrew forms a total of ten times, five of which are Hebrew cognate accusatives. Jer b', however, uses the cognate dative eight times to render an inf. abs. and only twice otherwise.<sup>375</sup>

Sollamo has conducted a more thorough analysis of the renderings of the *fig. etym.* in Jer LXX and concludes that Jer LXX is "more literal than the books of the Pentateuch," but its use of a number of free translations, its "freedom within literalism," sets it apart from other literal translations.<sup>376</sup> The literal flavor of Jer LXX obtains in its use of the *participium coniunctum* (*part. coni.*) as the most frequent equivalent of the

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<sup>373</sup> Thackeray 1908b, 597–601.

<sup>374</sup> Martin 1957, 145–148.

<sup>375</sup> Martin 1957, 146–148.

<sup>376</sup> Sollamo 2012, 19.

*fig. etym.* construction. In comparison to the Pentateuch, cognate nouns are used very seldom. Better renderings consist of a single finite verb as the equivalent of both verbs in the Hebrew, and free renderings include a prepositional phrase (3:15), an adjective (26[46]:28) and a noun (6:29).

Sollamo's statistics regarding the equivalents in Jer a' and Jer b' are slightly different from Martin's. She identifies five cognate datives and three cognate accusatives as the renderings of the *fig. etym.* in Jer a', where Martin found three cases and four cases respectively. In Jer b', Sollamo identified eight cases of the cognate dative and two cases of the cognate accusative, where Martin listed eight cases and one case respectively. Sollamo does not refer to Martin's study in her article, but she concludes that the difference between the two halves is not great enough to support a theory of bisectioning.<sup>377</sup>

As noted, *part. coni.* is the most common rendering of the *fig. etym.* in Jer LXX. The Inf. abs. is rendered 37 times by *part. coni.* in these cases, which amounts to over half the cases of inf. abs.<sup>378</sup> Mostly the Greek participle derives from the same verb as the finite form that accompanies it, as is generally the case with the Hebrew words that are translated:

45(38):3 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנֵּה תִּנָּתֵן הָעִיר הַזֹּאת בְּיַד חֵיל מְלִי־צָבָל וְלִכְדָּהּ –  
 ὅτι οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος Παραδιδόμενη παραδοθήσεται ἡ πόλις αὕτη εἰς  
 χεῖρας δυνάμεως βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ συλλήμψεται αὐτήν

In a few cases, however, the Greek construction employs two different verbs even though the Hebrew construction consist of the same verbs:

44(37):9 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֶל־תִּשְׂאוּ נִפְשֵׁיכֶם לְאֹמֶר הֲלֹךְ יֵלְכוּ מֵעַלֵּינוּ –  
 ὅτι οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος Μη ὑπολάβητε ταῖς ψυχαῖς  
 ὑμῶν λέγοντες Ἀποτρέχοντες ἀπελεύσονται ἀφ' ἡμῶν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ὅτι οὐ  
 μὴ ἀπέλθωσιν

Furthermore, in some expressions of the *fig. etym.*, the Hebrew text employs two different inf. abs., and the LXX renders both with *part. coni.*:

<sup>377</sup> Sollamo 2012, 19.

<sup>378</sup> Jer LXX 3:1; 4:10; 5:11; 6:15; 7:5(2x); 10:5; 12:16; 13:12; 14:19; 15:18; 20:15; 22:4; 25:3(2x), 4; 27:4(2x); 28:58; 29:13; 32:14; 33:15, 19; 38:18, 20; 43:16, 29; 44:9; 45:3, 17; 46:18; 49:19, 10; 51:17 and 25(3x).



25:3 מִן־שָׁלַשׁ עֲשָׂרָה שָׁנָה לִיאֲשִׁיהוּ בֶן־אֶמּוֹן מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וְעַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה זֶה וְלֹא שָׁלַשׁ וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה הִיא דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי וְאֶדְבַּר אֲלֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁכֶּם<sup>379</sup> וְדַבַּר וְלֹא שָׁמַעְתֶּם – Ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει τοῦ Ἰωσία υἱοῦ Ἀμώς βασιλέως Ἰουδα καὶ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης εἴκοσι καὶ τρία ἔτη καὶ ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀρθρίζων καὶ λέγων

The *participium coniunctum* as the equivalent occurs evenly between the two halves of Jer LXX, that is, 19 times in Jer a' and 18 times in Jer b'.

Cognate nouns are used 18 times to render *fig. etym.*, and these are also distributed evenly between Jer a' and Jer b', nine cases in each section. These consist of cognate datives, cognate accusatives and one cognate nominative (6:29).<sup>380</sup> A noun in the dative case is used thirteen times and is the most common among these equivalents.

9:4(3) כִּי כָל־אֶחָד עָקוֹב יַעֲקֹב וְכָל־רֶעַךְ רֵכִיל יִהְיֶה – ὅτι πᾶς ἀδελφὸς πτέρνη πτερνιεῖ, καὶ πᾶς φίλος δολίως πορεύσεται

12:17 וְאִם לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ וְנִתְּשָׁתִּי אֶת־הַגּוֹי הַהוּא נִתּוּשׁ וְאֶבֶד – ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἐξαρῶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο ἐξάρσει καὶ ἀπωλεία

33(26):8 וַיִּתְּפֹשׂוּ אֹתוֹ הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַנְּבִיאִים וְכָל־הָעָם לֵאמֹר מוֹת תָּמוּת – καὶ συνελάβοσαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς λέγων Θανάτῳ ἀποθανῇ

39(32):4 וַיִּדְקִיּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה לֹא יִמָּלֵט מִיַּד הַכַּשְׂדִּים כִּי הִנֵּהוּ יִנְתֵּן בֵּיד – καὶ Σεδεκίας οὐ μὴ σωθῇ ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν Χαλδαίων, ὅτι παραδόσει παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος

Jer 9:4(3) and 33(26):8 are good examples of the use of the cognate dative in both Jer a' and Jer b'. In Jer 12:17, the *fig. etym.* construction contains two cases of inf. abs., and both are rendered by a dative noun. The last example (39[32]:4) displays how the translation can vary the rendering of the exact same phrase. Here הִנֵּהוּ יִנְתֵּן is rendered by a cognate dative, while a participle is used in 45(38):3.<sup>381</sup> There is a slight imbalance

<sup>379</sup> The *Qere* reading is the inf. abs. הִשְׁכַּם, and the LXX reflects the *Qere* reading.

<sup>380</sup> The use of the cognate nominative in 6:29 is to the effect that the noun can actually be understood as the subject of the finite verb, as it is understood in the NETS translation ἄργυροκόπος ἄργυροκοπεῖ – εἰς κενὸν ἄργυροκόπος ἄργυροκοπεῖ "in vain does a silversmith coin silver."

<sup>381</sup> Cf. the example above.

between Jer a' and Jer b' in their use of the cognate dative as the equivalent, as has been noted by Martin. Five occurrences are located in Jer a' (9:4[3], 12:17[2x], 17:24 and 22:10) and eight occurrences in Jer b'.<sup>382</sup>

Cognate accusatives are used four times as the rendering throughout the translation. The word order of the renderings do not always follow the Hebrew word order, prompting Sollamo to rightly conclude that the location of the inf. abs. in relation to its accompanying finite verb was not so significant for this translator.<sup>383</sup>

28(51):56 יְהוָה יְהוָה שְׁלֹם שְׁלֹם – ὅτι θεὸς ἀνταποδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, κύριος ἀνταποδίδωσιν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν

32:16(25:30) יְהוָה מְמָרוֹם יִשְׂאָג וּמִמְעוֹן קָדְשׁוֹ יִתֵּן קוֹל׃ שְׂאָג יִשְׂאָג – Κύριος ἄφ' ὑψηλοῦ χρηματιεῖ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ· λόγον χρηματιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ

Of the cognate accusatives, three occur in Jer a' (23:32, 27[50]:34 and 28[51]:56) and one in Jer b' (31:16[25:30]).

Finite verbs are a third means by which the translator has rendered the inf. abs. as part of *fig. etym.* in Jer LXX.<sup>384</sup>

6:9 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עוֹלֵל יְעוֹלְלוּ כִּנְפֵן יִשְׂרָאֵל – ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος Καλαμαῖσθε καλαμαῖσθε ὡς ἄμπελον τὰ κατάλοιπα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ

39(32):33 וַיִּפְּנוּ אֵלַי עֶרְף וְלֹא פָנִים וְלִמַּד אֶתֶם הַשִּׁבְם וְלִמַּד וְאִינָם שְׂמָעִים – καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν πρὸς με νῶτον καὶ οὐ πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐδίδαξα αὐτοὺς ὁρθροῦ καὶ ἐδίδαξα, καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν ἐκλαβεῖν παιδεῖαν·

Jer 6:9 contains the finite verb καλαμαῖσθε twice. Sollamo has argued that the double use of the verb might simply be a mistake, and that the end result creates an emphatic effect.<sup>385</sup> The other cases are exemplified by use of double inf. abs., the verb הַשִּׁבְם being one of them. In each case הַשִּׁבְם is rendered by the noun ὁρθροῦ and the second

<sup>382</sup> Jer LXX 31:9; 32:15; 33:8; 38:20; 39:4; 41:3; 45:15 and 47:14.

<sup>383</sup> Sollamo 2012, 10.

<sup>384</sup> Jer LXX 6:9; 7:25; 8:13; 33:5; 39:33; 42:14; 51:4. The *fig. etym.* in 8:13 is interpreted as a finite verb followed by a noun with a pronominal suffix אֶסְפֵּם אֶסְפֵּם – καὶ συνάξουσιν τὰ γενήματα αὐτῶν. The rendering indicates that the translator did not interpret the verb as an inf. abs.

<sup>385</sup> Sollamo 2012, 10–11.

inf. abs. by an aorist indicative verb, and each case functions as YHWH's speech. The same Hebrew expression with **הַשָּׁבַח** occurs in Jer 25:3<sup>386</sup> and 4, but in both cases the second inf. abs. is rendered by a participle.

In a number of cases the whole *fig. etym.* construction is represented by a single finite verb. As Sollamo has noted,<sup>387</sup> it is not always certain whether a finite verb alone as a rendering of *fig. etym.* is sufficient to claim that the *fig. etym.* was in the translation's *Vorlage*, since the equivalent does not have a formal representation of the inf. Though finite verbs can be considered a good semantic match to the *fig. etym.*, and their use in the Pentateuch suggests as much, the isomorphic character of Jer LXX casts a degree of doubt on the exact *Vorlage* of these equivalents. There are seven possible cases in total:<sup>388</sup>

11:12 **וְזָעְקוּ אֱלֹהֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר הֵם מְקַטְרִים לָהֶם וְהוֹשָׁע לֹא־יִוָּשִׁיעוּ לָהֶם**  
**בְּעֵת רָעָתָם** – και κεκράζονται πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, οἷς αὐτοὶ θυμῶσιν αὐτοῖς·  
**μὴ σῶσουσιν** αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν

29:13(49:12) **כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנֵּה אֲשֶׁר־אֵין מְשַׁפֵּט לְשָׂתוֹת הַבֹּס שְׂתוֹ**  
**יִשְׁתּוּ** – ὅτι τάδε εἶπεν κύριος Οἷς οὐκ ἦν νόμος πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον, **ἐπιον**

Jer 11:12 and 29:13(49:12) exemplify the rest of these cases, where the *fig. etym.* is simply represented by a finite verb in the Greek text. These cases are counted among the 23 cases of inf. abs. that do not have an equivalent in Jer LXX since they most likely did not occur in the translator's *Vorlage*.

Of the 43 cases of inf. abs. that are not part of *fig. etym.* constructions, 33 are rendered by finite verbs, all of which are used as predicates and rendered as such in the LXX:<sup>389</sup>

3:1 **הֵן יִשְׁלַח אִישׁ אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וְהִלָּכָה מֵאֲתָו וְהִי־תָה לְאִישׁ־אַחֵר הַיֹּשֹׁב אֵלֶיהָ**  
**עוֹד הָלֹא חָנוּף תִּחְנַף הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא וְאֵת זָנִית רָעִים רַבִּים וְשׁוֹב אֵלֶי**  
**נָאִם־יְהוָה** – Ἐὰν ἐξαποστείλῃ ἀνὴρ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέλθῃ ἀπ’

<sup>386</sup> Cf. the example above.

<sup>387</sup> Sollamo 2012, 10.

<sup>388</sup> Jer LXX 11:12; 13:17; 23:17, 39; 30:6; 48:6 and 49:15.

<sup>389</sup> Jer LXX 3:1, 12; 4:18; 7:9(6x), 18; 8:15; 9:5; 13:1; 14:5, 19; 17:19; 19:1, 13; 22:19; 35:13; 38:2; 39:14, 33, 44(3x); 41:2; 42:2, 13; 43:23; 44:21; 46:16; 51:19.

αὐτοῦ καὶ γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ, μὴ ἀνακάμπουσα ἀνακάμψει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι; οὐ μαινομένη μianθήσεται ἢ γυνὴ ἐκείνη; καὶ σὺ ἐξεπόρνεις ἐν ποιμένιν πολλοῖς· καὶ ἀνέκαμπτες πρὸς με; λέγει κύριος.

A few other renderings of inf. abs. occur, but very rarely. Some of these are participles and some anarthrous infinitives, and there is one case each of a prepositional phrase and an adjective.<sup>390</sup>

3:15 וְנִתְּתִי לָכֶם רְעִים כָּלִבִּי וְרָעוּ אֶתְכֶם דָּעָה וְהִשְׁכִּיל – καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν ποιμένας κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, καὶ ποιμανοῦσιν ὑμᾶς ποιμαίνοντες μετ’ ἐπιστήμης.

10:5 אֵין אוֹתָם כִּי־לֹא יָרְעוּ וְגַם־הֵיטִיב – μὴ φοβηθῆτε αὐτά, ὅτι οὐ μὴ κακοποιήσωσι, καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

The two examples display free renderings by the translator. In 3:15, the manner of conduct of the shepherds is described by the inf. abs. הִשְׁכִּיל, which is rendered by μετὰ with a genitive noun. In 10:5, the inf. abs. הֵיטִיב is rendered by the adjective ἀγαθὸν as a predicate. These are both unusual renderings for this translator.

The character of the renderings of *fig. etym.* in Jer LXX is dissimilar to that of the Pentateuch since the Pentateuch attests twice as many cases of cognate nouns with finite verbs in comparison to the *part. coni.* construction,<sup>391</sup> whereas in Jer the numbers are the other way around. Jer LXX attests 37 instances of the *part. coni.* as the rendering and only 18 instances of cognate nouns.

The *part. coni.* as a rendering of inf. abs. produces “unidiomatic” Greek<sup>392</sup> and betrays the translation’s literal character. There is no distinction between Jer a’ and Jer b’ in this regard, as Jer a’ contains 19 cases and Jer b’ 18 cases. The renderings with cognate nouns are more becoming to the Greek language,<sup>393</sup> and they occur nine times in

<sup>390</sup> Participles in Jer LXX 22:14, 19 and 23:19(23x); anarthrous infinitives in Jer LXX 9:24(23); 30(49):23 and 51(44):18; prepositional phrase with μετὰ Jer LXX 3:15; adjective in Jer LXX 10:5. Sollamo (2012, 15–16) cites Jer 47(40):12 הִרְבָּה as an inf. abs. that is understood as such by the translator. Jer LXX renders it with the adjective πολλόν. It is more feasible that the translator understood the word adverbially modifying the main verb וַיִּאָּסְפוּ, since the word הִרְבָּה is mainly used adverbially (cf. Davidson 1855, 52).

<sup>391</sup> Cf. Sollamo’s statistics for the cases in the Pentateuch in Sollamo 2012, 17.

<sup>392</sup> Thackeray 1908b, 598. Also quoted in Sollamo 2012, 6.

<sup>393</sup> Thackeray 1908b, 597–598.

each half of the translation. Regarding the number of cognate datives as renderings of *fig. etym.*, this analysis has found five such cases in Jer a', as does Sollamo. This sum lessens the contrast with Jer b', which attests eight cases. The total number of instances to be taken into account, however, is so small in comparison to the highly attested use of *part. coni.* as a rendering of *fig. etym.* that it is difficult to argue for a significant difference in translation character based on the use of cognate nouns, particularly when *part. coni.* and the cognate nouns both render similar cases of *fig. etym.*<sup>394</sup> In addition, the common manner in which infinitives absolute apart from *fig. etym.* have been rendered in Jer a' and Jer b' is an aspect that connects the two. Such cases of inf. abs. are mainly rendered by finite verbs both in Jer a' (19x) and in Jer b' (14x).

## 4.4. Renderings of ׀+Infinitive and ׀+Infinitive

### 4.4.1. ׀+Infinitive

The Hebrew preposition ׀ in conjunction with an infinitive (׀+inf.) is used in a temporal or a causal sense in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>395</sup> In the LXX, ׀+inf. is most often rendered by the Greek prepositional phrase ἐν τῷ+inf. This equivalent is most common in those translations that may be considered literal in nature. The other renderings of ׀+inf. are mainly subordinate clauses, including clauses that begin with the conjunctions ὅτε, ὁπότε and ἥνκα, and *genetivus absolutus* constructions (gen. abs.), the latter of which in particular is a sign of relative freedom in translation technique.<sup>396</sup>

In Jer, there are a total of 14 translated cases of the expression ׀+inf., and all of them are temporal in meaning. All the equivalents of ׀+inf. mentioned above can be found in Jer LXX. The rendering with the Greek preposition ἐν occurs only four times.<sup>397</sup>

<sup>394</sup> Martin's argument regarding the increased use of cognate datives in Jer b against the backdrop of a multitude of cognate accusatives used throughout the translation is an important observation that calls for further investigation.

<sup>395</sup> Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 604.

<sup>396</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 89.

<sup>397</sup> Jer LXX 22:23; 28:39; 47:1 and 52:1.

22:23 יִשְׁבְּתִי בְּלִבָּנוֹן מִקְנֵנִתִּי בְּאַרְזֵיהֶם מִהֲנַחֲנִתִּי בְּבֵאֵלֶיךָ חַיִּל  
 כִּלְיָה – κατοικοῦσα ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ἐννοσσεύουσα ἐν ταῖς κέδροις  
 καταστενάξεις ἐν τῷ ἔλθειν σοι ὁδύνας, ὠδῖνας ὡς τικτούσης

28(51):39 אֲשִׁית אֶת־מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם בְּחֶמֶם – ἐν τῇ θερμασίᾳ αὐτῶν δώσω  
 πότμα αὐτοῖς

47(40):1 הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה אֶל־יְרֵמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה אַחֵר שָׁלַח אֹתוֹ נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן  
 רַב־טַבָּחִים מִן־הָרָמָה בְּקִהְיוֹ אֹתוֹ וְהוּא־אֶסּוּר בְּאִזְקִים בְּתוֹךְ כָּל־גְּלוֹת  
 יְהוּדָה – Ὁ λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν μετὰ  
 τὸ ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτὸν Ναβουζαρδαν τὸν ἀρχιμάγειρον τὸν ἐκ Δαμα ἐν τῷ  
 λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν χειροπέδαις ἐν μέσῳ ἀποικίας Ιουδα

52:1 בְּמַלְכוֹ בְּיָדֶיךָ צִדְקִיָּהוּ שָׁנָה וְאַחַת שָׁנָה בְּעֶשְׂרִים – Ὀντος εἰκοστοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς  
 ἔτους Σεδεκίου ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτόν

Renderings with the preposition ἐν are used either in cases in which the translator has likely interpreted the text in a different manner from the later Masoretic text or in which he has difficulty understanding the text. Jer 28(51):39 displays a rare case of ἐν+noun instead of ἐν τῷ+inf.<sup>398</sup> The translator understood חֶמֶם as the noun חֶם with a plural suffix instead of an infinitive. The meaning of the Hebrew text in 22:23 is difficult even for modern readers. It transmits two *Ketiv/Qere* readings in יִשְׁבְּתִי and מִקְנֵנִתִּי. The verb נִחַת is rendered by καταστενάξεις, which reflects an understanding of the verb as אָנַח instead of the *nifal* form of נָחַן.<sup>399</sup> In addition to quantitative differences, the sentence structure in 47(40):1 is difficult, as there are several consecutive subordinate clauses initiated by prepositional phrases. This might have induced the rigorous rendering with ἐν+inf. The final case (52:1) is part of a stock phrase in the books of the deuteronomistic history and in Chronicles. Especially in the Greek translation of the deuteronomistic history, the phrase is almost consistently rendered by ἐν τῷ+inf. The rendering in Jer 52:1 conforms to this tradition.

<sup>398</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 83.

<sup>399</sup> This verb elicits confusion among commentators as well. The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew considers the verb to be the *nif.* form of נָחַן, but adds that it might be a corrupted form of אָנַח. The latter solution may be traced to Bauer and Leander (1918, 315), who suggest that נִחַת is the result of a metathesis of נ and ח.

A subordinate clause as the equivalent of  $\text{ב}+\text{inf.}$  occurs seven times.<sup>400</sup>

21:1  $\text{הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה אֶל-יְרֵמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה בְּשִׁלַּח אֵלָיו הַמֶּלֶךְ צִדְקִיָּהוּ אֶת-פִּשְׁחוּר}$  – ‘Ο λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ιερεμίαν, **ὅτε ἀπέστειλε** πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεδεκίας τὸν Πασχωρ

38(31):23  $\text{וַיֹּד יְאֻמְרוּ אֶת-הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה בְּאָרֶץ יְהוּדָה וּבְעָרָיו בְּשׁוּבִי}$  – Ἐτι ἐροῦσι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐν γῇ Ιουδα καὶ ἐν πόλεσιν αὐτοῦ, **ὅταν ἀποστρέψω** τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν αὐτοῦ

Six of these begin with the conjunction **ὅτε** (e.g. 21:1), and one with the conjunction **ὅταν** (38[31]:23). Such subordinate clauses are common renderings of  $\text{ב}+\text{inf.}$  elsewhere in the LXX, and they are a good representation of its temporal use.

A gen. abs. is used as the rendering of  $\text{ב}+\text{inf.}$  on two occasions in Jer LXX.

35(28):9  $\text{הַנְּבִיא אֲשֶׁר יִנְבֵּא לְשָׁלוֹם בָּבֶלָ דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא יוֹדֵעַ הַנְּבִיא}$  – ὁ προφήτης ὁ προφητεύσας εἰς εἰρήνην, **ἐλθόντος** τοῦ λόγου γνώσκονται τὸν προφήτην, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐν πίστει

49(42):18  $\text{כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּאֲשֶׁר נָתַד אִפִּי וַחֲמָתִי}$  – ὅτι οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Καθὼς ἔσταξεν ὁ θυμός μου ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Ιερουσαλημ, οὕτως σταῖξει ὁ θυμός μου ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς **εἰσελθόντων** ὑμῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον

The use of gen. abs. is a departure from a slavish representation of the formal aspects of the Hebrew text, and Hebrew has no formal equivalent to match its function. Its use in the translated books of the LXX is, therefore, a sign of free rendering. A further occurrence of  $\text{ב}+\text{inf.}$  is rendered by a genitive participle, but its case is dictated by its affiliation with the verb  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omega$  43(36):13  $\text{וַיִּגַּד לָהֶם מְכִיָּהוּ אֵת כָּל-הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע}$  – καὶ ἀνήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς Μιχαίας πάντας τοὺς λόγους, οὓς **ἤκουσεν ἀναγινώσκοντος** Βαρουχ εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ λαοῦ.<sup>401</sup>

One final occurrence of  $\text{ב}+\text{inf.}$  in Jer MT is in 39:15 (LXX 46:15), but the expression does not have a formal equivalent in the LXX. This is likely a case of

<sup>400</sup> Jer LXX 21:1; 28:59; 34:17; 38:23; 42:11; 44:11 and 51:31.

<sup>401</sup> Cf. Danove 2001, 234–235.

homoioarcton in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, from בְּהִיתוֹ to בְּהִצֹר: דְּבַר־יְהוָה: וְאֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ הָיָה דְּבַר־יְהוָה: בְּהִצֹר – Καὶ πρὸς Ιερεμίαν ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς φυλακῆς.

In sum, the renderings of בְּ+inf. serve to break the conception of Jer LXX as a very literal translation since the majority of its renderings consist of subordinate clauses with ὅτε and ὅταν. The two cases of *gen. abs.* constructions contribute to this characterization. Most translationally literal books in the LXX employ the prepositional phrase ἐν τῷ+inf. as the equivalent. This characterization is presented by Soisalon-Soininen as well, who exceptionally groups these equivalents in Jer LXX with translations whose Greek style is considered to be some of the best in the LXX, such as Job and Ex.<sup>402</sup> The translator falls back on the literal rendering ἐν τῷ+inf. in cases that are challenging to him. The subordinate clauses and the *gen. abs.* constructions all occur in narrative sections, in texts which are fairly straightforward in their meaning.

A notable difference between Jer a' and Jer b' is that both cases of *gen. abs.* as the rendering are located in Jer b'. They both render the expressions בְּ+the verb בּוֹא, and this is rendered in Jer a' by ἐν τῷ+inf. (22:23). Though the cases of בְּ+inf. are few in number, the use of *gen. abs.* as the rendering is significant enough to justify a different characterization of these renderings in the two halves of the book. The equivalents in Jer b' reflect more natural Greek than do the equivalents in Jer a'.

#### 4.4.2. בְּ+Infinitive

The Hebrew expression בְּ+inf. functions as a temporal clause, but occasionally also as a comparative. Compared to בְּ+inf., it emphasizes a more immediate temporal relationship, whereas בְּ+inf. describes the general temporal proximity of two events.<sup>403</sup> Alternatively, the difference may be described as durative (בְּ+inf.) and punctual (בְּ+inf.).<sup>404</sup> In the LXX, בְּ+inf. is mainly rendered by a ὅς -clause, subordinate to the main clause. The *gen. abs.* is also used as an equivalent. On occasion, בְּ+inf. is

<sup>402</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 189.

<sup>403</sup> Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 604.

<sup>404</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 93–94.



represented in the Greek text by an inf., the most common of which is ἐν τῷ+inf. The meaning of כָּ+inf. is, however, difficult to express with a Greek inf, and it is probable that in such cases the Greek text witnesses the variant reading כִּ+inf. This variance is caused by the similar orthography of כ and כּ, but it is difficult to say whether the confusion occurred already in the *Vorlage* or whether the translator simply misunderstood the text.

In Jer, the expression כָּ+inf. occurs 13 times. Eleven of these are temporal and two are comparative. Three cases do not have an equivalent in Jer LXX.<sup>405</sup> Of the remaining ten, three are translated as ὡς -clauses, three are translated as gen. abs., two are rendered by ὅταν -clauses, one by a ὅτε -clause and one by the prepositional phrase ἐν τῷ+inf.

25:12 שְׁבָעִים שָׁנָה כְּמֵלֶאכֶת וַיְהִי – καὶ ἐν τῷ πληρωθῆναι ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη

48(41):13 כְּלֵהָעָם כְּבִרְאוֹת וַיְהִי – καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε εἶδον πᾶς ὁ λαὸς

28(51):63 לְקִרְאָתְהֶסְפֶּר הַזֶּה וַיְהִי כְּכִלְתָּהּ – καὶ ἔσται ὅταν παύσῃ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο

6:7 בֹּר מִמֶּיָּה בֶן הַקֶּרֶה רָעָתָהּ – ὡς ψύχει λάκκος ὕδωρ, οὕτως ψύχει κακίαν αὐτῆς

50(43):1 יְרֵמְיָהוּ לְדִבְרֵי אֶל-כָּל-הָעָם וַיְהִי כְּכִלּוֹת יְרֵמְיָהוּ – Καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς ἐπαύσατο Ἱερεμίας λέγων πρὸς τὸν λαὸν

33(26):8 יְהוָה יְרֵמְיָהוּ לְדִבְרֵי אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה – καὶ ἐγένετο Ἱερεμίου παυσάμενου λαλοῦντος πάντα, ἃ συνέταξεν αὐτῷ κύριος

43(36):23 וַיְהִי בְּקִרְאָה יְהוּדִי שְׁלֹשׁ דְּלִתּוֹת וְאַרְבָּעָה יְקִרְעָה בְּתַעַר הַסֶּפֶר – καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀναγινώσκοντος Ἰουδιν τρεῖς σελίδας καὶ τέσσαρας, ἀπέτεμνεν αὐτὰς τῷ ξυρῷ τοῦ γραμματέως

Jer 25:12 is the only case in which כָּ+inf. is rendered by ἐν τῷ+inf. It is a temporal clause, and the translation does not have an equivalent for the preceding formula וַיְהִי, which possibly indicates that it was lacking in the *Vorlage*. The second and third examples display subordinate clauses as renderings of כָּ+inf., either beginning with ὅτε

<sup>405</sup> Jer MT 5:26; 17:2 and 41:6.

or with *ἔταν*. These are also temporal in nature. Together with the previous example, these are the cases which possibly witness a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* with the reading *בָּ*+inf., or simply a mistake by the translator. Soisalon-Soininen has pointed out that, since the two Hebrew expressions are occasionally rendered by equal translations, and since *בָּ* and *בֵּ* are easily mixed, it is not possible to determine the variants based on the LXX alone.<sup>406</sup>

‘Ως clauses and the gen. abs. are both used three times to render *בָּ*+inf. in Jer LXX.<sup>407</sup> Both render the expression when it has a temporal meaning. The only comparative *בָּ*+inf. that has an equivalent in Jer LXX is in 6:7 (cf. above). It is translated by a *ὡς*-clause, which is very appropriate in the context. The temporal cases (e.g. 50[43]:1, 33[26]:8 and 43[36]:23 above) are all in similar context. All begin with the formula *וַיְהִי* or *וַיִּהְיֶה* followed by the expression *בָּ*+inf. The same phrase, *וַיְהִי כַכֵּלֹת* *וַיִּדְבֹּר*, is even rendered by both options in different locations, *καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς ἐπαύσατο Ἰερεμίας λέγων* in 50(43):1 and *καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰερεμίου παυσαμένου λαλοῦντος* in 33(26):8. The translator has paid attention to the temporal sequence of the inf. and the main verb, that is, aorist forms are used to render infinitives that denote prior action, while present tense forms are used to render infinitives that denote simultaneous action.

Soisalon-Soininen notes that the renderings of *בָּ*+inf. are not consistent in most books of the LXX, and such is the case with Jer LXX as well. There are not many cases in total, and no single equivalent outnumbers the others. The use of gen. abs. on three occasions, however, does stand out, which prompts Soisalon-Soininen to list Jer LXX as exceptional. No other book attests as many cases of this equivalence.<sup>408</sup> All three cases of the gen. abs. are located in Jer b’, which again contributes to the differing characterization of Jer a’ and Jer b’. As is the case with the renderings of *בָּ*+inf., so the renderings of *בָּ*+inf. in Jer b’ reflect more natural Greek than those in Jer a’.

<sup>406</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 95.

<sup>407</sup> ‘Ως clauses in Jer LXX 6:7; 43:16 and 50:1; gen. abs. in 33:8; 43:23 and 48:7.

<sup>408</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 97.

#### 4.4.3. Reflection on the Translation Character of Jer LXX

The occurrences of the prepositional phrases  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$  and  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$  are not very numerous in Jer. Save for two cases of  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$  that are comparative in nature, all occurrences are temporal. Since the two are graphically similar to each other, they share a few equivalents, namely  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$ , subordinate clauses beginning with  $\text{ὅτε}$  or  $\text{ὅταν}$ , and the gen. abs.  $\text{ὅτε}$  and  $\text{ὅταν}$  clauses are the most common renderings (10 out of 24 possible cases), and the equivalents  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$  and gen. abs. both occur five times. The other four equivalents render  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$  three times with a  $\text{ὡς}$  clause and  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$  once with a genitive participle, which is not a case of gen. abs. The predominant use of  $\text{ὅτε}$  and  $\text{ὅταν}$  clauses distinguishes Jer LXX from the most literal translations in the LXX, which mainly employ  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$  as the rendering, but the few cases of the gen. abs., particularly as renderings of  $\text{ἐν} + \text{inf.}$ , elevate the character of the translation toward more natural Greek expression. The location of all five cases of gen. abs. in Jer b' serves to distinguish its translation character from Jer a'. The difference comes to the fore with regard to the temporal use of the infinitival expressions. Such cases are rendered by the gen. abs. five times in Jer b' and not a single time in Jer a', though similar Hebrew expressions are to be found in Jer a'.

#### 4.5. The Translation Character of Infinitives in Septuagint Jeremiah

The translation technical analysis of the translations of infinitives in Jer LXX concurs with the observations made by Thackeray, Soisalon-Soininen and Tov, namely that, as renderings of Hebrew infinitives, the genitive articular infinitive ( $\text{τοῦ} + \text{inf.}$ ) is more common in Jer a' and the anarthrous infinitive ( $0 + \text{inf.}$ ) is more common in Jer b'. This observation pertains both to infinitives functioning as direct objects and to final infinitives. With regard to other functions of infinitives as renderings of  $\text{ל} + \text{inf.}$ ,  $\text{τοῦ} + \text{inf.}$  is used almost to an equal amount in both Jer a' and Jer b', but the occurrence of  $0 + \text{inf.}$  increases from only one case in Jer a' to nine cases in Jer b'.

	Obj. inf.		Final inf.		Other inf.		Total
	0+inf.	τοῦ+inf	0+inf.	τοῦ+inf	0+inf.	τοῦ+inf	
Jer a'	9	10	8	43	1	10	81
Jer b'	11	2	32	26	9	11	91

Table 7. The distribution of the anarthrous infinitive (0+inf.) and the genitive articular infinitive (τοῦ+inf.), according to their function, as renderings of הָ+inf. in Jer LXX.

The effect that this distribution has on the translation character of Jer a' and Jer b' is distinct. 0+inf. is the more natural Greek expression of the two, and it is employed as the equivalent to a much larger extent in Jer b'. Jer a' attests a higher ratio of τοῦ+inf. in comparison to 0+inf., which bestows on it a more literal character.<sup>409</sup>

This characterization is supported by the renderings of הָ+inf. and הָ+inf. in the two halves of the translation. Though the total number of occurrences for these two expressions is not very high, the fact that they are rendered five times by the gen. abs. construction in Jer b' and not a single time in Jer a' is very significant. The other translation equivalents of these two expressions, ἐν τῷ+inf. and subordinate clauses, occur throughout the translation and serve to connect the character of the two, but the use of gen. abs. in Jer b' sets it apart from Jer a'. Here again Jer b' emits a more natural Greek flavor than Jer a'.<sup>410</sup>

The renderings of inf. abs. do not issue much cause to characterize Jer a' and Jer b' in a different manner. The main equivalent in both sections is the *part. coni.*, which, as a rendering of inf. abs., produces unidiomatic Greek and is another indication of literal translation. Cognate nouns do occur in nearly a third of the renderings, but these are also distributed evenly between Jer a' and Jer b'.

This characterization goes against Tov's general proposition that the reviser of Jer b' attempted a more literal translation of his *Vorlage* than the translator of Jer a'. Tov does not list the difference in the use of τοῦ+inf. between Jer a' and Jer b' under any particular revisionary principle, and he only suggests that the un-Greek use of τοῦ+inf.

<sup>409</sup> For an analysis of the use of 0+inf. in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 4.2.1. For an analysis of the use of τοῦ+inf. in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 4.2.2. For a summary of the translations of הָ+inf. in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 4.2.4.

<sup>410</sup> For an analysis of the renderings of הָ+inf. and הָ+inf. in Jer LXX, cf. sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.

in the OG “may have caused” the reviser to often omit the article.<sup>411</sup> Such a practice does not accord with models of early revision. The more natural Greek expressions, such as 0+inf. and gen. abs., are more becoming to a free and natural disposition toward translation. It is more reasonable to assign these changes to the original translator than to the later reviser who intentionally changed certain equivalents to better represent the underlying Hebrew forms.

A single translator will naturally vary his equivalents to a certain degree, and as he advances in his work he will most likely occasionally revert to more natural Greek representations of syntactical expressions that are as mundane as the object infinitive or the final infinitive, not to mention temporal subordinate clauses. This can be seen already within Jer a’ where the translator occasionally averts to the more natural Greek expression of the anarthrous infinitive. Jer is the longest book in the HB, and its translation undoubtedly took a significant amount of time. The further the translator advances in his translation of such a long book the more likely he is to introduce more natural Greek expressions by intuition, to the extent that the intuitive rendering has become the more common choice of equivalent in the later stages of translation.<sup>412</sup>

This conclusion is partially in agreement with Stipp’s suggestion that a single translator, who took a break after Jer LXX 28 only to commense by changing a number of his preferred equivalents, is responsible for the whole translation. Though Stipp’s proposal has difficulty explaining all the differences between Jer a’ and Jer b’, it is a good explanation for changes that turned toward more natural Greek expression, such as the renderings of לִּ+inf., בָּ+inf. and כִּ+inf. Theo van der Louw has demonstrated how LXX translators can change their renderings as they gain experience through practice,<sup>413</sup> and this may be a reason for the change among these renderings. The translator of Jer, whose competence of Hebrew is generally considered to be relatively low, set out to render infinitives in a literal manner by τοῦ+inf. After trying out the anarthrous infinitive a few times, he begins to choose it more often as the rendering, whether

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<sup>411</sup> Tov 1976, 97.

<sup>412</sup> For a discussion on the accidental nature of free renderings and the lesser amount of intentionality involved in their use when they become more frequent renderings, cf. Aejmelaeus 2007, 63.

<sup>413</sup> van der Louw 2016, 458.

consciously or not, since it is a more natural corresponding expression in the target language.

Pietersma's proposal that the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' may be reduced to textual accommodation or to an exegetical approach by a single translator who identified an inherent difference within the contents of Jer a' and Jer b' does not sufficiently explain the differences pertaining to the translations of infinitives in Jer LXX. The above analysis has served to identify the contexts in which the translated Hebrew expressions occur, and they have proved to be similar to one another to the extent that no contextual explanation for the differences could be determined. The change from more literal equivalents in Jer a' to a significant degree of more natural Greek equivalents in Jer b' is most plausibly explained by the natural variation to be expected in the advanced stages of a long translation process.

## 5. Other Syntactical Features in Greek Jeremiah

### 5.1. Overview

Besides the renderings of infinitives, there are other notable syntactical constructions whose equivalents differ in Jer a' and Jer b'. A translation technical analysis of a number of these is presented here. The translations of syntactical constructions are highly indicative of differences in translation character. A translator may vary lexical equivalents simply for stylistic reasons, but generally, syntactical constructions will only have a few formal or semantic matches in the target language. A change in the manner of rendering syntactic constructions is therefore a greater indicator of change in translation character than lexical variation.

Segmentation is a partial factor that can lead to different renderings of syntactic expressions because their meaning is usually determined by the preceding and succeeding textual content. The conjunction ׀, for example, can be rendered with an adversative conjunction in Greek if the translator identifies the adversity in the juxtaposition between the clauses that are connected by ׀. Alternatively, the translator may choose to employ *καί* regardless of the context, as the more literal translators of the LXX tend to do.

The analysis will categorize the renderings according to the function of the Hebrew expression that they translate. Following the analysis, the distribution of the renderings will be charted to determine their occurrences in Jer a' and Jer b'. Finally, the change of equivalency between Jer a' and Jer b' will be characterized. In the concluding section, the changes are categorized according to their correspondence with known principles of the *kaige* tradition.

### 5.2. Conjunctive ׀

#### 5.2.1. Overview

Conjunctive ׀ is used in Hebrew as a connector of clauses and as a connector of nouns within a phrase.<sup>414</sup> As a connector of nouns on the phrasal level, it mostly functions to

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<sup>414</sup> Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley 1920, §154; Waltke & O'Connor 1990, §39.2.1.

separate items in a list. On the other hand, its use as a clausal connector is multifaceted since it can assume a wide range of functions that are expressed by different conjunctions in other languages.<sup>415</sup> Gesenius, Kautzsch ad Cowley note the use of copulative ו to construct object clauses, causal clauses, conditional clauses, comparative clauses, adversative clauses, temporal clauses, final clauses and consecutive clauses.<sup>416</sup> This multiplicity of functions indicates that the correct understanding, and thus translation, of ו is in each instance to be derived from context, from the two clauses that are connected by ו.<sup>417</sup>

In the LXX, the renderings of paratactic clauses coordinated by ו mostly consist of the use of the conjunction καί. This is a very natural equivalent of ו when it conjoins words and nouns on the phrasal level, but it is not always the most suitable Greek equivalent of paratactic ו.<sup>418</sup> Greek employs an array of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions to express the relation between clauses, and καί is mainly used in natural Greek as a copulative coordinating conjunction as opposed to adversative, disjunctive, inferential and causal conjunctions.<sup>419</sup> The prevailing use of καί to render paratactic clauses is a strong indicator of the literal translation character of the LXX.

In the Pentateuch, the use of καί to render paratactic ו varies between 62,9% of cases in Gen to 90,3% of cases in Lev.<sup>420</sup> Other renderings are employed once every 1,4 verses in Gen (1134 occurrences in 1531 verses) and once every 7,2 verses (120 / 859) in Lev. This measurement indicates that Lev is by far the more literal of the two in translation character. Jer LXX attests even fewer cases of equivalents other than καί to render paratactic ו than Lev, employing them only once every 9,7 verses (140 / 1357). When further divided between Jer a' and Jer b', the latter is to be characterized as the more literal of the two. Jer a' employs other renderings once every 7,7 verses (108 /

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<sup>415</sup> Aejmelaesus 1982, 2.

<sup>416</sup> Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley 1910, §154–§166.

<sup>417</sup> Aejmelaesus 1982, 6.

<sup>418</sup> Aejmelaesus 1982, 12.

<sup>419</sup> Smyth 1920, 483–484 (coordinating conjunctions) and 631 (subordinating conjunctions).

<sup>420</sup> Aejmelaesus 1982, 13.



835), thus appearing quite close to the frequency of Lev, and Jer b' employs other equivalents once every 18,6 verses (32 / 594), which is very infrequent in comparison to the books of the Pentateuch. Tov appeals to similar statistics in his argumentation, stating that the reviser avoided using an alternative (i.e. δέ) to καί in order to represent conjunctive ו in a stereotyped manner more than any other translator in the LXX.<sup>421</sup>

For a translator who tends toward isomorphic equivalence and consistency, the use of καί is very suitable as a rendering of ו since the two are semantically equivalent as independent words, and they both occur at the beginning of the clause. Other semantically equivalent particles occur in the postpositive position (δέ and τέ) and do not conform to Hebrew word order. Though both Jer a' and Jer b' are to be characterized as literal translations, Jer a' attests a slightly greater propensity to avoid the hebraistic paratactic expression through a variety of means. Though this amounts to only a small number of deviating cases from the pervasive use of καί, the difference between Jer a' and Jer b' is palpable. The number of varying renderings decreases significantly in Jer b', imbuing it with a much more literal character.

This section delineates the Greek renderings of the Hebrew conjunctive ו. The presentation will focus on the renderings that depart from the standard equivalent καί, which is used to render the majority of occurrences throughout Jer LXX. This should be kept in mind since a discussion focused on the varying renderings can easily give the false impression that they form the most significant portion of the equivalents of conjunctive ו. Jer LXX attests the equivalent καί to represent conjunctive ו in over 2400 instances and other equivalents in only ca. 200 instances.<sup>422</sup> Most of the varying equivalents represent the paratactic use of ו, but a few occur as renderings of ו preceding subordinate conjunctions and particles, such as וְאִם and וְאִי, and a number render the use of ו as a connector on the phrasal level.

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<sup>421</sup> Tov 1976, 63.

<sup>422</sup> The total number of cases is presented as an approximation because of the significant quantitative difference between Jer MT and Jer LXX. Though it is possible to identify all cases of conjunctive ו that appear in longer MT pluses, and therefore count them out of the total of rendered cases, one cannot always be certain of the shorter pluses in the MT, whether they represent minuses in the *Vorlage* of the translation or whether the translator has intentional omitted the representation of the conjunction. The approximations account for this uncertainty.

## 5.2.2. Common Paratactic Clauses

### 5.2.2.1 Δέ

The postpositive particle δέ translates conjunctive ו 18 times in paratactic clauses.<sup>423</sup> The particle δέ usually indicates a degree of contrast in comparison to the preceding statement, but this contrast is not as defined or specific as the contrast indicated by ἀλλά. This degree of contrast might simply portray a change of speaker, which can be seen in the use of δέ to render the expression ויאמר in Gen and Ex. This mild adversative use of the particle has been described as copulative or continuative, since it does not convey a strong sense of contrast between two sentences, but rather expresses connections between clauses that are not so adversative in relation to one another.<sup>424</sup> The second use of δέ is more clearly adversative, expressing a contrast between two clauses. In the latter books of the Pentateuch, this usage occurs primarily when the Hebrew word order deviates from the common clause structure beginning with the verbal predicate. In these books, δέ renders the conjunctive when the clause begins with a noun, a prepositional phrase or a pronoun.<sup>425</sup> The following are examples of the use of δέ in Jer LXX to render ו in paratactic clauses:

2:11 וְהָיָה כְּבוֹדִי וְעַמִּי הַמִּירָא – εἰ ἀλλάσσονται  
ἐθνη θεοὺς αὐτῶν; καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσι θεοί. ὁ δὲ λαός μου ἠλλάξατο τὴν  
δόξαν αὐτοῦ

5:22–23 הָאֵתִי לֹא־תִירָאוּ נְאֻם־יְהוָה אִם מִפְּנֵי לֹא תַחֲלִילוּ אֲשֶׁר־שְׁמִתִּי חוֹל  
גָּבֹול לַיִם חֻק־עוֹלָם וְלֹא יַעֲבֹרְנָהּ וַיִּתְּנָעֲשׂוּ וְלֹא יוֹכְלוּ וְהָמוּ גְלִיו וְלֹא יַעֲבֹרְנָהּ:  
וְלָעָם הַזֶּה הָיָה לֵב סוֹרֵר וּמוֹרָה סָרוּ וַיִּלְכוּ<sup>(23)</sup> – μὴ ἐμὲ οὐ φοβηθήσεσθε;  
λέγει κύριος, ἢ ἀπὸ προσώπου μου οὐκ εὐλαβηθήσεσθε; τὸν τάξαντα  
ἄμμον ὄριον τῇ θαλάσῃ, πρόσταγμα αἰώνιον, καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται αὐτό,  
καὶ παραχθήσεται καὶ οὐ δυνήσεται, καὶ ἠχήσουσι τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς καὶ

<sup>423</sup> Equivalents of conjunctive ו are in Jer LXX 2:11, 21, 25, 32; 3:13, 24; 4:22, 27; 5:10, 23; 8:7; 11:19; 17:16; 22:27; 26:27-28; 42:16; 47:5. The particle δέ renders other Hebrew equivalents in Jer LXX 4:12; 7:8; 11:21; 12:17; 22:5; 31:30 and 32:17.

<sup>424</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 34–37.

<sup>425</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 38.

οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται αὐτό.<sup>(23)</sup> τῷ δὲ λαῷ τούτῳ ἐγενήθη καρδία ἀνήκοος καὶ ἀπειθής, καὶ ἐξέκλιναν καὶ ἀπήλθουσιν

42(35):16 כִּי הָקִימוּ בְנֵי יְהוֹנָדָב בְּיָדָם אֶת־מִצְוֹת אֲבֹתָם אֲשֶׁר צִוָּם יְהוָה – καὶ ἔστησαν υἱοὶ Ἰωνάδαβ υἱοῦ Ρηχαβ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος οὐκ ἤκουσάν μου

26(46):28 כִּי אֶעֱשֶׂה כָּל־הַבְּרָכָה־הַזֶּה לְאַחֲרָיִךְ אֲשֶׁר הִדְחִיתִּי שָׁמָּה – ὅτι ποιήσω συντέλειαν ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει, εἰς οὓς ἐξῴσά σε ἐκεῖ, σὲ δὲ οὐ μὴ ποιήσω ἐκλιπεῖν

The clauses connected by the highlighted coordinating conjunctions all express a degree of contrast between each other. In 2:11, the contrast is between a rhetorical question “has a nation changed its gods?” and its nonsensical answer “my people have changed their glory.” Jer 5:23 contrasts the people’s lack of reverence for YHWH in the face of his powerful deeds with the people’s stubborn and rebellious hearts. The latter two examples (42[35]:16 and 26[46]:28) present two opposing sentiments. The obedience of the sons of Rechab is contrasted with the disobedience of the people of Judah in 42(35):16. In 26(46):28, Israel is promised not to be completely destroyed, while the nations will be completely destroyed.

Similar to the use of δέ in the latter books of the Pentateuch, each of these cases of δέ is used to render a Hebrew clause that does not begin with the verbal predicate. These clauses begin with either a noun (e.g. 2:11), a pronoun or a prepositional phrase (e.g. 5:23). Only the case in 2:25 begins with the verb יִתְאַמְרִי – ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, which in turn resembles Greek renderings in Gen and Ex that represent a change in speaker.<sup>426</sup>

Jer a’ attests δέ 16 times and Jer b’ only two times as renderings of conjunctive ׀ when it initiates a paratactic clause.<sup>427</sup> Jer b’ contains a number of similar cases where ׀ connects two contrastive clauses but is rendered by καὶ instead of δέ. These include

<sup>426</sup> Gen. 4:9; 22:1, 7, 11; 24:18, 56, 57, 58; 27:18; 27:20, 24, 32; 29:4, 5, 6, 8; 32:27, 28; 33:5, 8, 15; 34:31; 37:16; 38:16, 17, 18, 29; 40:8; 42:7, 10, 13, 38; 43:7, 28; 44:7, 10; 46:2; 47:3, 30; Ex 2:8, 14, 18, 19, 20; 3:4; 4:2; 8:6. A few cases of this rendering are also found in other books: Num. 20:20; 22:30; Jos. 5:14; 2 Sam. 14:5; 20:17; 1 Kgs 1:17; 2:13; 2 Kgs 4:2, 13, 16, 23, 26, 28; 5:3; Ruth 2:13; 3:9, 16, 18 and 4:4.

<sup>427</sup> Of the cases of δέ that render other Hebrew equivalents besides paratactic ׀, five are in Jer a’ (4:12; 7:8; 11:21; 12:17 and 22:5) and two in Jer b’ (31:30 and 32:17). Cf. also n. 422.

cases where the clause initial word is either a verb, which is usually negated (15 times),<sup>428</sup> or a word other than a verb (12 times):<sup>429</sup>

39(32):24–25 הָיָה הַסְּלִלוֹת בָּאוּ הָעִיר לְלִכְדָּהּ וְהָעִיר נִתְּנָה בְיַד הַכַּשְׂדִּים  
(25) הַנִּלְחָמִים עָלֶיהָ מִפְּנֵי הַחֶרֶב וְהָרָעָב וְהַדָּבָר וְאֲשֶׁר דִּבְרַת הָיָה וְהִנֵּה רָאָה:  
וְאַתָּה אִמְרַת אֵלַי אֲדֹנָי יְהוֹה קִנְיֶה-לָּךְ הַשָּׂדֶה בְּכָסֶף וְהָעֵד עָדִים וְהָעִיר נִתְּנָה  
בְּיַד הַכַּשְׂדִּים – ἰδοὺ ὄχλος ἥκει εἰς τὴν πόλιν συλλαβεῖν αὐτήν, καὶ ἡ πόλις  
ἐδόθη εἰς χεῖρας Χαλδαίων τῶν πολεμούντων αὐτήν ἀπὸ προσώπου  
< τῆς > μαχαίρας καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ· ὥς ἐλάλησας, οὕτως ἐγένετο. (25) καὶ  
σὺ λέγεις πρὸς με Κτῆσαι σεαυτῷ τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀργυρίου· καὶ ἔγραψα  
βιβλίον καὶ ἐσφραγισάμην καὶ ἐπεμαρτυράμην μάρτυρας· καὶ ἡ πόλις  
ἐδόθη εἰς χεῖρας Χαλδαίων.

44(37):14 וַיֹּאמֶר יִרְמְיָהוּ שָׁקֶר אֵינִי נָפִיל עַל-הַכַּשְׂדִּים וְלֹא שָׁמַע אֵלָיו וַיִּתְּפֶשׂ  
וַיֹּאמֶר יִרְמְיָהוּ – καὶ εἶπε Ψευδός· οὐκ εἰς τοὺς Χαλδαίους ἐγὼ φεύγω.  
καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέλαβε Σαρουία τὸν Ἱερεμίαν

45(39):2 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הַיִּשָּׁב בְּעִיר הַזֹּאת יָמוּת בַּחֶרֶב בָּרָעַב וּבַדָּבָר וְהִיזָא  
יָחִיָּה – Οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ  
ἀποθάνειται ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ, καὶ ὁ ἐκπορευόμενος πρὸς τοὺς  
Χαλδαίους ζήσεται

41(34):14 מִקֶּץ שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים תְּשַׁלְּחוּ אִישׁ אֶת-אָחִיו הָעֶבְרִי אֲשֶׁר-יִמְכַר לָךְ  
וְעַבְדְּךָ שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים וְשַׁלַּחְתָּ הַפְּשִׁי מֵעִמָּךְ וְלֹא-שָׁמְעוּ אֲבוֹתֶיכֶם אֵלַי וְלֹא הָטוּ  
אֶת-אֲזָנָם – Ὅταν πληρωθῇ ἕξ ἔτη, ἀποστελεῖς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου τὸν  
Ἑβραῖον, ὃς πρᾶθήσεται σοι· καὶ ἐργᾶται σοι ἕξ ἔτη, καὶ ἐξαποστελεῖς  
αὐτὸν ἐλεύθερον. καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσάν μου καὶ οὐκ ἔκλιναν τὸ οὖς αὐτῶν

The first two examples (39[32]:25 and 44[37]:14) present a contrast similar to that found in examples 2:11 and 5:23 above which are rendered by δέ. The clauses in 39(32):25 begin with a pronoun and a noun, and the clause in 44(37):14 begins with a negated verb. Examples 45(39):2, 41(34):14 and 45(38):21 are clearly adversative, and the use of δέ would suit these clauses very well, as it is used in similar cases in Jer a'.<sup>430</sup>

<sup>428</sup> Jer LXX 35:13; 37:9; 39:23; 41:14, 16; 42:6, 15; 43:31; 44:2, 14; 46:17; 47:14; 49:21; 50:5 and 51:5.

<sup>429</sup> Jer LXX 34:12; 36:27, 31; 37:7; 38:32; 39:25(2x), 33, 36; 45:2; 51:18 and 33.

<sup>430</sup> Cf. examples 42(35):16 and 26(46):28 above.

Jer a' resorts to *δέ* once every 52,2 verses (16 / 835) to render paratactic *י* where Jer b' attests *δέ* only once every 297 verses (2 / 594) in similar contexts. This is a significant difference that strongly suggests that equivalents deviating from standard *καί* have been intentionally avoided in Jer b', whereas Jer a' attests enough cases to portray a slight inclination toward natural Greek expression. In comparison to Gen, the frequencies in Jer LXX are very low. Genesis uses *δέ* to render paratactic *י* once every two verses (777 / 1531). Even Lev employs *δέ* roughly twice as often as Jer a', at a frequency of once every 28,6 verses (30 / 859).

### 5.2.2.2 *Οὐδε and μηδέ*

*Οὐδε* and *μηδέ* are generally used to connect two negative clauses.<sup>431</sup> The contrasting function of *δέ* is not so common when these expressions are used and is mostly confined to contexts in which the first clause is positive.<sup>432</sup> Jer LXX attests *οὐδε* or *μηδέ* on eleven occasions where paratactic *י* connects two negative clauses.<sup>433</sup>

14:13 הַנֶּה הַנְּבִיאִים אֹמְרִים לָהֶם לֹא־תִרְאוּ חָרָב וְרָעָב לֹא־יִהְיֶה לָכֶם – ἰδοὺ οἱ προφητῶν αὐτῶν προφητεύουσι καὶ λέγουσιν Οὐκ ὄψεσθε μάχαιραν, οὐδὲ λιμὸς ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν

22:10 אֲלֹתֵיכֶם לָמָת וְאֶל־תִּגְדּוּ לוֹ בְּכֹוּ בְּכֹוּ לְהִלָּךְ כִּי לֹא יָשׁוּב עוֹד וְרָאָה – Μὴ κλαίετε τὸν τεθνηκότα *μηδέ* θρηνεῖτε αὐτόν· κλαύσατε κλαυθμῶ τὸν ἐκπορευόμενον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστρέψει ἔτι *οὐδέ* ὄψεται τὴν γῆν πατρίδος αὐτοῦ

The Greek *οὐδέ* in 22:10 does not have a corresponding negation in the Hebrew text, and the translator has shown a definite willingness to depart from a formal representation of the Hebrew by adding the negation before the verb *ὄψεται*. *Μηδέ* is used to render the prohibition with *לֹא*, which is the only such case in Jer LXX, and *οὐδέ* is used when the negation is followed by an indicative verb.

<sup>431</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 48.

<sup>432</sup> Denniston 1954, 191–192.

<sup>433</sup> Jer LXX 3:16; 7:28; 14:13; 16:2, 6; 19:5 (2x); 22:10 (2x); 23:4; 28(51):43.

The most common rendering of conjunctive וְ connecting two negative clauses is καὶ οὐ, and there are plenty of cases in which the translator could have resorted to οὐδέ instead, both in Jer a' and in Jer b'.<sup>434</sup> Jer a' does employ the alternative on eleven occasions, but Jer b' does not attest οὐδέ a single time.

### 5.2.2.3 Ἀλλά

The stronger adversative conjunction ἀλλά occurs three times as an equivalent of conjunctive וְ in Jer LXX, all three of which occur in Jer a'. As an adversative conjunction, ἀλλά is more specific than δέ, and it determines the relationship between two clauses with more force than δέ. Due to this specificity, ἀλλά is to be considered a free rendering of conjunctive וְ.<sup>435</sup>

7:24 וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ לְאִתְּחַטּוּ אֶת־אֲזַנֵּם וְיָלְכוּ בְּמַעֲצוֹת בְּשָׁרֵרוֹת לְבָם הָרַע – καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσάν μου καὶ οὐ προσέσχον τὸ οὖς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύθησαν τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τῆς κακῆς

9:13–14(12–13) וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ בְּקוֹלִי וְלֹא־הָלַכוּ בָּהּ: (14) וְיָלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי שָׁרָרוֹת – καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῆς φωνῆς μου, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπίσω τῶν ἀρεστῶν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τῆς κακῆς

15:17 וְיָדַתְּ מִפְּנֵי יְיָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּסִדְּדִי־שִׁבְתִּי לֹא – οὐκ ἐκάθισα ἐν συνεδρίῳ αὐτῶν παιζόντων, ἀλλὰ εὐλαβούμενη ἀπὸ προσώπου χειρός σου

Similar to the use of the equivalent δέ, ἀλλά expresses a contrast between the preceding and succeeding clauses. The translator most likely did not want to begin the sentence with a verb in order to preserve the Hebrew word order. In addition, the rendering ὁ δέ would not be suitable since the subject of the main verbs does not change. In such cases, ἀλλά is a very suitable equivalent that evades the use of paratactic καί, which would not express the contrast as well as ἀλλά. In 7:24 and 9:14(13), the actions of the people are contrasted with what they should have done. Jer 15:17 contrasts the prophet's choice of

<sup>434</sup> For example, in Jer a' 2:6; 3:16; 4:22, 28; 5:12, 21, 22; 7:13, 22, 24, 26, 31; 8:2; 11:11; 13:14; 14:14; 16:2, 4, 6; 17:8, 23; 20:9; 21:7; 23:32; 25:4; 27(50):40 and 28(51):43; and in Jer b' 29:19(49:18); 30:11(49:33); 38(31):40; 39(32):35; 41(34):14; 42(35):15; 43(36):24; 51(44):5 and 10.

<sup>435</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 61.

company, preferring the presence of YHWH to the presence of merry-makers.<sup>436</sup> Each of the three uses of ἀλλά as renderings of conjunctive וְ in Jer LXX occur in conjunction with a clause initial verb, and there are a number of similar contrasting clauses in Jer b' that begin with a conjunctive וְ and a clause initial verb which could potentially be rendered by ἀλλά, e.g.

Jer 37(30):8–9 וְלֹא־יַעֲבֹדוּ־בִּי עֹד וּמִרְדּוֹתַי יִצְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה וְיָעֲבֹדוּ אֹתִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְאֶת־יְהוָה מִלְכָּם אֲשָׁר אֱקִים לָהֶם –  
 συντρίψω ζυγὸν ἀπὸ τραχήλου αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν διαρρήξω,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἐργῶνται αὐτοὶ ἔτι ἀλλοτρίοις·<sup>(9)</sup> καὶ ἐργῶνται τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ  
 αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν Δαυιδ βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς.<sup>437</sup>

In this and similar cases, the equivalent is καί. However, Jer 37(30):9 does in fact attest the variant reading ἀλλά in Ms 534 and in several daughter versions (Bo La<sup>B</sup> Syp Arab Arm), and could possibly reflect the OG.

The three occurrences of ἀλλά as renderings of paratactic וְ in Jer a' are comparable to the number of the same equivalents in the books of the Pentateuch: six in Gen, three in Ex, two in Lev, four in Num and three in Deut.<sup>438</sup> In total, ἀλλά occurs 24 times in Jer LXX,<sup>439</sup> of which 13 cases render אֲנִי כִּי and four cases render כִּי. Three occurrences render the particle דָּא, and one case renders אֲנִי.<sup>440</sup>

#### 5.2.2.4 Ὅτι and Διότι

The causal conjunction ὅτι occurs once as an equivalent for paratactic וְ. A similar conjunction, διότι, is also employed once by the translator:

<sup>436</sup> The Hebrew verb וַיֵּשְׁבִי can be interpreted as belonging to the preceding sentence, e.g. "I have not sat in the company of revelers, and rejoiced," but the translator has clearly interpreted it as being the predicate of the following clause וַיֵּשְׁבִי מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה.

<sup>437</sup> Other examples include Jer LXX 37:9; 41:16; 42:15; 46:17 and 50:5.

<sup>438</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 61.

<sup>439</sup> Jer LXX 2:20, 33-35; 3:10; 7:23-24, 32; 9:14, 24; 15:17; 16:15; 19:6; 20:3; 22:12, 17; 23:8; 33:15; 38:30; 41:4; 45:4, 6; 50:3 and 51:14.

<sup>440</sup> As renderings of אֲנִי כִּי in Jer LXX 3:10; 7:23, 32; 9:23; 16:15; 19:6; 20:3; 22:17; 23:8; 38:30; 45:4, 6 and 51:14; as renderings of כִּי in Jer LXX 2:20, 34; 22:12 and 50:3; as renderings of דָּא in Jer LXX 2:25; 33:15 and 41:4 and a rendering of אֲנִי in Jer LXX 2:33.

8:3 לֹא יִאָסְפוּ וְלֹא יִקְבְּרוּ לְדֹמֶן עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה יְהִי׃<sup>(3)</sup> וַנִּבְחַר מוֹת מִחַיִּים –  
οὐ κοπήσονται καὶ οὐ ταφήσονται καὶ ἔσονται εἰς παράδειγμα ἐπὶ  
προσώπου τῆς γῆς,<sup>(3)</sup> **ὅτι** εἴλοντο τὸν θάνατον ἢ τὴν ζωήν

26(46):5 מִדּוֹעַ רָאִיתִי הִמָּה חַתִּים נִסְגִּים אַחֲזֹר וַגְּבוּרֵיהֶם יָכְתּוּ – τί ὅτι αὐτοὶ  
πτοοῦνται καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν ὀπίσω; **διότι** οἱ ἰσχυροὶ αὐτῶν κοπήσονται

The translation in 8:3 interprets the choice of death over life to be the cause of the judgment that is described in the previous verse (8:2). The Hebrew text, however, rather conveys consequence, that is, death will be preferred because of the circumstances described in the previous verse. The Hebrew conjunction in Jer 26(46):5 has also been rendered by a causal **διότι**, indicating that the second clause conveys the reason for the dismay that is described in the first clause.

“**Ὅτι** occurs frequently in Jer LXX as a rendering of **כִּי**, and **διότι** occurs occasionally as a rendering of the same.<sup>441</sup> As an equivalent of paratactic **וְ**, **ὅτι** and **διότι** are very rare in other books of the LXX as well. In the Pentateuch, **ὅτι** is the equivalent only six times.<sup>442</sup>

### 5.2.2.5 Relative Clauses

The rendering of paratactic **וְ** separating two coordinate clauses with a Greek relative pronoun that initiates a relative clause is mostly confined to Gen in the LXX,<sup>443</sup> but there are six cases in Jer.<sup>444</sup>

14:15 כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה עַל־הַנְּבִאִים הַנִּבְּאִים בְּשֵׁמִי וְאֲנִי לֹא־שָׁחַתְתִּים וְהִמָּה – τάδε λέγει κύριος περὶ τῶν  
προφητῶν τῶν προφητευόντων ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου ψευδῆ, καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ  
ἀπέστειλα αὐτούς, **οἳ** λέγουσι Μάχαιρα καὶ λιμὸς οὐκ ἔσται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς  
ταύτης

<sup>441</sup> For a discussion on the renderings of **כִּי** in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 5.3.

<sup>442</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 81.

<sup>443</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 74.

<sup>444</sup> Jer LXX 2:15; 14:15, 18; 17:6, 11 and 23:4.



17:6 וְשָׁכַן חֲרָרִים בְּמִדְבָּר אֶרֶץ מִלְחָה וְלֹא תֵשֵׁב – καὶ κατασκηνώσει ἐν ἀλίοις, ἐν ἐρήμῳ, ἐν γῇ ἀλμυρᾷ **הֵטִיס** οὐ κατοικεῖται

17:11 וְלֹא יֵלֶד – πέρδιξ συνήγαγεν **α** οὐκ ἔτεκε

23:4 וְהִקְמַתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם רָעִים וְרָעוּם – καὶ ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς ποιμένας, **οἱ** ποιμανοῦσιν αὐτούς

The use of the relative pronoun changes the relation of the second clause to the first, from a coordinate clause to a subordinate clause. All of these relative clauses are attributive, and most of them render paratactic clauses containing finite verbs (2:15; 14:18; 17:6, 11 and 23:4). Only 14:15 renders a Hebrew nominal clause, which is the most common Hebrew construction of paratactic **וְ** that is rendered by relative clauses in Gen LXX.<sup>445</sup>

### 5.2.2.6 Infinitive Constructions

In a few cases a coordinate clause beginning with the conjunction **וְ** has been rendered by an infinitive construction.

36(29):32 לֹא־יִהְיֶה לוֹ אִישׁ יוֹשֵׁב בְּתוֹךְ־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְלֹא־יִרְאֶה בְּטוֹב אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה – καὶ οὐκ ἔσται αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν **τοῦ** ἰδεῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ, **α** ἐγὼ ποιήσω

41(34):16 וְתִשְׁבוּ וְתִחַלְלוּ אֶת־שְׁמִי וְתִשְׁבוּ אִישׁ אֶת־עַבְדּוֹ – καὶ ἐπεστρέψατε καὶ ἐβεβηλώσατε τὸ ὄνομά μου **τοῦ** ἐπιστρέψαι ἕκαστον τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ

29:11(49:10) לֹא יוֹכֵל אֶת־מִסְתָּרָיו וְנִתְבַּה לֹא יוֹכֵל – ἀνεκάλυψα τὰ κρυπτά αὐτῶν, **κρυβῆναι** οὐ μὴ δύνωνται

Jer 36(29):32 displays the transformation of syntax by the removal of negations that is typical of Jer LXX, all the while retaining the basic meaning of the Hebrew text.<sup>446</sup> In this case, the coordinate clause is also transformed into an infinitival expression. Several instances translate an imperfect with a 1-consecutive (41[34]:15, 16; 42[35]:18 and

<sup>445</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 73.

<sup>446</sup> For a discussion of this tendency in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 7.5.

44[37]:17), and two cases translate a perfect with a 1-consecutive (21:9 and 29:11[49:10]).

Infinitives as a means to avoid paratactic καί result in fine Greek expression. Aejmelaeus describes them as an easy solution that would not alter the number of words in the text or the word order, the difference simply being the absence of the conjunction.<sup>447</sup> Nevertheless, the infinitive is seldom used to render paratactic ἡ in the Pentateuch as well as in Jer LXX.

All but one (21:9) of the infinitive constructions as renderings of paratactic  $\dot{\imath}$  occur in Jer b'. Two of these cases have variant readings with  $\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}$  (29:11[49:10] and 44[37]:17), but in both cases the majority of witnesses lack the conjunction. These infinitival expressions may be considered among the more natural Greek expressions that are employed in Jer b' in comparison to Jer a'.

#### 5.2.2.7 Disjunctive $\eta$

Disjunctive ׀ occurs twice as a representation of conjunctive ׀ that connects two coordinate clauses. In both cases it occurs in conjunction with the interrogative particle ׀.

15:5 תִּישָׁא לְשָׁלֹם לְךָ וְיִסֹּר יְיָ וְיִרְוּשָׁלַם וְיִנּוּד לְךָ – τίς  
 φείσεται ἐπὶ σοί, Ἰερουσαλημ; καὶ τίς δειλιάσει ἐπὶ σοί; ἢ τίς ἀνακάμψει  
 εἰς εἰρήνην σοι

21:13 הַמֵּי יָבוֹא בְּמַעוֹתֵינוּ – τοὺς λέγοντας Τίς  
 πτοήσῃ ἡμᾶς; ἢ τίς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν

The construction **מִי** occurs only a few times in Jer, and the other cases are rendered by **כֹּל** **טִלֵּס** (15:5; 29:20[49:19][2x]; 27[50]:44[2x]), except for one case in 29:20(49:19) that omits a representation of the interrogative **מִי**.

#### 5.2.2.8 Omissions

The most frequent manifestation of renditions other than *χαί* that represent paratactic is the simple omission of a direct equivalent. The cause of the non-representation of

<sup>447</sup> Aejmelaeus 1982, 116.

conjunctive ו may come down to its unsuitability in parallel clauses within poetic texts, but in most cases, if not all, the Greek style has simply been improved by the avoidance of paratactic καί.

The first examples portray cases where two poetic verses are connected by ו. Leaving out the Greek conjunction improves the poetic quality of the translation.

8:7 גַּם־הִסִּידָהּ בְּשָׁמַיִם יְדָעָה מוֹעֲדֶיהָ וְתָר וְסוֹס וְעִגּוֹר שָׁמְרוּ אֶת־עֵת בְּאַנָּה – και ἡ ἀσιδα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔγνων τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῆς, τρυγῶν καὶ χελιδῶν, αἶγος [στρουθία] ἐφύλαξαν καιροὺς εἰσόδων αὐτῶν

9:5(4) וְאִישׁ בְּרָעָהוּ יְהִתְלוּ וְאַמָּתָ לֹא יִדְבְּרוּ – ἕκαστος κατὰ τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ καταπαίξεται, ἀλήθειαν οὐ μὴ λαλήσωσι

15:9 בָּאָה שְׁמִשָּׁה בְּעֵד יוֹמָם בּוֹשָׁה וְחִפְרָה וּשְׂאֲרִיתָם לְחָרֵב אֶתֵּן לִפְנֵי 15:9 אִי־יָהִם – ἐπέδου ὁ ἥλιος αὐτῇ ἔτι μεσοῦσης τῆς ἡμέρας, κατησχύνθη καὶ ὠνειδίσθη τοὺς καταλοιπούς αὐτῶν εἰς μάχαιραν δώσω ἐναντίον τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν

15:18 לָמָּה הִיָּה כְּאֲבִי נֹצֵחַ וּמִכְתִּי אֲנוּשָׁה מֵאַנָּה הִרְפָּא – ἵνα τί οἱ λυποῦντές με κατισχύουσί μου; ἡ πληγὴ μου στερεὰ πόθεν ἰαθήσομαι

17:6 וְהִיָּה בְּעָרֶךָר בְּעָרֶכָה וְלֹא יִרְאָה כִּי־יָבוֹא טוֹב 17:6 ἀγριομυρίαχ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὐκ ὀψεται ὅταν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθὰ

27(50):7 כָּל־מוֹצְאֵיהֶם אֶכְלוּם וְצָרִיהֶם אָמְרוּ לֹא נֶאֱשָׁם 27(50):7 πάντες οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτοὺς κατανάλισκον αὐτούς, οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν εἶπαν Μὴ ἀνῶμεν αὐτούς

37(30):17 אֲרָפְאָךָ וּמִמְכּוֹתַי לָךְ אֲרָכָה לָךְ כִּי אֵעֲלֶה אֲרָכָה – ὅτι ἀνάξω τὸ ἱμά σου, ἀπὸ πληγῆς ὁδυνηρᾶς ἰατρεύσω σε

Generally, the omission of a representation of conjunctive ו that connects two clauses results in asyndeton. This occurs both in prose and in poetic texts.

3:16 לֹא־יֵאמְרוּ עוֹד אֲרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה וְלֹא יַעֲלֶה עַל־לֵב וְלֹא יִזְכְּרוּבוּ וְלֹא 3:16 οὐκ ἐροῦσιν ἔτι Κιβωτὸς διαθήκης ἁγίου Ἰσραηλ, οὐκ ἀναβήσεται ἐπὶ καρδίαν, οὐκ ὀνομασθήσεται οὐδὲ ἐπισκεφθήσεται καὶ οὐ ποιηθήσεται ἔτι

10:14 = 28(51):17 **וְלֹא־רוּחַ בָּם** – הַבִּישׁ כָּל־צוּרָה מִפָּסֶל כִּי שָׁקַר נִסְכּוֹ  
κατησχύνθη πᾶς χρυσοχόος ἐπὶ τοῖς γλυπτοῖς (ἀπὸ τῶν γλυπτῶν 28:17)  
αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ψευδῇ ἐχώνευσαν, **οὐκ** ἔστι πνεῦμα ἐν αὐτοῖς

26(46):9 **וַיֵּצְאוּ הַגְּבוּרִים** – ἐπίβητε ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἵππους, παρασκευάσατε τὰ ἄρματα· ἐξέλθατε, οἱ μαχηταὶ

The final examples consist of free renderings in which the formal qualities of the Hebrew syntax have been abandoned for the sake of natural Greek expression.

8:4 **וְלֹא יָקוּמוּ אִם־יָשׁוּב** – Μὴ ὁ πίπτων οὐκ ἀνίσταται; ἢ ὁ  
ἀποστρέφων οὐκ ἐπιστρέφει

18:4 **וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ כְּלִי אָהָר** – καὶ διέπεσε τὸ ἄγγεῖον, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐποίει, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν  
αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἄγγεῖον ἕτερον

27(50):4 **וְלֹכּוּ וְאָתְיָהוּ אֱלֹהֵיהֶם** – βαδίζοντες καὶ  
κλαίοντες πορεύσονται τὸν κύριον θεὸν αὐτῶν ζητοῦντες

The translation of 8:4 has transformed the Hebrew sentence structure from two coordinate clauses **וְלֹא יָקוּמוּ** **אִם־יָשׁוּב** into a single clause by rendering the first verb with a participle that serves as the subject of the clause Μὴ ὁ πίπτων οὐκ ἀνίσταται. In addition, the interrogative particle הַ that signals the rhetorical question has been freely represented by a corresponding Greek construction which, though it does not follow the syntactical norms of the Hebrew syntax, indicates the same semantic function as the Hebrew.<sup>448</sup> This is a good and quite exceptional translation in the LXX.

In 18:4 and 27(50):4, the translations of the highlighted conjunctions are more in tune with Greek syntax than the usual rendering of καὶ with a finite verb. In 18:4, the two coordinate clauses **וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ כְּלִי אָהָר** **וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ** are molded into one sentence by transforming the verb **וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ** into the adverb πάλιν.<sup>449</sup> This in turn allows the omission of the conjunction before the main verb ἐποίησεν. In 27(50):4, the second independent clause is transformed into a subordinate clause by the use of the participle form

<sup>448</sup> For a discussion of the renderings of rhetorical questions in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 7.5.

<sup>449</sup> A similar rendering is located in Jer LXX 43(36):16, where the imperative **וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ** is rendered by πάλιν as if it were **וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ**.

ζητοῦντες. The translation of the first verb יִלְכוּ = πορεύονται now serves as the main verb for both the preceding *participium coniunctum* βαδίζοντες καὶ κλαίοντες and for the following subordinate clause.

Less than 30 cases of omitted conjunctions standing for paratactic וְ are located in Jer b' in comparison to over 70 cases in Jer a'. A partial explanation for this may be that Jer a' contains more poetic texts than Jer b', and therefore more opportunities to elide the conjunction at the beginning of poetic verses. Nevertheless, a decrease of this phenomenon in Jer b' to less than half of its occurrences in Jer a' suggests a degree of intentionality.

### 5.2.3. וְ in Connection to other Conjunctions and Particles

#### 5.2.3.1 וְאִם

There are six cases in which conjunctive וְ followed by the subordinate conjunction אִם is rendered by an equivalent other than καί.<sup>450</sup> The rendering with καί occurs eleven times. In five cases out of the six which employ a rendering other than καί, וְאִם begins a subordinate clause which is then followed by an apodosis.

12:16–17 הָיָה אִם-לִמְד יִלְמְדוּ אֶת-דַּרְכֵי עַמִּי לְהַשְׁבֵּעַ בְּשֵׁמִי חַי־יְהוָה כְּאֶשֶׁר  
 לִמְדוּ אֶת-עַמִּי לְהַשְׁבֵּעַ בְּבָעַל וְנִבְנוּ בְּתוֹךְ עַמִּי: (17) וְאִם לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ וְנִתְּשָׁה  
 :אֶת-יְהוָה – καὶ ἔσται ἂν μαθόντες μάθωσι  
 τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ὀμνύειν τῷ ὀνόματί μου Ὡς κύριος, καθὼς  
 ἐδίδαξαν τὸν λαόν μου ὀμνύειν τῇ Βααλ, καὶ οἰκοδομηθήσονται ἐν μέσῳ  
 τοῦ λαοῦ μου. (17) ἂν δὲ μὴ ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἐξαρθῶ τὸ ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο  
 ἐξάρσει καὶ ἀπωλεία

4:1 אִם-תָּשׁוּב יִשְׂרָאֵל נְאֻם-יְהוָה אֲלֵי תְּשׁוּב וְאִם-תִּסְרֹךְ שְׁקוּצֵיךְ מִפְּנֵי וְלֹא  
 :תִּנּוּד – Ἐὰν ἐπιστραφῇ Ἰσραὴλ, λέγει κύριος, πρὸς με ἐπιστραφήσεται·  
 ἂν περιέλῃ τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτοῦ ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου  
 μου εὐλαβηθῇ

<sup>450</sup> Rahlfs adopts the B reading ἂν δὲ μὴ for וְאִם in Jer 13:17. The majority reading ἂν μὴ, which is also the reading adopted by Ziegler, is more likely the earliest reading. Since ἂν μὴ most likely reflects a *Vorlage* that lacks the conjunction, this case is not considered in the total figure. The phrase is not connected to the preceding clause in 13:16, and therefore does not necessitate the use of a conjunction.

34:15(27:18) בַּיהוָה אַתֶּם יִפְגְּעוּ-נָא בַּיהוָה הֵם וְאִם-יֵשׁ דְּבַר-יְהוָה אֵתְּם יִפְגְּעוּ-נָא בַּיהוָה  
 תֹּאמַרְתִּי – εἰ προφητῆται εἰσι καὶ εἰ ἔστι λόγος κυρίου ἐν αὐτοῖς,  
 ἀπαντησάτωσάν μοι·

The first example (12:17) attests ἐὰν δὲ as the rendering,<sup>451</sup> the second attests only ἐάν (4:1),<sup>452</sup> and the third (34:15[27:18]) uses the interrogative εἰ. Similar Hebrew constructions are rendered with καὶ eight times, either καὶ ἐὰν or καὶ εἰ.<sup>453</sup> The omission of the conjunction in 4:1 can be considered as conforming to the parallelistic structure of the text, as seen in some of the examples above. The use of δὲ to render conjunctive וְ as an introduction to subordinate clauses is a natural Greek expression, and is used exceptionally often in the Pentateuch.<sup>454</sup>

In two passages, וְאִם is used to introduce the second of two rhetorical questions:<sup>455</sup>

5:9 הַעֲלֵא-לָהּ לֹא-אֶפְקֹד נְאֻם-יְהוָה וְאִם בְּגוֹי אֲשֶׁר-כָּזָה לֹא תִתְנַקֵּם נִפְשִׁי –  
 μὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐπισκέψομαι, λέγει κύριος, ἢ ἐν ἔθνει τῷ τοιούτῳ οὐκ  
 ἐκδικήσῃ ἢ ψυχὴ μου

14:22 הֲיֵשׁ בְּהַבְלִי הַגּוֹיִם מְגֻשָּׁמִים וְאִם-הֲשָׁמִים יִתְּנוּ רַבְבִּים – μὴ ἔστιν ἐν  
 εἰδώλοις τῶν ἐθνῶν ὑετίζων; καὶ εἰ ὁ οὐρανὸς δώσει πλησμονὴν αὐτοῦ;

The first example (5:9) is rendered exceptionally well as a rhetorical question with only the disjunctive ἢ standing in the place of וְאִם. The style of the second example (14:22) is not as natural in Greek as the first. The initial rhetorical question is rendered suitably to begin with μὴ, but the second commences with καὶ εἰ, which does not follow the form of Greek rhetorical questions.

A final case of וְאִם occurs in 45(38):16 where it is used as part of an oath formula  
 וְאִם-אֶמְתִּךָ אֶתְּנֶנָּה בְּיַד הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה – εἰ ἀποκτενῶ σε καὶ εἰ δώσω σε εἰς χεῖρας

<sup>451</sup> A similar case is in 22:5.

<sup>452</sup> A similar case is in 49(42):6.

<sup>453</sup> Καὶ ἐάν in Jer LXX 14:18; 15:19; 45(38):18 and 21; καὶ εἰ in Jer LXX 23:22; 34:15(27:18); 49(42):13 and 31(48):27.

<sup>454</sup> Aejmelaesus 1982, 151–152.

<sup>455</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the treatment of rhetorical questions in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 7.5.

τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων. Here too **וְ** is rendered by καὶ εἰ. There is a further case in Jer LXX that possibly reflects **וְ** in the *Vorlage*, though the MT attests only **וְ**:

11:21 לֵכֶן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה עַל־אֲנָשֵׁי עֲנֹתוֹת הַמְּבַקְשִׁים אֶת־נַפְשָׁם לֵאמֹר לֹא  
 תָּנִבָּא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה וְלֹא תָמוּת בְּיָדוֹ – διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ἄνδρας Αναθῶθ τοὺς ζητοῦντας τὴν ψυχὴν μου τοὺς λέγοντας Οὐ μὴ  
 προφητεύσης ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποθανῇ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν  
 ἡμῶν.

In total, only six cases of **וְ** are rendered by equivalents that do not use καὶ as a rendering of conjunctive **וְ**, with a possible seventh case in 11:21. The conjunction καὶ is used to translate ten cases of **וְ**. Four of the exceptional renderings are located in Jer a' (4:1; 5:9; 12:17 and 22:5) and two in Jer b' (34:15[27:18] and 49[42]:6). Καὶ is used four times in Jer a' and six times in Jer b'. There is only a slight difference between Jer a' and Jer b' in their use and non-use of the equivalent καὶ. Jer a' renders half of the cases of **וְ** with καὶ and the other half without it, while Jer b' uses καὶ in six out of eight cases of **וְ** and resorts to other equivalents only twice.

### 5.2.3.2 עד

The Particle עד with the conjunction **וְ** 'and until' is nearly always rendered by the Greek καὶ ἕως. This equivalence is attested in 16 out of 19 occurrences of עד. Only three cases leave out the conjunction καὶ

3:25 נִשְׁכַּבְהָ בְּבִשְׁתָּנוּ וַתִּכְסֶּנּוּ כְּלִמְתָּנוּ כִּי לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ חָטְאוּ אֲנַחְנוּ  
 וְאַבּוֹתֵינוּ מִנְּעוּרֵינוּ וְעַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה – ἐκοιμήθημεν ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ ἡμῶν, καὶ  
 ἐπεκάλυψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀτιμία ἡμῶν, διότι ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμάρτομεν  
 ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεότητος ἡμῶν ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης

עַל־כָּל־שִׁפְיִים בַּמִּדְבָּר בָּאוּ שָׂדִידִים כִּי חָרַב לִיהוָה אֲכָלָה מִקְצֵה־אָרֶץ  
 וְעַד־קִצֵּה הָאָרֶץ אֵין שְׁלוֹם לְכָל־בָּשָׂר – ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διεκβολὴν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ  
 ἤλθοσαν τάλαιπωροῦντες, ὅτι μάχαιρα τοῦ κυρίου καταφάγεται ἀπ'  
 ἄκρου τῆς γῆς ἕως ἄκρου τῆς γῆς, οὐκ ἔστιν εἰρήνη πάσῃ σαρκί.

וְאָמַרְתָּ יְהוָה אַתָּה דִּבַּרְתָּ אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה לְהַכְרִיתוֹ לְבִלְתִּי 28(51):62  
 – καὶ ἐρεῖς Κύριε  
 הַיּוֹתִיבוּ יוֹשֵׁב לְמַאֲדָם וְעַד־בְּהֵמָה כִּי־שִׁמְמוֹת עוֹלָם תִּהְיֶה  
 κύριε, σὺ ἐλάλησας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ

μὴ εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντας ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους, ὅτι ἀφανισμὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔσται.

All three of these cases occur in Jer a'. All similar cases in Jer b' attest καὶ ἕως. Each example represents a different use of the particle עד. In the first example it is temporal, in the second it is local, and in the third it refers to living beings. Each of these three uses is also represented among the cases rendered by καὶ ἕως. The omission of the Greek conjunction καί in these instances improves the quality of the Greek expression, and they do not seem to be cases of a lacking conjunction in the *Vorlage*.

### 5.2.3.3 וְאִיךְ

The interrogative וְאִיךְ with the conjunction וְ 'and how' occurs only three times in Jer LXX, and each case is rendered without a formal equivalent for וְ.

2:21 וְאִנְכִי נִטְעָתִיךָ שָׂרַק בְּלֵה זָרַע אֲמַת וְאִיךָ נִהַפְכָתָ לִי סוּרִי הִגְפֹן נִבְרִיָה –  
ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφύτευσά σε ἄμπελον καρποφόρον πᾶσαν ἀληθινήν· πῶς  
ἐστράφης εἰς πικρίαν, ἢ ἄμπελος ἢ ἀλλοτρία.

12:5 כִּי אֲתִירְגְּלִים רָצְתָה וַיִּלְאוּךָ וְאִיךָ תִתְחַרָּה אֶת־הַסּוּסִים וּבְאַרְץ שָׁלוֹם  
אֶתָּה בּוֹטֵחַ וְאִיךָ תַעֲשֶׂה בְּגֵאוֹן הַיַּרְדֵּן – σοῦ οἱ πόδες τρέχουσι καὶ ἐκλύουσί  
σε· πῶς παρασκευάσῃ ἐφ' ἵπποις; καὶ ἐν γῇ εἰρήνης σὺ πέποιθας· πῶς  
ποιήσεις ἐν φρυάγματι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου;

In each case, conjunctive וְ connects two coordinate clauses, and the translator has left the conjunction without a formal representation. Πῶς is the semantic equivalent of וְאִיךָ and also its standard equivalent throughout the LXX. Through this means the translator has successfully avoided hebraistic parataxis.

### 5.2.4. Conjunctive וְ as a Connector of Nouns

There are a few cases in which a conjunctive וְ that connects nouns on the phrasal level are rendered by equivalents other than καί, which is here also the most common equivalent of conjunctive וְ. The few exceptions are represented by the following examples.



8:7 גַּם־הִסִּידָה בַּשָּׁמַיִם יְדָעָה מוֹעֲדֶיהָ וְתָר וְסוֹס וְעִגְוֹר שָׁמְרוּ אֶת־עַתָּה בְּאַנְהּ –  
 και ἡ ἀσιδα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔγνω τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῆς, τρυγῶν και χελιδῶν,  
 αγουρ [στρουθία] ἐφύλαξαν καιροὺς εἰσόδων αὐτῶν

13:11 כִּי בָאֲשֶׁר יִדְבֹק הָאֲזוּר אֶל־מַתְנִי־אִישׁ בֶּן הַדְּבָקָתִי אֵלִי אֶת־כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶת־כָּל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה נֶאֱמַר־יְהוָה לֵהְיוֹת לִי לְעַם וְלִשְׁם וְלִתְהִלָּה וְלִתְפָּאָרָה – ὅτι καθάπερ κολλᾶται τὸ περιζῶμα περὶ τὴν ὀσφύν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτως ἐκόλλησα πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ και πάντα οἶκον Ἰουδα τοῦ γενέσθαι μοι εἰς λαὸν ὀνομαστὸν και εἰς καύχημα και εἰς δόξαν

18:7 רַגְעַ אֲדַבֵּר עַל־גּוֹי וְעַל־מַמְלָכָה – Πέρας λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλείαν

31(48):32 עַל־קִיָּצֶיךָ וְעַל־בְּצִירֶיךָ יִדָּד נָפֶל – ἐπὶ ὁπώραν σου, ἐπὶ τρυγηταῖς σου ὅλεθρος ἐπέπεσε

The translator does not recognize the meaning of עִגְוֹר in 8:7 and transliterates it as αγουρ. He also leaves out a representation of the conjunction. In 13:11, the translator combines the two indirect objects וְלִשְׁם וְלִעַם by omitting the conjunction. The result is that the second noun has become an attribute of the first εἰς λαὸν ὀνομαστὸν. The use of disjunctive ἢ to render conjunctive וְ in 18:7 is very perceptive, and the omission of the conjunction in 31(48):32 is possibly another example of conforming to poetic form.

### 5.2.5. Other Renderings

A few renderings of conjunctive וְ highlight the ability of the translator to produce natural Greek, and even indicate that he is a native Greek speaker:

23:22 וְאִם־עָמְדוּ בְּסוֹדִי וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ דְּבָרִי אֶת־עַמִּי וַיֵּשְׁבוּ מִדְּרָכָם הָרַע וּמָרַע – και εἰ ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει μου και εἰ ἤκουσαν τῶν λόγων μου, και τὸν λαὸν μου ἂν ἀπέστρεφον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν

28(51):15 עֲשֵׂה אֶרֶץ בְּכֹחוֹ מִכִּין תִּבֶּל בְּחֶכְמָתוֹ וּבְתִבּוּנָתוֹ נִטָּה שָׁמַיִם – ποιῶν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ, ἐτοιμάζων οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῇ συνέσει αὐτοῦ ἐξέτεινε τὸν οὐρανόν

In the unreal conditional clause (23:22), the use of ἂν in the apodosis is a mark of natural Greek that does not rise from any element in the Hebrew text. The word stands

in the place of conjunctive וְ, but the translation implies an interpretation of the Hebrew that is different from the MT. The Hebrew form וַיִּשְׁבוּם has been interpreted as the predicate of a clause consisting of אֶת־עַמִּי וַיִּשְׁבוּם “they would have turned my people.” This is linked to the interpretation of וַיִּשְׁמָעוּ as a *qal* form “to obey” instead of the *hiph’il* form “to proclaim” attested by the MT. The LXX interpretation sets the conjunction awkwardly between the object and its predicate, which might have caused confusion for the translator. If he did not understand the sentence he might have simply guessed at a suitable rendering for the whole.

The Greek rendering of 28(51):15 portrays good use of participles, which are very common in Greek literature. In this verse, the participles provide an easy solution for the translator since the Hebrew text contains two participles (מְכִיִן and עֹשֶׂה). The Greek sentence has been formed as a protasis followed by an apodosis, and the conjunction at the beginning of the apodosis, which is the position of conjunctive וְ in the Hebrew text, has been left out according to natural Greek structure.

### 5.2.6. Conclusions

The analysis presented above delineates the LXX translations of conjunctive וְ in Jer, with the exception of those occurrences that are translated by καί. Jer LXX renders conjunctive וְ ca. 2600 times out of its ca. 3050 occurrences in Jer MT. The remaining ca. 450 occurrences are to be found among the plusses of Jer MT.

Most of the renderings of conjunctive וְ in Jer LXX employ the word καί, approximately 2400 times. Other than these, there are ca. 200 other equivalents. These variously consist of different conjunctive particles or relative pronouns, or they have been left without a formal representation in the translation for stylistic reasons, resulting in either asyndeton or varying sentence structure in relation to the Hebrew text. All-in-all, however, καί is the Greek translation of conjunctive וְ in 92% of the occurrences. Of the equivalents other than καί, ca. 150 are located in Jer a’ and only ca. 50 in Jer b’.<sup>456</sup> In

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<sup>456</sup> The imprecise figures allow a small margin of error with regard to cases in which conjunctive וְ has been left without a formal representation in the translation. All cases in which conjunctive וְ is represented by a particle, a relative pronoun or any other formal representation in Jer LXX are counted for.

Jer a', the variety of different equivalents is fairly high, though the number of their occurrences is very low, in comparison to conjunctive *καί*.

Most of these equivalents pertain to cases where conjunctive *וְ* connects two coordinated clauses. In such cases, a frequent alternative to *καί* is the postpositive particle *δέ*, which is used 19 times to render slightly contrastive uses of conjunctive *וְ*. Also, the equivalents *μηδέ* and *οὐδέ* are used eleven times in Jer a' when paratactic *וְ* connects two negated clauses. The more defined contrastive particle, *ἀλλά*, is used three times. The causal conjunctions *ὅτι* and *διότι* render conjunctive *וְ* one time each. The use of relative pronouns in six instances serve to change the syntax of the text from coordinate clauses to main clauses and their subordinate clauses, a phenomenon that occurs elsewhere mostly only in Gen LXX. Infinitive constructions are found to render paratactic *וְ* on several occasions, and disjunctive *ἢ* twice. The most common means to avoid parataxis is to simply omit any representation of the conjunction. This occurs frequently in poetic texts at the beginning of a parallel verse, and often results in asyndeton.

A second context in which conjunctive *וְ* receives an alternative rendering to *καί* is when it is prefixed to subordinate conjunctions or particles. This occurs six times among equivalents of *כִּי*, five of which initiate subordinate clauses and one of which begins a rhetorical question, and the expression *עַד* is translated three times without a conjunction. Both are mostly rendered with the conjunction *καί* in Jer LXX. Conjunctive *וְ* with the interrogative *אִם* occurs only three times, but it is rendered each time without a conjunction.

When conjunctive *וְ* connects nouns on the phrase level it also is generally rendered by *καί*, but in a few cases the conjunction is omitted. This may result in minor transformations of the syntax, the changing of a coordinate noun into an attributive adjective for example.

In addition, the analysis has identified a few cases of exceptional Greek expressions which, by their departure from Hebrew idiom and avoidance of parataxis, bear the marks of a native Greek speaker. Such renderings are evident in the apodotes in 23:22

and 28(51):15, the rhetorical question in 8:4, the rendering of **וְ** as *πάντα* in 18:4, and the use of participles in 27(50):4.

As mentioned in the introduction, there is a significant difference in the frequency in which Jer a' and Jer b' attest alternatives to *καί* as renderings of conjunctive **וְ**, and this can be seen in particular among the renderings of **וְ** as a connector of two coordinate clauses. In such cases, Jer a' resorts to alternative equivalents once every 7,7 verses (108 times in 835 verses), which is akin to the frequency found in Lev. Jer b', on the other hand, attests an alternative equivalent to paratactic **וְ** only once every 18,6 verses (32 / 594). Jer a' attests a variety of different equivalents to render conjunctive **וְ** that coordinates two clauses. These include *δέ* and *ἀλλά* when the clauses are contrastive, *μηδέ* and *οὐδέ* when both clauses are negated, *ὅτι* and *διότι*, relative pronouns, an infinitive in one case, and many cases of the omission of a conjunction. Jer a' also attests the several examples of exceptional renderings that were identified in the analysis.

Jer b', on the other hand, only attests a few alternative equivalents to *καί*. These are two cases of *δέ* and a number of cases of the infinitive as a rendering of paratactic **וְ**. Other than these, the alternatives mainly consist of the omission of coordinating conjunctions. The number of these alternative equivalents to *καί* is significantly lower than the number in Jer a'.

These differences between Jer a' and Jer b' are difficult to explain by exegetical principle since they are purely syntactic in character. One should assume that a single translator would produce the same degree of variation of equivalence within both Jer a' and Jer b', since the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of both contain corresponding amounts of the Hebrew constructions being translated. The figures indicate a different translation characterization for the sections Jer a' and Jer b'. Though the equivalent *καί* is by far the most common rendering of conjunctive **וְ** in both Jer a' and Jer b', and contributes to the literalistic characterization of both, the more frequent occurrence of alternative renderings in Jer a' portrays that section as more disposed toward producing clausal connections in idiomatic Greek style at the cost of formal equivalency in relation to the Hebrew text. The nearly complete lack of direct alternatives to *καί* in Jer b' suggests that such equivalents have been intentionally avoided in favor of the near systematic use of

καί to represent conjunctive וְ. Jer a' does not display such a propensity to avoid other equivalents, and the significant drop in the frequency of alternatives in Jer b' indicates a change between the two sections. The character of this change towards a more consistent representation of conjunctive וְ with the equivalent καί reflects a revisional tendency akin to that of the other known early revisions such as the *kaige* tradition.

Only one group of alternative equivalents to καί as renderings of conjunctive וְ that attest more frequent use in Jer b' than in Jer a' is the use of infinitive constructions to render paratactic וְ. Six of these cases are located in Jer b' and only one in Jer a'. This feature in Jer a' does not conform to the tendency to avoid alternative equivalents to καί, and should be characterized according to the disposition of the translator in Jer a'. It is more likely that these infinitive constructions are remnants of the OG that were overlooked by the reviser. The ca. 40 instances of non-representation of the conjunction in Jer b' bespeak of inconsistency in the application of the revisional principles.

## 5.3. The Particle וְ

### 5.3.1. Overview

The particle וְ is used in several different functions in the Hebrew language, and for this reason the analysis of its interpretation and renderings in the LXX are a beneficial means to characterize the translations. The most common equivalent of וְ in the LXX is the Greek conjunction ὅτι, and the most frequent alternative to ὅτι is διότι. The renderings of וְ in Jer LXX are significant for this study because they have been used to argue for bisectioning the translation. These arguments are presented first, and a discussion of the renderings of וְ in Jer LXX will occupy the remainder of this chapter.

Thackeray and Tov discuss the occurrences of διότι in Jer LXX only briefly, and both note that it is used significantly more often in Jer a' than in Jer b'. Thackeray mentions διότι in a discussion about the translators' avoidance of hiatus. Based on his calculations, διότι occurs a' 30 times in Jer and only three times in Jer b'. He does not

further discuss the two-translator theory here, but rather refers to the close relationship between the translation of MP, Ezek a and Jer a'.<sup>457</sup>

Tov's discussion on the use of  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  in Jer LXX focuses on the bisectioning of the translation, and his calculations indicate that  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  occurs 25 times in Jer a' and not once in Jer b'. Tov has employed Ziegler's edition in his calculations, and Ziegler regards the occurrences of  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  in some Mss of Jer b' to be secondary readings. Tov argues that Jer OG varied his rendering of  $\aleph$  by using both  $\acute{o}\tau\iota$  and  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  to a similar extent as is evident in other books in the LXX, and that the reviser eliminated this variance in favor of the stereotyped equivalent  $\acute{o}\tau\iota$ ,<sup>458</sup> which is by far the most common equivalent of  $\aleph$  throughout the LXX.

Pietersma criticises Tov's use of  $\acute{o}\tau\iota$  and  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  as arguments for his reviser theory, first noting that the nature of Tov's discussion on  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  is ambiguous. The heading does not explicate that Tov is referring to renderings of  $\aleph$ , but implies that he is only referring to the occurrences of  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$ , though in his discussion Tov specifically refers to  $\acute{o}\tau\iota$  and  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  as the equivalents of  $\aleph$ . Second, Pietersma takes issue with Tov's interpretation of the nature of this equivalence, claiming that if the variance is based on an attempt to avoid hiatus, to which Tov refers in his argument, then the difference between Jer a' and Jer b' is rather a question of style, which in Pietersma's opinion can support a multiple translator theory at the most.<sup>459</sup> The occurrences of  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  actually vary with regard to the avoidance of hiatus.  $\Delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  occurs 17 times following a vowel and eleven times following a consonant.<sup>460</sup> Its use is not therefore restricted to situations in which the preceding letter is a vowel.

Both of the equivalents  $\acute{o}\tau\iota$  and  $\delta\iota\acute{o}\tau\iota$  principally render the Hebrew particle  $\aleph$ , and the variation between the two equivalents is a reflection of the translator's interpretation of the Hebrew particle and his choice of equivalent to represent it in each instance. The

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<sup>457</sup> Thackeray 1909, 138–9.

<sup>458</sup> Tov 1976, 63.

<sup>459</sup> Pietersma 2010b, 379.

<sup>460</sup> After a vowel in Jer LXX 1:19; 2:10; 4:8, 15; 5:4; 8:17; 15:20; 21:10; 22:4, 11; 23:12; 26:5, 21; 27:11; 28:14, 29 and 33; after a consonant in Jer LXX 1:12, 15; 3:8, 14, 25; 4:22, 28; 16:9; 20:4; 26:27 and 28:5.

particle כִּי occurs very frequently in the HB.<sup>461</sup> It mainly functions as a subordinating conjunction,<sup>462</sup> but unlike ὅτι and διότι, it can indicate both a subordinating and a coordinating relationship. A. Schoors categorizes the uses of כִּי as emphatic or assertive, as a nominalizing particle, which includes כִּי introducing an object clause, and as a particle introducing adverbial clauses, which includes the causal, temporal and conditional use.<sup>463</sup> Aejmelaeus has categorized the use of כִּי according to the position of the כִּי clause in relation to its main clause. When the כִּי clause precedes its main clause, it is often subordinate and can be mostly understood as circumstantial in meaning, that is, it holds a causal, temporal or conditional meaning. When the כִּי clause follows its main clause, it may function as a coordinate clause, and its meaning ranges from causal to substantival, adversative and consecutive.<sup>464</sup>

Both ὅτι and διότι are used as subordinating conjunctions in Greek, and they both function as either causal or substantival (declarative) conjunctions.<sup>465</sup> A. Rijksbaron describes ὅτι as “the normal causal subordinator” in ancient Greek, and he posits that the substantival interpretation, denoted as the object-interpretation by him, generally follows *verba affectuum*.<sup>466</sup> Compared to the equivalent γάρ, which is more common in Greek literature but used relatively less in the LXX, ὅτι and διότι express direct causality, while γάρ is used to express indirect causality.<sup>467</sup>

In the LXX, ὅτι and διότι are mostly used to render the conjunction כִּי, and only in Ex, Num, Deut, Neh, 1 and 2 Chron is διότι used to render mainly other Hebrew terms,

<sup>461</sup> Schoors (1981, 240) mentions “some 4000” occurrences in the HB, Aejmelaeus (1986, 193) refers to “over four thousand occurrences,” Sipilä (1999, 141) repeats the figure 4000, but mentions in a footnote that Clines counts nearly 4500 occurrences, and Wirth (2016, 40) notes “כִּי ist mit rund 4500 Belegen in MT.”

<sup>462</sup> Schoors 1981, 253.

<sup>463</sup> Schoors 1981, 242–276. Aejmelaeus (1986, 205) criticizes the use of the emphatic category of כִּי, claiming that it has risen from difficult cases like the indirect causal כִּי clause. In her opinion, indirect causal cases should also be interpreted as connectives instead of emphatic.

<sup>464</sup> Aejmelaeus 1986, 195–196 and 199–203.

<sup>465</sup> Smyth 1920, 631.

<sup>466</sup> Rijksbaron 1976, 146–150.

<sup>467</sup> Aejmelaeus 2007, 12.

such as the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר.<sup>468</sup> According to Thackeray, δῖότι occurs a total of 358 times in the LXX, and nearly 70% of these are found in MP, Ezek and Jer.<sup>469</sup> Generally, δῖότι is used as an alternative for the vastly more frequent particle ὅτι, which may be considered a standard equivalent of כִּי, and the only book in which δῖότι outnumbers the use of ὅτι is MP (134 cases of δῖότι and 117 of ὅτι).<sup>470</sup>

Ὅτι and δῖότι are good semantic matches for כִּי when the Hebrew particle is used to denote a direct causal relationship between two clauses, or when it introduces an object clause. When כִּי functions as a coordinating conjunction, denoting indirect causality, the equivalents ὅτι and δῖότι are not exact semantic matches. The Greek particle γάρ would be a more apt equivalent in such cases, but the use of γάρ by the translators is very minimal due to the fact that it is a post-positive particle whose use would not align the sequence of equivalents with that of the Hebrew text.<sup>471</sup> Nevertheless, ὅτι is the most common equivalent of כִּי in the LXX even when it is used to indicate indirect causality.

The particle δῖότι occurs in greater proportion in Jer LXX (28 times) than it does in the books of the Pentateuch (16 times), and each of these occurrences is located in Jer a'. In 23 cases it renders the Hebrew כִּי, and it is used twice to render כִּי אִם (22:4 and 28[51]:14) and once to render כִּי עַל (4:28). Other instances of δῖότι occur in 5:4, where it does not have a formal equivalent in the Hebrew text, and 26(46):5, where it stands to represent conjunctive וְ in the Hebrew text.<sup>472</sup> In view of all the renderings of כִּי, δῖότι is the most frequent alternative to the predominant equivalent ὅτι. כִּי occurs in Jer over 400 times, and ca. 300 of these bear the equivalent ὅτι regardless of the syntactical

<sup>468</sup> For further studies on the renderings of כִּי in the LXX, cf. Sipilä 1999, 140–192; Aejmelaesus 2007, 11–41 and 130–133; and Wirth 2016, 39–86.

<sup>469</sup> Thackeray (1909, 139) counts 30 cases of δῖότι in Jer, 145 cases in MP and 79 cases in Ezek.

<sup>470</sup> Aejmelaesus 2007, 21.

<sup>471</sup> Aejmelaesus 2007, 19. For the significance of word order regarding the LXX translators' consideration of postpositive particles, cf. Soisalon-Soininen 1951, 36.

<sup>472</sup> For a discussion on the renderings of conjunctive וְ and the place of the equivalent δῖότι among them, cf. sec. 5.2.



function of כִּי. Other alternative renderings include ἀλλά, ἐάν, ὅταν and καί to render the various other functions of כִּי. Each of these occurs less than 20 times.<sup>473</sup>

The analysis is presented according to the function and position of the particle כִּי within the Hebrew clause, and it is limited to examining the alternative renderings to the equivalent ὅτι. The purpose of the analysis is to identify the textual conditions in which the rendering is different from the common equivalent ὅτι. Most of the alternative equivalents are used to render כִּי when it functions as a causal conjunction connecting two coordinate clauses. In a few cases they render כִּי in a temporal or circumstantial subordinate clause that precedes the main clause, as a substantival that introduces a noun phrase, as an adversative particle and as part of oath formulas.

### 5.3.2. כִּי as a Connective Conjunction

The most common use of alternative equivalents to ὅτι as renderings of כִּי occur when the particle connects two coordinate clauses and signifies a causal relationship between the two. This occurs a total of 27 times, a majority of which are rendered by διότι (22x), and a few of which are rendered by καί (4x) or ἰδού (1x).

On four occasions the causal relationship between the כִּי clause and the preceding main clause is direct, in which case the use of the subordinate conjunction διότι is a suitable equivalent of כִּי.

1:19 וְנִלְחַמוּ אֵלַי וְלֹא-יִוָּכְלוּ לִי בִּי-אֶתָּה אֲנִי נֹאֲמִים-יְהוָה לְהַצִּילָהּ – καὶ πολέμησουσίν σε καὶ οὐ μὴ δύνωνται πρὸς σέ, διότι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαι σε, εἶπεν κύριος

לֹא פֶשַׁחֹר קָרָא יְהוָה שְׂמִי בִּי אֶם-מְגֹר מְסָבִיב: בִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה 4–3 – Οὐχὶ Πασχωρ ἐκάλεσεν κύριος τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἀλλ’ ἢ Μέτοικον· διότι τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδού ἐγὼ δίδωμί σε εἰς μετοικίαν σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις σου

<sup>473</sup> The rendering ἀλλά occurs in Jer LXX 2:20, 34; 3:10; 7:23, 32; 9:23; 16:15; 19:6; 20:3; 22:17; 23:8; 38:30; 45:4, 6; 50:3; 51:14; ἐάν occurs in Jer LXX 2:22; 3:16; 4:30(2x); 13:22; 14:12(2x); 15:2; 22:24; 23:33; 28:53(2x); 44:10; 45:15(2x), 25; ὅταν occurs in Jer LXX 2:26; 5:19; 13:21; 16:10; 17:6, 8; 32:14; and καί occurs in Jer LXX 2:27; 4:30(2x); 9:18; 27:11; 41:3; 42:16; 44:10, 16; 47:7.

ואתה אל־תִּירָא עַבְדִּי יַעֲקֹב וְאַל־תַּחַח יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי הִנְנִי מוֹשְׁעָךְ 26(46):27  
 מֶרְחוֹק – σὺ δὲ μὴ φοβηθῆς, δοῦλός μου Ιακωβ, μηδὲ πτοηθῆς, Ισραηλ,  
 διότι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ σῶζων σε μακρόθεν

Jer 20:3–4 is an etiological explanation for the name מִגּוֹר מְסָבִיב 'terror on every side.' Causal כִּי is generally used in such cases elsewhere in the LXX, and the few times that διότι is the equivalent of כִּי in Gen happen to be etiological explanations as well (Gen 26:22 and 29:32).<sup>474</sup> The phrase כִּי־אַתָּה אֲנִי, which is rendered five times in Jer LXX, bears the equivalent διότι in two instances (1:19 and 15:20). In the other cases ὅτι is employed (1:8; 26[46]:28 and 49[42]:11 with a plural suffix). The last example (26[46]:27) explains the reason for Israel to not fear their perilous disposition.

The other instances render כִּי in an indirect causal relationship with the preceding main clause. In Greek, such cases would more naturally be expressed by the particle γάρ 'for.' Γάρ is only used twice in Jer LXX (27[50]:5 [2x]), and neither occurrence has an explicit Hebrew counterpart. Διότι is used as the equivalent in 18 such cases, καί in four cases, and ἰδοὺ once.<sup>475</sup>

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלֵי הִיטַבְתָּ לְרֵאוֹת כִּי־שָׁקַד אֲנִי עַל־דְּבָרֵי לַעֲשׂוֹת 1:12 – καὶ  
 εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με Καλῶς ἑώρακας, διότι ἐγρήγορα ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους  
 μου τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς

וַתַּרְעַשׂ הָאָרֶץ וַתַּחַח כִּי קָמָה עַל־בָּבֶל מִחֻשְׁבוֹת יְהוָה לְשׁוֹם 28(51):29  
 אֶת־אָרֶץ בָּבֶל לְשִׁמָּה מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב – ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐπόνεσεν, διότι  
 ἐξάνεστη ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα λογισμὸς κυρίου τοῦ θεῖναι τὴν γῆν Βαβυλῶνος  
 εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ μὴ κατοικεῖσθαι αὐτήν

אֲמָרִים לְעַן אָבִי אֶתְּהָא וְלֹאֲבֹן אֶת יְלִדְתִּי כִּי־פָנּוּ אֵלַי עָרְף וְלֹא פָנִים 2:27 –  
 τῷ ξύλῳ εἶπαν ὅτι Πατήρ μου εἶ σύ, καὶ τῷ λίθῳ Σὺ ἐγέννησάς με, καὶ  
 ἔστρεψαν ἐπ' ἐμέ νῶτα καὶ οὐ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν·

<sup>474</sup> Aejmelaeus 2007, 32–33.

<sup>475</sup> Διότι in Jer LXX Jer. 1:12, 15, 19; 2:10; 3:14, 25; 4:8, 15, 22, 28; 8:17; 15:20; 16:9; 20:4; 21:10; 22:11; 23:12; 26:21, 27; 28:5, 29 and 33; καί in Jer LXX 2:27; 9:19(18); 41(34):3 and 42(35):16; and ἰδοὺ in Jer LXX 22:17.

22:16–17 **בִּי** <sup>(17)</sup> **יְיָ דִּי־עֲנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן אֶזְ טוֹב הַלּוֹא־הִיא הַדַּעַת אֶתִּי נֶאֱמַר־יְהוָה:**  
**אִין עֲנִיָּךְ וְלִבְךָ בִּי אֶם־עֲלִבְצָךְ וְעַל דְּסִגְהִי וְעַל־הַפְּשָׁע וְעַל־הַעֲשָׂה:**  
**οὐκ ἔκριναν κρίσιν ταπεινῶ οὐδὲ κρίσιν πένητος·**  
**οὐ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ γινῶναι σε ἐμέ; λέγει κύριος.** <sup>(17)</sup> **ἰδοὺ οὐκ εἰσιν οἱ**  
**ὀφθαλμοί σου οὐδὲ ἡ καρδιά σου ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς τὴν πλεονεξίαν σου καὶ εἰς τὸ**  
**αἷμα τὸ ἀθῶον τοῦ ἐκχέειν αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς ἀδίκημα καὶ εἰς φόνον τοῦ ποιεῖν;**

In each case, **ו** stands as a coordinating conjunction, and therefore **διότι**, as a subordinate conjunction, does not semantically match the Hebrew syntax. The use of **διότι** formally strengthens the causal relationship between the two clauses, even if the content of the two clauses does not imply a strong causal connection. The use of **καί** in four cases indicates that the translator recognized the fact that there was not a strong causal connection between the two clauses, and that a simple connective would suffice to express the meaning of **ו**. The one case of **ἰδού** is exceptional and unexpected. It is possible that it derives from a mistake, since the rendering of the previous verse (22:16) already attests slight differences between the MT and the LXX.

### 5.3.3. כִּי as a Subordinate Conjunction

Alternative equivalents to  $\delta\tau\iota$  occur a few times when  $\kappa\iota$  begins a subordinate clause. These are mostly temporal clauses, but a few are ambiguous and may even be considered circumstantial (22:4 and 45[38]:15) or adversative (14:12). The equivalent  $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$  is used when the  $\kappa\iota$  clause is unambiguously temporal, and  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is used for temporal clauses as well as the few ambiguous cases.  $\text{Καί}$  and  $\text{διότι}$  are used once each to render such  $\kappa\iota$  clauses as well.<sup>476</sup>

כְּבִשְׁתָּ גִבּוֹר כִּי יִמָּצֵא בֶן הַבִּישׁוֹ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵמָּה מַלְכֵיהֶם שְׁרִיהֶם 2:26  
 ὥς αἰσχύνη κλέπτου ὅταν ἄλῳ, οὕτως  
 αἰσχυθῇσονται υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες  
 αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ προφῆται αὐτῶν

וְהָיָה כִּי תִגִּיד לְעַם הַזֶּה אֶת כְּלֵי־דְבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְאָמְרוּ אֵלֶיךָ עַל־מָה 16:10  
 – καὶ ἔσται ὅταν ἀναγγείλῃς  
 אֵת כְּלֵי־הָרַע הַגְּדוֹלָה הַזֹּאת

<sup>476</sup>Ὅταν in Jer LXX 2:26; 5:19; 13:21; 16:10; 17:6, 8; 32:14; ἔάν in Jer LXX 3:16; 13:22; 14:12(2x); 15:2; 23:33; 45(38):15(2x), 25; καί in Jer LXX 44(37):16 and διότι in Jer LXX 22:4.

τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ εἴπωσι πρὸς σέ Διὰ τί ἐλάλησε κύριος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πάντα τὰ κακὰ ταῦτα;

14:12 כִּי יֵצְמוּ אֵינִי שְׁמַע אֶל־רִנָּתָם וְכִי יַעֲלוּ עֲלֵה וּמִנְחָה אֵינִי רָצָם – ὅτι ἐὰν νηστεύσωσιν, οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐὰν προσενέγκωσιν ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ θυσίας, οὐκ εὐδοκήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς

44(37):16–17 כִּי בָא יְרֵמְיָהוּ אֶל־בֵּית הַבּוֹר וְאֶל־הַחַנְיּוֹת וַיֵּשֶׁב־שָׁם יְרֵמְיָהוּ 16–17 יָמִים רַבִּים: (17) וַיִּשְׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ צִדְקִיָּהוּ וַיִּקְחֵהוּ וַיִּשְׂאֲלֵהוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּבֵיתוֹ בַּסֶּתֶר – καὶ ἦλθεν Ιερεμίας εἰς οἰκίαν τοῦ λάκκου καὶ εἰς τὴν χερεθ καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας πολλὰς. (17) Καὶ ἀπέστειλε Σεδεκίας καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς κρυφαίως

The formula כִּי וְהִיא (e.g. 16:10) occurs five times in Jer, and is always rendered by either καὶ ἔσται ὅταν or καὶ ἔσται ἐὰν.<sup>477</sup> The כִּי particles in 14:12 necessarily modify the following main clauses and can be understood either specifically as temporal or generally as circumstantial. The one case rendered by καὶ contains a long and complex subordinate clause that extends to the end of the verse. The main clause occurs in the next verse, and the translator's choice of καὶ possibly indicates that he did not realize the temporal connection between the כִּי clause and its main clause in the next verse. Καὶ reflects the interpretation of כִּי as a coordinating conjunction.

### 5.3.4. כִּי Introducing a Noun Phrase

The particle כִּי is used in Hebrew to introduce object clauses after verbs of saying, of perception and of emotion (*verba dicendi*, *verba sentiendi* and *verba affectuum*). In such cases, alternative equivalents to καὶ are used four times in Jer LXX. Διότι is the equivalent once, ἐὰν once, καὶ once and καὶ ἐὰν once.<sup>478</sup>

3:8 וַאֲרָא כִּי עַל־כָּל־אֲדוֹת אֲשֶׁר נִאְפָּה מִשְׁבָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁלֹחַתֶּיהָ וְאֶתֶּן 3:8 אֶלֶּיהָ – καὶ εἶδον διότι περὶ πάντων ὧν κατελήμφθη ἐν οἷς ἐμοιχᾶτο ἡ κατοικία τοῦ Ισραηλ, καὶ ἐξαπέστειλα αὐτὴν καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ βιβλίον ἀποστασίῳ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς·

<sup>477</sup> Jer LXX 3:16; 5:19; 15:2; 16:10 and 32:14(25:28).

<sup>478</sup> Διότι in Jer LXX 3:8; ἐὰν, καὶ and καὶ ἐὰν in Jer LXX 4:30.

וְאִתִּי שְׂדוּד מִהֲתַעֲשִׂי בִּיתְלַבְשִׁי שְׁנֵי בִּיתַעְדֵּי עַד־זָהָב בִּית־תִּקְרָעִי 4:30  
 בַּפּוֹד עֵינַי לְשׂוֹא תַתִּיפִי – καὶ σὺ τί ποιήσεις, ἐὰν περιβάλῃ κόκκινον καὶ  
 κοσμήσῃ κόσμῳ χρυσῷ καὶ ἐὰν ἐγγείρῃ στίβι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου; εἰς  
 μάτην ὁ ὠραϊσμός σου·

The first example contains a main clause with the verb of perception ראה 'to see.' The בִּי clause expresses what is perceived, and בִּי is rendered by διότι. Jer 4:30 contains three בִּי clauses, all of which are objects of the preceding main clause וְאִתִּי שְׂדוּד מִהֲתַעֲשִׂי. McKane interprets this as a rhetorical question ("what do you think you are doing?")<sup>479</sup> whose explanation is provided by the object clauses. Since the בִּי clauses are presented in succession, the use of καί to render the second and third is very insightful and molds the translation into smoother Greek than would a repetition of the particle ὅτι.

### 5.3.5. Adversative בִּי

The particle בִּי, and often the expression בִּי אִם, is sometimes used to express adversity or opposition in relation to its main clause. In such cases, the main clause generally includes a negation.<sup>480</sup> In Jer LXX, such בִּי constructions that are not rendered by ὅτι are mostly rendered by ἀλλά (6x) or ἀλλ' ἢ (10x), but a few other equivalents are attested as well: διότι, ἐὰν, καὶ ἐὰν and καί once each.<sup>481</sup>

בִּי מַעוֹלָם שְׁבַרְתִּי עֲלֶיךָ נִתְקַתִּי מוֹסְרֵתֶיךָ וְתֹאמְרִי לֹא אֶעֱבֹד בִּי 2:20  
 : – ὅτι ἀπ' αἰῶνος  
 συνέτριψας τὸν ζυγόν σου, διέσπασας τοὺς δεσμούς σου καὶ εἶπας Οὐ

<sup>479</sup> McKane 1986, 111–112. McKane suggests the deletion of שְׂדוּד as a later interpolation based on the fact that it does not have a representation in the Greek text and because it lacks congruence with the Hebrew text.

<sup>480</sup> Aejmelaeus 1986, 200–201.

<sup>481</sup> Ἀλλά in Jer LXX 2:20, 34; 3:10; 16:15; 22:17 and 23:8; ἀλλ' ἢ in Jer LXX 7:23, 32; 9:24(23); 19:6; 20:3; 38(31):30; 45(38):4, 6; 50(43):3 and 51(44):14; διότι 27(50):11, ἐὰν in 2:22, καὶ ἐὰν 44(37):10 and καί 27(50):11.

δουλεύσω, **ἀλλά** πορεύσομαι ἐπὶ πάντα βουνὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑποκάτω παντὸς ξύλου κατασκίου, ἐκεῖ διαχυθήσομαι ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ μου.

2:22 **כִּי אִם־תִּכְבְּסִי בְּנֶתְךָ וְתַרְבִּי־לָךְ בְּרִית נִכְתָּם עֲוֹנֶיךָ לִפְנֵי נָאֻם אֲדֹנָי** – **ἐάν** ἀποπλύνῃ ἐν νίτρῳ καὶ πληθύνῃς σεαυτῇ πόαν, κεκληλίδωσαι ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις σου ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, λέγει κύριος.

27(50):11–12 **כִּי תַעֲלִי שָׁסִי נַחֲלֹתִי כִּי תִפּוּשִׁי כְּעַגְלָה דָּשָׁה** 11–12 **כִּי תִשְׁמַחִי כִּי תַעֲלִי שָׁסִי נַחֲלֹתִי כִּי תִפּוּשִׁי כְּעַגְלָה דָּשָׁה** – **ὅτι** ἡὺφραίνεσθε **καὶ** κατεκαυχᾶσθε διαρπάζοντες τὴν κληρονομίαν μου, **διότι** ἔσκιρτᾶτε ὡς βοῖδια ἐν βοτάνῃ καὶ ἐκερατίζετε ὡς ταῦροι. <sup>(12)</sup> ἡσχύνθη ἡ μήτηρ ὑμῶν σφόδρα

43(50):2–3 **וַיֹּאמֶר עֲזַרְיָה בֶן־הוֹשַׁעְיָה וְיֹחָנָן בֶּן־קָרַח וְכָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים הַזֵּהִים 2–3** **וַיֹּאמֶר עֲזַרְיָה בֶן־הוֹשַׁעְיָה וְיֹחָנָן בֶּן־קָרַח וְכָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים הַזֵּהִים** **אֲמָרִים אֶל־יְרֵמְיָהוּ שֶׁקָּרָא אֶתְּהָ מַדְבֵּר לֹא שְׁלָחָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לֵאמֹר** **לֹא־תָבֹאוּ מִצָּרִים לְגֹר שָׁם:** <sup>(3)</sup> **כִּי בָרוּךְ בֶּן־נְרִיָּה מִסִּית אֶתְּךָ בָּנוּ לְמַעַן תַּת** **אֶתְּנוּ בִּיד־הַכַּשְׂדִּים לְהִמָּית אֶתְּנוּ וּלְהַגְלוֹת אֶתְּנוּ בָּבֶל** – καὶ εἶπεν Ἀζαρίας υἱὸς Μασααίου καὶ Ἰωαννάν υἱὸς Καρηε καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ εἴπαντες τῷ Ἰερεμῴ λέγοντες Ψεύδη, οὐκ ἀπέστειλέ σε κύριος πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν Μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς Αἴγυπτον οἰκεῖν ἐκεῖ, <sup>(3)</sup> **ἀλλ’ ἢ** Βαρουχ υἱὸς Νηρίου συμβάλλει σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα δῶς ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας τῶν Χαλδαίων τοῦ θανατῶσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀποικισθῆναι ἡμᾶς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα.

Examples 2:20 and 43(50):3 present the **כִּי** clause following a main clause with a negation. In 2:22 and 27(50):11, the **כִּי** clause precedes the main clauses. The **כִּי** clauses that are rendered by **ἀλλά** or **ἀλλ’ ἢ** all follow their main clauses, which indicates that the translator has correctly identified the relationship between the two clauses. However, the other equivalents, **διότι**, **ἐάν**, καὶ **ἐάν** and **καί**, all render cases in which the **כִּי** clause precedes the main clause, suggesting that the translator did not recognize the function of **כִּי** in these situations.

### 5.3.6. **כִּי** as Part of Oath Formulas

The particle **כִּי** occurs three times in oath formulas in Jer. It is rendered once by **ὅτι** and twice by other means.

22:24–25 **כִּי־אֲנִי נָאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי אִם־יִהְיֶה כְּנִיָּהוּ בֶן־יְהוֹיָקִים מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה חֹתֶם** 22:24–25 **כִּי־אֲנִי נָאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי אִם־יִהְיֶה כְּנִיָּהוּ בֶן־יְהוֹיָקִים מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה חֹתֶם** **עַל־יַד יְמִינִי כִּי מָשַׁם אֶתְקַנְנֶךָ:** <sup>(25)</sup> **וְנִתְּתִיךָ בְּיַד מִבְקָשֵׁי נַפְשִׁי** – **ὥ ἐγώ**, λέγει

κύριος, **ἐάν** γενόμενος γένηται Ιεχονίας υἱὸς Ιωακίμ βασιλεὺς Ιουδα  
ἀποσφράγισμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, ἐκεῖθεν ἐκσπάσω σε <sup>(25)</sup> καὶ  
παραδώσω σε εἰς χεῖρας ζητούντων τὴν ψυχὴν σου

28(51):14 **כִּי אִם-מִלְאֲתִיךָ אָדָם כִּי לֵק וְעָנוּ עָלֶיךָ** – ὅτι ὥμοσε κύριος κατὰ τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτοῦ **Διότι** πληρώσω σε  
ἀνθρώπων ὥσει ἀκρίδων, καὶ φθέγγονται ἐπὶ σὲ οἱ καταβαίνοντες.

29:14(49:13) **כִּי בִי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי נְאֻם-יְהוָה כִּי-לִשְׁמָה לְחֶרֶף לְחֶרֶב וְלִקְלָלָהּ** – ὅτι κατ’ ἑμαυτοῦ ὥμοσα,  
λέγει κύριος, **ὅτι** εἰς ἄβατον καὶ εἰς ὄνειδισμὸν καὶ εἰς κατάρσιν ἔσῃ ἐν  
μέσῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις αὐτῆς ἔσονται ἔρημοι εἰς αἰῶνα.

The use of **אִם** in the formula has most likely triggered the rendering *ἐάν* in 22:24, but the same did not occur in 28(51):14.<sup>482</sup> The common rendering *ὅτι* is used in 29:14(49:13), which reflects the rendering of **כִּי** as part of oath formulas elsewhere in the LXX, e.g. 1 Sam.<sup>483</sup>

### 5.3.7. Conclusions

The Greek *ὅτι* renders the Hebrew particle **כִּי** a total of 304 times in Jer LXX,<sup>484</sup> and alternative equivalents are used in 71 instances. Most of these alternatives are employed when **כִּי** connects two coordinate clauses that form an indirect causal relationship. In such cases the equivalent *διότι* is used 22 times, *καί* four times and *ἰδοὺ* once. Temporal or circumstantial subordinate clauses receive alternative renderings in 18 cases, ten of which consist of *ἐάν*, seven of *ὅταν* and one case of *καί*. The adversative function of **כִּי** is rendered six times by *ἀλλά*, ten times by *ἀλλ’ ἢ*, and once each by *διότι*, *ἐάν*, καὶ *ἐάν* and *καί*. **כִּי** introducing a noun phrase is rendered four times by either *διότι*, *ἐάν* or *καί*,

<sup>482</sup> For the use of **כִּי** in the oath formula, cf. Conklin 2011, 46–59. For Conklin's analysis of the oath formula in Jer 28(51):14, cf. Conklin 2011, 74–75.

<sup>483</sup> Cf. Wirth 2016, 54–58.

<sup>484</sup> Of the 339 occurrences of *ὅτι* in Jer LXX, 26 do not have a representation in the MT: Jer LXX 1:8; 2:27; 3:19; 6:9; 7:4; 8:8; 12:14; 13:27; 14:7, 14; 23:16; 26:19(2x); 27:5; 30:17(3°); 37:9, 19; 38:3; 44:27; 45:3; 48:3; 49:21; 50:26, 33, 46 and 51:14; and nine render other words: Jer LXX 8:3, 4, 9; 11:17; 12:1; 20:17; 30(37):23; 31(38):32 and 46(26):5.

and כִּי as part of the oath formula is rendered by *ἐάν* once and by *διότι* once, as opposed to being rendered one time by *ὅτι* as well.

The total renderings of כִּי are divided quite equally between Jer a' and Jer b', but the use of *ὅτι* is more pronounced in Jer b' than it is in Jer a'. Only 13 cases of alternative renderings occur in Jer b' compared to 58 in Jer a'. In particular, only the adversative כִּי and the temporal or circumstantial use of כִּי introducing subordinate clauses are the functions which persist to be rendered by alternative equivalents in Jer b'.<sup>485</sup> Alternative renderings of כִּי connecting two coordinate clauses do not occur, save for two cases of *καί* (41[34]:3 and 42[35]:16).

The translation in Jer a' portrays a character that is more conducive to departure from the consistent use of *ὅτι* to render כִּי than is evident in Jer b'. Though the adversative uses of כִּי and the temporal and circumstantial uses of כִּי that initiate subordinate clauses continue to be occasionally rendered by more natural Greek equivalents than *ὅτι* in Jer b', the near complete lack of alternatives to *ὅτι* as renderings of the use of כִּי to connect coordinate clauses bespeaks of the intentional elimination of such renderings. The translator of Jer a' who employs *διότι* 22 times to render the particle כִּי as a connective conjunction would most likely continue using it on occasion in Jer b', but not a single case of *διότι* occurs in Jer b'. The most plausible explanation for this is that a reviser has consistently changed such renderings to *ὅτι* in order to preserve both the Hebrew word order and consistency in his equivalents.

In addition, the use of *διότι* sets Jer a' apart from a majority of books in the LXX since its use is very rare in most of the LXX. Only Ezek (75 times) and MP (157 times)<sup>486</sup> use the particle more often than Jer a'. It occurs 18 times in Is and six times in Deut, but in each of the other translated books it occurs no more than four times. The absence of *διότι* as an alternative equivalent to *ὅτι* in Jer b' serves to differentiate the translation character between Jer a' and Jer b'.

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<sup>485</sup> Adversative כִּי in Jer LXX 38(31):30; 44(37):10; 45(38):4, 6; 50(43):3 and 51(44):14; temporal or circumstantial use of כִּי in Jer LXX 32:14(25:28); 44(37):16; 45(38):15(2x) and 25.

<sup>486</sup> These two figures are based on Thackeray's calculations in Thackeray 1909, 139.



## 5.4. לְפָנַי

Thackeray does not mention the renderings of לְפָנַי as evidence for bisectioning Jer LXX, but Tov appeals to them in support of his theory of revision. He categorizes the renderings of לְפָנַי as stereotyped renderings preferred by Jer b' over against non-stereotyped renderings used in Jer a'. In Jer b', the predominant equivalent is κατὰ πρόσωπον (17 out of 22 renderings), and Tov notes that this equivalent represents both components of לְפָנַי, that is, the preposition לְ and the noun פָּנִים 'face.' Tov goes on to surmise that, for לְפָנַי as well as for the semipreposition בְּעֵינַי 'in my mind,' Jer b' substitutes the equivalent ἐναντίον, used in Jer a', for other equivalents.<sup>487</sup> Soderlund points out that, though Jer b' employs the more literal rendering κατὰ πρόσωπον to a greater degree than Jer a', the literal renderings (κατὰ πρόσωπον and πρὸ προσώπου) outnumber the more natural Greek renderings (ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον) by a ratio of 9:7 even in Jer a'. Therefore, he claims, the literal renderings in Jer b' should not be interpreted as the workings of a reviser that is more literally minded than the hand in Jer a'.<sup>488</sup>

לְפָנַי is the most common semipreposition in the Hebrew Bible. According to Sollamo, it occurs 1025 times.<sup>489</sup> לְפָנַי can denote four types of meaning which specify the relationship between a verb and a noun: local, temporal, referential and comparative.<sup>490</sup> The local and temporal meanings are the most common. Referential cases denote pre-eminence, or an order of precedence, among two or more entities.<sup>491</sup>

In the LXX, לְפָנַי is rendered by a large variety of equivalents. Ἐνώπιον (218 times), ἐναντίον (181 times) and ἔναντι (153 times) are the most frequent ones. Ἐναντίον and ἔναντι are the most common renderings in the Pentateuch, and ἐνώπιον is the most common in most of the historical books. These equivalents are followed in

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<sup>487</sup> Tov 1976, 59.

<sup>488</sup> Soderlund 1985, 180.

<sup>489</sup> Sollamo 1979, 13.

<sup>490</sup> Waltke and O'Connor 1990, 221.

<sup>491</sup> Sollamo 1979, 16.

frequency by ἔμπροσθεν (80 times), the occurrences of which are more or less scattered throughout different books. The more literal translations, which employ the noun προσώπον, are also fairly common, particularly πρὸ προσώπου (67 times) and κατὰ πρόσωπον (65 times). The other equivalents do not occur more than 30 times in the LXX.<sup>492</sup>

In Jer LXX, the most common equivalent of ַפְּנֵי is κατὰ πρόσωπον, which renders half of the 43 occurrences of ַפְּנֵי in the book. The other equivalents are not so frequent. Ἐναντίον is used six times, πρὸ προσώπου four times and πρότερος / πρότερον three times. The following chart displays the distribution of the equivalents in Jer a' and Jer b'.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ἐνώπιον	1	—	1
ἐναντίον	6	—	6
πρὸ προσώπου	4	—	4
κατὰ πρόσωπον	5	17	22
εἰς πρόσωπον	—	1	1
πρότερος / προτέρω	—	3	3
Total	16	21	37

Table 8. Renderings of ַפְּנֵי in Jer a' and Jer b'.<sup>493</sup>

## Ἐνώπιον

The Greek improper preposition ἐνώπιον occurs with the genitive case and it signifies “in front of” or “in the presence of”. It occurs in contemporary *koine* texts, but not in the same frequency as in the LXX. Sollamo argues that the word should not, therefore, be considered a hebraism.<sup>494</sup> In contemporary *Koine* texts, the Ptolemaic papyri in particular, ἐνώπιον occurs as a preposition only six times, and it is normatively used in a

<sup>492</sup> Figures refer to those calculated by Sollamo (1979, 13).

<sup>493</sup> One case of the equivalence ַפְּנֵי - κατ' ὀφθαλμούς occurs in Jer 45(38):26, but it most likely reflects a variant *Vorlage*. For discussion on this case, cf. below.

<sup>494</sup> Sollamo 1975, 773–782.

local meaning with reference to living beings.<sup>495</sup> Reference to inanimate objects is exceptional and occurs rarely in the LXX.<sup>496</sup> In the LXX as a whole, *ἐνώπιον* is the most common rendering of *לפני*, but it is the preferred equivalent mainly in Judg, 1–4 Rgns, 2 Esdr and Ps. Contrary to the Hebrew *לפני*, the term cannot be used temporally in the Greek language. In Jer, only one case of *לפני* is rendered by *ἐνώπιον*:

Jer 7:10 *וְבָאתֶם וְעַמְדֶתֶם לִפְנֵי בְּבֵית הַיְהוָה אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עַלָּיו* – καὶ ἦλθετε καὶ ἕστητε *ἐνώπιον* ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ’ αὐτῷ

The case in Jer 7:10 is local in meaning, which conforms to the general use of *ἐνώπιον* in the LXX.<sup>497</sup> Sollamo discusses the use of *ἐνώπιον* in other texts in connection with the verb *παρίστημι*, which denotes the servitude of the subject. This use may be considered a hebraism since the expression is not found in *koine* texts.<sup>498</sup> A similar meaning can be attributed to *ἕστητε ἐνώπιον* in this case, which is used as the rendering of *עמד לפני* twelve times in the LXX.<sup>499</sup> *עמד לפני* is rendered by other means elsewhere in both Jer a’ and Jer b’: *πρὸ προσώπου* in 15:1 and *κατὰ πρόσωπον* in 18:20, 24:1, 27(50):44 and 29:20(49:19).

## Ἐναντίον

*Ἐναντίον* is similar to *ἐνώπιον*, except that it has the additional meaning “against,” which is usually expressed with a subsequent dative form. Most of the occurrences are followed by a genitive and signify “in front of” or “in the presence of.” *Ἐναντίον* is used more broadly in ancient Greek literature than *ἐνώπιον*. As an adverb, it is found already in Homer, retaining both meanings, but in the classical period a distinction can

<sup>495</sup> Sollamo 1979, 311–312.

<sup>496</sup> Sollamo 1979, 18–20.

<sup>497</sup> Sollamo 1975, 778.

<sup>498</sup> Sollamo 1975, 778 and 1979, 19 (referring in particular to the cases of Judg 20:28 and 1 Rg 16:22).

<sup>499</sup> Sollamo 1979, 59.

be detected between its prepositional use, with the meaning “in front of” or “in the presence of,” and its adjectival use, with the meaning “against” or “contrary to.”<sup>500</sup>

In the LXX, *ἐναντίον* is used to render לפני in 181 cases, and the similar *ἐναντι* in 153 cases. *Ἐναντίον* and *ἐναντι* are the preferred renderings in each book of the Pentateuch, in Josh and in 1 and 2 Chron, and they occur outside this group of books only occasionally.<sup>501</sup> In Jer, there are no cases of *ἐναντι*, and *ἐναντίον* is found six times as an equivalent of לפני, all in Jer a’.

Jer 2:22 כִּי אִם־תִּכְבְּסִי בַנְתָּר וְתִרְבִּי־לֶךְ בְּרִית נִכְתָּם עֲוֹנֶי לִפְנֵי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי  
יהוה – ἐὰν ἀποπλύνῃ ἐν νίτρῳ καὶ πληθύνῃς σεαυτῇ πόαν, κεκηλίδωσαι ἐν  
ταῖς ἀδικίαις σου ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, λέγει κύριος

Jer 1:17 וְדַבַּרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר אֲנֹכִי אֹצֵן אֶל־תַּחַת מַפְיָהֶם פְּנֵי־חֶהֱם  
לִפְנֵיהֶם – καὶ εἶπον πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ἐντείλωμαί σοι· μὴ φοβηθῇς ἀπὸ  
προσώπου αὐτῶν μηδὲ πτοηθῇς ἐναντίον αὐτῶν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι  
τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαί σε, λέγει κύριος<sup>502</sup>

Jer 19:7 וּבִקְתִּי אֶת־עֶצֶת יְהוָה וַיְרֹשְׁלָם בְּמִקּוֹם הַזֶּה וְהַפְלֵתִים בְּחֶרֶב לִפְנֵי  
אֲבִיָּיהֶם – καὶ σφάξω τὴν βουλὴν Ἰουδα καὶ τὴν βουλὴν Ἱερουσαλημ ἐν τῷ  
τόπῳ τούτῳ καὶ καταβαλῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἐναντίον τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
αὐτῶν

All of the cases in Jer are local or metaphorically local in meaning. On three occasions the object of the equivalence לפני - *ἐναντίον* is enemies (15:9, 19:7 and 25:17[49:37]). Twice these refer to YHWH surrendering Judah and Jerusalem to the sword of their

<sup>500</sup> Sollamo 1979, 313. For examples of the use of *ἐναντίον* in *koine* Greek texts, cf. Sollamo 1979, 313f..

<sup>501</sup> Sollamo 1979, 14–15.

<sup>502</sup> Jer 1:17 attests a variant text, the LXX μηδὲ πτοηθῇς ἐναντίον αὐτῶν for the MT וְלִפְנֵיהֶם פְּנֵי־חֶהֱם. The LXX μηδὲ rather reflects the Hebrew reading ואל instead of וכן, as μηδὲ elsewhere nearly always renders אל or ואל. Another textual variant in the verse is the LXX μὴ φοβηθῇς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν for the MT אֶל־תַּחַת מַפְיָהֶם. McKane (1986, 22) argues for the priority of the MT, suggesting that the LXX reading has replaced the more unusual element of threat in the text by adopting the commonly occurring phrases μὴ φοβηθῇς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν and ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαί σε, λέγει κύριος at the end from verses 1:8 and 1:19 respectively. Ziegler (1958, 88–89) and Janzen (1973, 30 and 96) argue for the priority of the LXX reading by appealing to the structure of parallelism in the LXX text. Ziegler suggests the often occurring "doppelgliedrige Beruhigungsformel" אל תירא ... ואל תחת is the original reading, and that the double occurrence of the verb תחת is not original.

enemies (15:9 and 19:7). The third occasion is part of the oracle against Elam, in which Elam is to become terrified before her enemies ([49:37]25:17). In Jer 2:22 and 18:23, the object of the equivalence לפני - ἐναντίον is YHWH, and in 1:17 it is the people to whom YHWH is sending the prophet Jeremiah.

## Πρὸ προσώπου

The preposition πρὸ, which occurs with the genitive case, can be temporal or local, and bears the meaning “prior to” or “in front of”. The temporal usage is much more common than the local usage, both within the LXX and in contemporary Greek literature. The phrase as a whole, πρὸ προσώπου, is confined to the LXX, where it translates לפני 67 times. It is not found in any other Greek source, which has led to its classification as a hebraism.<sup>503</sup> It is not the dominant equivalent in any particular book, save for MP, where it renders 59,3% of the occurrences of לפני.<sup>504</sup> In Jer, this equivalence is found four times, all in Jer a’.

Jer 15:19 תַּעֲמֹד לְפָנַי וְאֶשִׁיבֶךָ אִם־תָּשׁוּב יְהוָה אָמַר יְהוָה – διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἐὰν ἐπιστρέψῃς, καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω σε, καὶ πρὸ προσώπου μου στήσῃ

Jer 21:8 וְאֶל־הָעָם הַזֶּה תֹּאמַר כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנְנִי נֹתֵן לְפָנֵיכֶם אֶת־דֶּדְרִךְ הַמָּוֶן – καὶ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ἐρεῖς Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου

The four cases of the equivalence לפני - πρὸ προσώπου are local in Jer. In 15:1 and 19, they modify the verb ἵστημι “to stand”, referring to standing before YHWH in both cases. In Jer 9:13(12) and 21:8, they follow the verb δίδωμι, referring to inanimate objects given by YHWH.

## Κατὰ πρόσωπον

The Greek expression κατὰ πρόσωπον can function as a preposition followed by a genitive, or rarely a dative, but it can function independently as well when the context

<sup>503</sup> Thackeray 1909, 42–44; Sollamo 1979, 14, 30–31, 323 and 328.

<sup>504</sup> Sollamo 1979, 14–15.

elucidates whose “face” is in question. It is a common expression in hellenistic and pre-hellenistic Greek literature,<sup>505</sup> and generally carries a local meaning “in front of” or “in person,” occasionally taking a nuance of defiance.

In the LXX, *κατὰ πρόσωπον* occurs 65 times as a translation of *לפני*. It mainly refers to living beings, but it is also used with reference to inanimate objects. Only one occurrence of its independent use has been identified by Sollamo, though the reading has variants in several manuscripts. The equivalence *לפני* - *κατὰ πρόσωπον* is found in over half of the books of the LXX, but it is the predominant rendering of *לפני* only in Jer.<sup>506</sup> In Jer, there is only one occurrence of *לפני* that makes reference to an inanimate object (24:1). The other 21 cases refer either to YHWH or to human beings.

Jer 24:1 הַרְאֵנִי יְהוָה וְהִנֵּה שְׁנֵי דֹדָאִי תַאֲנִים מוֹעֲדִים לִפְנֵי הַיְכָל יְהוָה –  
 Ὑδειξέ μοι κύριος δύο καλάρχους σύκων κειμένων *κατὰ πρόσωπον* ναοῦ κυρίου

Jer 27(50):44 לְפָנֶי יַעֲמֹד אֲשֶׁר רָעָה וּמִי־זֶה רָעָה וּמִי יוֹעֲדֶנִי וּמִי כְמוֹנִי וּמִי כְמוֹנִי – ὅτι τίς ὥσπερ ἐγώ; καὶ τίς ἀντιστήσεται μοι; καὶ τίς οὗτος ποιμήν, ὃς στήσεται *κατὰ πρόσωπόν* μου

Jer 38:37(31:36) אֲסִימְשׁוּ הַחֲקִים הָאֵלֶּה מִלִּפְנֵי נְאֻם־יְהוָה גַּם זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל – Ἐὰν παύσωνται οἱ νόμοι οὗτοι ἀπὸ προσώπου μου, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰσραὴλ παύσεται γενέσθαι ἔθνος *κατὰ πρόσωπόν* μου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας

Jer 42(35):5 וְאַתָּן לִפְנֵי בְנֵי בֵּית־הַרְכָּבִים גְּבָעִים מְלֵאִים יַיִן וְכִסּוֹת וְאָמַר – καὶ ἔδωκα *κατὰ πρόσωπον* αὐτῶν κεράμιον οἴνου καὶ ποτήρια καὶ εἶπα Πίετε οἶνον

Jer 44(37):20 וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע־נָא אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ תִּפְלֶ-נָּא תַּחֲנֹנִי לִפְנֵיךָ – καὶ νῦν, κύριε βασιλεῦ, πεσέτω τὸ ἔλεός μου *κατὰ πρόσωπόν* σου

The examples give a fair overview of the cases in which the equivalence *לפני* - *κατὰ πρόσωπον* is used. Jer 24:1 is the only instance where *לפני* refers to an object, that being the temple of YHWH. Jer 27(50):44 and 38:37(31:36) reference YHWH in the first

<sup>505</sup> Sollamo 1979, 325–327.

<sup>506</sup> Sollamo 1979, 14–15 and 31–32.

person with a metaphorically local meaning. Jer 42(35):5 depicts a situation in which objects (a bottle of wine and cups) are physically placed in front of the referent (the Rechabites), and 44(37):20 states Jeremiah's petition to king Zedekiah that he would consider his plea.

The equivalent *κατὰ πρόσωπον* is the only equivalent that is used both in Jer a' and in Jer b'. Five occurrences are in Jer a', including the one case that refers to an object (24:1). The other four refer to YHWH (two times) and to human beings (two times). The 17 cases in Jer b' refer to YHWH (eight times) and to human beings (nine times). In this regard, neither section can be said to avoid anthropomorphisms with reference to YHWH. The idiom "to stand before YHWH" is rendered twice by *πρὸ προσώπου* (15:1 and 19) and twice by *κατὰ πρόσωπον* in Jer a', and it is rendered eight times by *κατὰ πρόσωπον* in Jer b'. Jer a' employs the anti-anthropomorphic *ἐναντίον* only twice with reference to YHWH (2:22 and 18:23).

### Πρότερος / Προτέρω

*Πρότερος* functions as an adjective and *προτέρω* as an adverb in Greek texts contemporary to the LXX, and these words are mostly temporal in nature. They are fairly common in early *Koine* texts. In the LXX, they are not very common equivalents of *לפני*, occurring only 18 times.<sup>507</sup> There are only three occurrences of *πρότερος* / *προτέρω* that render *לפני* in Jer, and all three are temporal in nature:

Jer 35(28):8 מִן־הָעוֹלָם וְלִפְנֵי וְלִפְנֵי הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר הָיָה הַנְּבִיאִים – Οἱ προφῆται οἱ γεγονότες *πρότεροί* μου καὶ *πρότεροι* ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος

Jer 41(34):5 בְּשָׁלוֹם תָּמוּת וּכְמִשְׁרָפוֹת אַבֹּתֶיךָ הַמְּלָכִים הָרָאשִׁנִּים אֲשֶׁר־הָיוּ כֹן יִשְׂרָפוּ־לְךָ לִפְנֵיךָ – Ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀποθανῇ, καὶ ὥς ἔκλαυσαν τοὺς πατέρας σου τοὺς βασιλεύσαντας *πρότερόν* σου, κλαύσονται καὶ σὲ

These cases conform to the general use of *πρότερος* / *προτέρω* in contemporary Greek literature. Both texts refer to people who have lived in a prior time, prophets in Jer 35 and kings in Jer 41. The referent is either the speaker himself (35[28]:8 1°) or the

<sup>507</sup> Sollamo 1979, 14–15, 36–37 and 324.

audience (35[28]:8 2<sup>o</sup><sup>508</sup> and 41[34]:5). All three occurrences are in Jer b', and there are no other temporal cases in Jer.

## Other Renderings

Two other renderings of לפני are used in Jer. Εἰς πρόσωπον is similar to other Greek equivalents that use the noun πρόσωπον. It is a rare equivalent of לפני in the LXX, occurring only twice in total: once in Jer and once in Ezek. The expression τινι εἰς πρόσωπον is attested twice in classical and contemporary Koine texts, once each in Euripides and in Aristeas. In the LXX, it may be considered a synonym of the expression κατὰ πρόσωπον.<sup>509</sup>

Jer 30(49):5 הַנְּנִי מִבֵּיא עָלַיךָ פֶּחַד נְאֻם־אֲדֹנִי יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת מֶלֶךְ־סִבְיָיִךְ  
וְנִגְדְּתָם אִישׁ לִפְנָיו וְאִין מִקְבֵּץ לַנֶּגֶד – ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ φέρω φόβον ἐπὶ σέ, εἶπε  
κύριος, ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς περιούκου σου, καὶ διασπαρήσεσθε ἕκαστος εἰς  
πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ συνάγων

The Greek preposition εἰς is a common equivalent of the Hebrew preposition לְ, which may suggest this is a very close rendering of the Hebrew. However, εἰς is also a common marker of the indirect object in conjunction with the verb διασπείρω, which is used to indicate the destination of dispersion. The Hebrew expression seems difficult, and it is possible that the translator interpreted לְ as an indication of destination here.

The other equivalents that the translator uses to render לפני would have conveyed a different, if not an even more complicated, meaning. The same Greek expression is used

<sup>508</sup> There is a textual difference between the MT and the LXX regarding the referent in 35(28):8 2<sup>o</sup>. The MT has the singular pronominal suffix -י- while the LXX has the plural pronoun ὑμῶν. This difference also occurs in the previous verse, where the prophet Jeremiah is again referencing the prophet Hananiah (MT) or the people in the temple precincts (LXX). In 35(28):7, the MT reading is also supported by the L group. The question is whether Jeremiah is addressing his answer solely to Hananiah or to the whole crowd that is listening, as mentioned in 35(28):1. A change from the plural form to the singular seems to be the most straightforward explanation of change. The dialogue between the two prophets is not as clearly defined if one of the participants keeps addressing the crowd instead of his opponent. A change to the singular form gives the dialogue more focus on the debate between the two characters. A haplographic error מֶמֶךְ is also possible in the second case, from מֶמֶךְ מִן־הָעוֹלָם to מֶמֶךְ מִן־הָעוֹלָם. A change from the singular to the plural form is not as easily explained, since the singular form fits the context much better.

<sup>509</sup> Sollamo 1979, 32 and 328.



once in Jer a', 18:17 אֲפִצִּים לְפָנַי אוֹיֵב – ὡς ἄνεμον καύσωνα διασπερῶ αὐτούς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν, except with the preposition κατὰ instead of εἰς.

The Greek equivalent κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς is found as the Greek counterpart of לְפָנַי only on one occasion in the whole LXX: Jer 45(38):26. Otherwise, this equivalent is exclusively used to render semiprepositions built on the noun עֵינַי, for example לְעֵינַי and בְּעֵינַי.<sup>510</sup> This raises the possibility that the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX 45:26 had either of these instead of לְפָנַי. Only the *L'* group attest the variant κατὰ προσωπον.

Jer 45(38):26 וְאֶמְרָתְ אֵלֵיהֶם מִפִּיל־אֲנִי תַחֲנֹנִי לְפָנַי הַמֶּלֶךְ לְבִלְתִּי הַשִּׁיבֵנִי Jer 45(38):26 וְאֶמְרָתְ אֵלֵיהֶם מִפִּיל־אֲנִי תַחֲנֹנִי לְפָנַי הַמֶּלֶךְ לְבִלְתִּי הַשִּׁיבֵנִי – καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτοῖς Πίπτω ἐγὼ τὸ ἔλεός μου κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποστρέψαι με εἰς οἰκίαν Ἰωναθαν ἀποθανεῖν ἐκεῖ

The expression הפיל תחנה לְפָנַי “may (my) plea of mercy come before (you)” only occurs in the latter half of Jeremiah, and it is otherwise always rendered with κατὰ πρόσωπον (43[36]:7, 44[37]:20 and 49[42]:2). The expression never occurs with לְעֵינַי or בְּעֵינַי instead of לְפָנַי. If the LXX *Vorlage* contained לְעֵינַי or בְּעֵינַי, it would likely be a corruption of the common phrase הפיל תחנה לְפָנַי. The *L'* reading κατὰ προσωπον would then be a secondary correction in the Greek text from κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς towards the MT. In this scenario, though *L'* has a secondary reading in the Greek mss, it reflects the more original Hebrew form of the expression.

### Distribution between Jer a' and Jer b'

There is a clear difference when the equivalents of לְפָנַי in Jer a' are compared to those in Jer b', as is evident from table 8. above. Jer a' has a total of 16 occurrences of לְפָנַי, and they are rendered by four different equivalents: ἐναντίον (6 times), πρὸ προσώπου (4 times), κατὰ πρόσωπον (5 times), and ἐνώπιον. Jer b', on the other hand, renders 17 cases of לְפָנַי that are translated by κατὰ πρόσωπον. Other used equivalents are πρότερος / προτέρω (3 times) and εἰς πρόσωπον (once).

<sup>510</sup> For a presentation on the renderings of בְּעֵינַי, cf. sec. 5.5.

The equivalents *ἐνώπιον*, *πρὸ προσώπου* and *κατὰ πρόσωπον* are not strictly used in a systematic way in Jer a'. All three are used to render cases of **לפני** in a metaphorically local sense in conjunction with the verb **עמד** 'to stand,' and in each case the referent of **לפני** is YHWH.<sup>511</sup>

Jer 15:1 **וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי אִם־יַעֲמֹד מֹשֶׁה וְשִׁמְוֹנֹאֵל לִפְנֵי אֵין נִפְשִׁי אֶל־הָעָם**  
**הַזֶּה** – Καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς με Ἐὰν στῇ Μωυσῆς καὶ Σαμουὴλ **πρὸ**  
**προσώπου** μου, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ μου πρὸς αὐτούς

Nevertheless, a partial reservation of equivalents is detectable from the other cases of **לפני**. The only two times in which **לפני** refers to physical entities in close proximity to one another are both rendered by *κατὰ πρόσωπον*.<sup>512</sup>

Jer 27(50):8 **גָּדוּ מִתּוֹךְ בָּבֶל וּמֵאֶרֶץ כַּשְׂדִּים יֵצְאוּ וְהָיוּ כְּעַתּוּדִים לִפְנֵי־צֹאן** –  
 ἀπαλοτριώθητε ἐκ μέσου Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς Χαλδαίων καὶ  
 ἐξέλθατε καὶ γένεσθε ὥσπερ δράκοντες **κατὰ πρόσωπον** προβάτων

When **לפני** occurs as an indirect object of the verb **נתן** 'to give' (twice), and therefore indicates the recipient, the equivalent *πρὸ προσώπου* is used.<sup>513</sup>

Jer 9:13(12) **וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה עַל־עֵזְבֶם אֶת־תּוֹרָתִי אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לִפְנֵיהֶם וְלֹא־שָׁמְעוּ**  
**בָּה** – καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς με Διὰ τὸ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς  
 τὸν νόμον μου, ὃν ἔδωκα **πρὸ προσώπου** αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν τῆς  
 φωνῆς μου

Jer a' presents a picture in which **לפני** as a local expression indicating presence in front of the referent is rendered by the Greek expressions which are more hebraistic than the natural Greek terms *ἐνώπιον* and *ἐναντίον*, which are used for metaphorically local uses of **לפני**.

*Ἐναντίον* is mostly reserved to render cases of **לפני** in which the referent is an adversarial entity, whether that be the enemies of Judah and Jerusalem, of Elam, or of

<sup>511</sup> For additional examples, cf. Jer 7:10 (*ἐνώπιον*), 15:19 (*πρὸ προσώπου*) and 27(50):44 (*κατὰ πρόσωπον*) above.

<sup>512</sup> Cf. also Jer 24:1 above.

<sup>513</sup> Cf. also example 21:8 on p. 176.

the prophet Jeremiah. Only one such case is exceptionally rendered by *κατὰ πρόσωπον* (18:17).<sup>514</sup>

Jer 25:17(49:37) וְהִחַתֵּתִי אֶת־עֵינָם לִפְנֵי אֲבִיָּהֶם וְלִפְנֵי מִבְקָשִׁי נִפְשָׁם – καὶ πτοήσω αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ζητούντων τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν<sup>515</sup>

In addition, two cases (2:22 and 18:23) of *ἐναντίον* render *לפני* with reference to YHWH.

The distribution between the idiomatic Greek equivalents *ἐνώπιον* and *ἐναντίον* and the more literal equivalents *κατὰ πρόσωπον* and *πρὸ προσώπου* is uneven. *Ἐναντίον* occurs once in each of the chapters 15, 18, 19 and 25, while *κατὰ πρόσωπον* or *πρὸ προσώπου* occur twice in each of the chapters 15, 18 and 27, and once in each of the chapters 21 and 24. Though the use of the more literal equivalents slightly increases in comparison to that of the more natural Greek expressions, the Greek idiom is used throughout in most of Jer a'. The absence of *ἐνώπιον* and *ἐναντίον* in Jer b' is no less stark in comparison to Jer a' despite the fact that the two equivalents do not occur in Jer LXX 26–28. In conjunction with the other significant differences between Jer a' and Jer b' it is implausible to argue that the translator gradually changed his choice of equivalent, and that he achieved consistency only at or around Jer LXX 28 and 29.

In Jer b', on the other hand, the equivalent *κατὰ προσώπου* is pervasive, and there are no cases of *ἐναντίον*, *ἐνώπιον* or *πρὸ προσώπου*. The only other renderings are

<sup>514</sup> Cf. also 1:17 and 19:7 above.

<sup>515</sup> Jer 25:17(49:37) includes two occurrences of *לפני*, the second of which does not have an equivalent in Jer LXX. The reason for this minus in the LXX is uncertain. The LXX reading implies that the participial phrase *נִפְשָׁם מִבְקָשִׁי* qualifies *אֲבִיָּהֶם* directly, a reading which is not semantically or grammatically problematic. The translator of Jeremiah is known to be isomorphic in his renderings, thus it is unlikely that he would have purposefully left out an equivalent of a Hebrew word. A haplographic mistake *אὐτῶν* 1° *τῶν* 2° would be possible. However, the oracle against Edom is found in the OAN section of Jeremiah, whose location and arrangement in Jer MT and Jer LXX greatly differ from each other. The MT text evinces heavy editing in comparison to the LXX, especially in the case of the oracle against Edom. In light of this, it is plausible to argue that the textual difference in Jer 25:17(49:37) is an addition in the MT. Janzen (1973, 41–42) argues that the second occurrence of *לפני* has been "filled out from the preceding phrase."

πρότερος / προτέρω and εἰς πρόσωπον. Πρότερος or προτέρω is used in the only three cases in which לפני is temporal in function, referring to people from a previous time.<sup>516</sup>

Jer 35(28):8 מִן־הָעוֹלָם וּלְפָנַי וּלְפָנֵי הָיוֹ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ לְפָנַי – Οἱ προφῆται οἱ γεγονότες πρότεροί μου καὶ πρότεροι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος

The prepositional phrase εἰς πρόσωπον is employed to mark the destination of dispersion (διασπείρω) in 30(49):5. Κατ' ὀφθαλμούς in 45(38):26 is probably not a direct rendering of the Hebrew לפני, but more likely the result of a different *Vorlage* לעיני or בעיני.<sup>517</sup>

Κατὰ πρόσωπον is the equivalent in all other translated occurrences of לפני in Jer b', and these include cases that are similar to those in Jer a'. Κατὰ προσώπον is used when לפני occurs in conjunction with the verb עמד 'to stand', cases that are rendered by a variety of equivalents in Jer a'.

Jer 29:20(49:19) וְכִי מִי כְמוֹנִי וּמִי יַעֲיִדֵנִי וּמִי־זֶה רָעָה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמֵד לְפָנַי – ὅτι τίς ὥσπερ ἐγώ; καὶ τίς ἀντιστήσεται μοι; καὶ τίς οὗτος ποιμὴν, δὲ στήσεται κατὰ πρόσωπόν μου

As in Jer a', κατὰ προσώπον is employed when two physical entities are in close proximity to one another.

Jer 43(36):22 וְהַמֶּלֶךְ יוֹשֵׁב בֵּית הַחֶרֶף בַּחֲדָשׁ הַתְּשִׁיעִי וְאֶת־הָאֵחַ לְפָנָיו – καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάθητο ἐν οἴκῳ χειμερινῷ, καὶ ἐσχάρα πυρὸς κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ

לפני as the indirect object of the verb נתן 'to give', signifying the recipient, is always rendered by κατὰ πρόσωπον in Jer b', whereas the equivalent πρὸ προσώπου is used in Jer a' (9:13[12] and 21:8).<sup>518</sup>

Jer 51(44):10 לֹא דָכְאוּ עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְלֹא יֵרָאוּ וְלֹא־הִלְכוּ בְּתוֹרָתִי וּבְחֻקֹּתִי – καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας לֹא־נָתַתִּי לְפָנֵיכֶם וּלְפָנֵי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם

<sup>516</sup> Cf. also 41(34):5 above.

<sup>517</sup> Cf. discussion on 45(38):26 above.

<sup>518</sup> Cf. also 42(35):5 above.

ταύτης καὶ οὐκ ἀντείχοντο τῶν προσταγμάτων μου, ὧν ἔδωκα κατὰ  
 πρόσωπον τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν<sup>519</sup>

Jer b' cannot be said to make any distinction between local and metaphorically local meanings of לפני, as is partially seen in the use of the equivalents κατὰ πρόσωπον and πρὸ προσώπου in Jer a', and there is no attempt to avoid anthropomorphisms in relation to YHWH.

The expression הפיל תחנה לפני "may (my) plea of mercy come before (you)" occurs only in Jer b', where לפני is rendered each time by κατὰ πρόσωπον, except for the one case of κατ' ὀφθαλμούς mentioned above.<sup>520</sup> Other contexts in which the equivalence לפני - κατὰ πρόσωπον occurs are cases in which covenants are made (ברית לפני in 41[34]:15 and 18) and fasts are declared (קרא צום לפני in 43[36]:9) before YHWH.

## Summary

The translation characters of Jer a' and Jer b', as they are embodied in the renderings of לפני, are different. Jer a' uses a variety of equivalents, ranging from the natural Greek terms ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον to the more hebraistic πρὸ προσώπου and κατὰ πρόσωπον. The renderings give a vague sense that each is reserved for a specific use of לפני, but not absolutely. The local uses of לפני, cases in which physical proximity is denoted, are each time rendered by the hebraistic equivalents πρὸ προσώπου and κατὰ πρόσωπον. The metaphorically local meanings of לפני, on the other hand, which denote presence before YHWH or before enemies, are mostly rendered by ἐναντίον, but one case is rendered by κατὰ πρόσωπον as well.

<sup>519</sup> This verse presents another case in which one of the two occurrences of לפני does not have an equivalent in Jer LXX. The Hexaplaric Mss., together with other witnesses (O–Qmg–86mg–233 239 Sa Arm), attest the addition of a second equivalent κατα πρόσωπον, and the L' group also adds και κατα πρόσωπον αυτων at the end of the verse. The two cases in the Hebrew text occur one after the other, and so the probability that an omission has occurred due to haplography is high. However, the variant in the hexaplaric and lucianic Mss is most likely a later addition to the Greek text. Janzen (1973, 58) suggests that the MT plus is secondary.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. example 45(38):26 on p. 180.

Jer b' uses the equivalent *κατὰ πρόσωπον* almost exclusively to render *לפני*. The main exceptions to this are the three temporal cases, which are each rendered by *πρότερος* / *προτέρω*. Jer b' is the only section in the LXX in which the equivalent *κατὰ πρόσωπον* is the preferred equivalent of *לפני*. It is used to render both local and metaphorically local uses of *לפני*, most notably similar cases that are rendered by *ἐνώπιον* and *ἐναντίον* in Jer a'. There are five cases of *κατὰ πρόσωπον* in the latter chapters of Jer a' (in chapters 18[2x], 24 ja 27[2x]), but these chapters employ other equivalents as well (*ἐναντίον* in ch. 18, 19, and 25, and *πρὸ προσώπου* in ch. 21), and cannot be said to be exclusive in their use of *κατὰ πρόσωπον* as Jer b'.

The marked difference in the way *לפני* is rendered in Jer a' and Jer b' justifies a different characterization of the two. Where Jer a' displays a variety of equivalents and a partial distinction between the local and metaphorical uses of *לפני*, Jer b' displays a change towards a closer representation of the formal characteristics of the Hebrew and towards a more consistent choice in equivalence.

## 5.5. בְּעֵינֵי

Tov references the difference by which Jer a' and Jer b' render the Hebrew expression *בְּעֵינֵי*. Jer a' renders the word with *ἐναντίον* twice and with *ἐνώπιον* once, while Jer b' uses a prepositional phrase with the noun *ὀφθαλμός* four times and *ἐναντίον* once. His argument is that the reviser chose a stereotyped rendering of the two constituents that make up the expression *בְּעֵינֵי*.<sup>521</sup> Shead mentions the renderings of *בְּעֵינֵי* as an example of greater semitic interference in Jer b', denoting them as “unidiomatic” in comparison to the standard *koine* equivalents used in Jer a'.<sup>522</sup>

The Hebrew semipreposition *בְּעֵינֵי* occurs in the Hebrew Bible over 300 times. It is a Hebrew idiom that has a local meaning 'in the presence of' or an intellectual meaning 'in the judgement of.' In the LXX, the most common renderings of *בְּעֵינֵי* are *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς* and *ἐναντίον*, which both are used over 80 times, and *ἐνώπιον*, which is used 75 times. *Ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς* is mainly used in 1, 2 and 4 Rgns, and *ἐναντίον* is the main

<sup>521</sup> Tov 1976, 59.

<sup>522</sup> Shead 2015, 473.

equivalent in Gen, Ex and Deut. The instances in which ἐνώπιον is used are evenly dispersed throughout the books of the LXX, and only 3 Rg and 2 Chron use it as the main equivalent of בעיני. Other renderings are not so frequent, occurring only ten times each at the most, except for the dative case as an equivalent, which is found 27 times in the LXX.<sup>523</sup>

Mikhail G. Seleznev has pointed out a development within the translated books of the LXX regarding the use of non-literal (ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον) and literal (ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς) renderings of the semipreposition בעיני. The earlier translations, such as the Pentateuch, favor the non-literal renderings, while the later translations, such as Ruth, prefer the literal renderings. Seleznev discusses this development in connection to the LXX translators' stance towards rendering anthropomorphisms in relation to YHWH.<sup>524</sup>

The expression בעיני is often used to express value judgements in the HB. Sollamo delineates three such expressions in which the semipreposition בעיני most often occurs: 1) מצא חן בעיני 2) עשה את הרע/הטוב/הישר בעיני 3) רעע/יטב/ישר בעיני. The meaning in such expressions, and also in their translations, is the intellectual 'in the sight of' or 'in the judgement of' rather than the local 'in the presence of'. In Greek, the meaning 'in the judgement of' would usually be expressed by the prepositional phrase παρά with a dative. The prepositions ἐναντίον and ἐνώπιον, according to Sollamo, "were capable of absorbing novel metaphorical nuances" in the context of the LXX translation, and so were deemed suitable renderings for בעיני.<sup>525</sup>

The equivalents used in Jer LXX are the following. Ἐναντίον and ἐνώπιον have been introduced in the discussion on the renderings of לפני.<sup>526</sup> Ἐναντίον generally occurs with a genitive and signifies 'in the presence of' or 'in front of,' both in the LXX and in contemporary Greek literature. Ἐνώπιον likewise takes the genitive case, and as a preposition, it occurs only a few times in the contemporary Ptolemaic papyri. Its meaning, however, is similar to that of ἐναντίον. Ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς is a prepositional

<sup>523</sup> Sollamo 1979, 123–124.

<sup>524</sup> Seleznev 2018, 420–422.

<sup>525</sup> Sollamo 1979, 124–125.

<sup>526</sup> Cf. sec. 5.4.

construction that carries the local meaning 'before one's eyes', which is generally the meaning in the LXX, but the intellectual meaning 'in the opinion of' or 'in the judgement of' has also been identified in Plato. *Πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν* is usually figurative in meaning, 'to take into consideration' or 'to call to mind,' and only rarely is used to convey a literal sense 'before the eyes'. *Κατ' ὀφθαλμούς*, in certain contexts, is synonymous with the expression *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, meaning 'to a person's face' or 'in front of'.<sup>527</sup>

In Jer, there are 13 cases of **בְּעֵינַי**, and ten of these have an equivalent in Jer LXX. A wide variety of equivalents are used in relation to the small number of occurrences, and no one equivalent stands out as a preferred rendering.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
<i>ἐνώπιον</i>	2	—	2
<i>ἐναντίον</i>	2	1	3
<i>πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν</i>	—	1	1
<i>ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς</i>	—	2	2
<i>κατ' ὀφθαλμούς</i>	—	1	1
dat.	—	1	1
Total	4	6	10

Table 9. Renderings of **בְּעֵינַי** in Jer a' and Jer b'.

**בְּעֵינַי** occurs mostly in the second half of the book (9 out of 13 occurrences), and there are only 4 cases in the first half. *Ἐνώπιον* and *ἐναντίον* are the only equivalents used in Jer a'. Jer b' employs *ἐναντίον* once, but otherwise uses other equivalents. Three occurrences of **בְּעֵינַי** are located in texts that form a long plus in the MT.<sup>528</sup>

<sup>527</sup> Sollamo 1979, 311–317, 329–332.

<sup>528</sup> Two occurrences of **בְּעֵינַי** are located in Jer MT 40:4b and one in Jer MT 52:2, both of which are lacking in the LXX. In the case of Jer MT 40:4b, haplography within Greek transmission is possible, as the interrogative *εἰ*, which is the equivalent of **אִם** earlier in the verse and in the Hexaplaric addition, occurs also at the beginning of the next verse *εἰ δὲ μή*. Alternatively, the MT plus is a later addition to the text, partially drawing from the near identical phrase **אֶל-כָּל-הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינַי לְלָכֶת לְ** found in the next verse. Jer 52:2 and 3 is a short passage that also is lacking from the LXX. This passage is likely a later addition from the parallel account of the destruction of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 24:18–25:30 consisting of an explanatory conflation that supplies the reason for Nebuchadrezzar's invasion. The parallel verses are 2



## Ἐνώπιον

The general use and meaning of Ἐνώπιον has been introduced above.<sup>529</sup> It occurs in contemporary *koinē* texts, but more often in the LXX. Its meaning is local, 'in front of' or 'in the presence of', and it refers normally to living beings, with only rare cases in the LXX referring to inanimate objects.<sup>530</sup> When rendering בעיני, however, Ἐνώπιον has a more intellectual meaning 'in the sight of' or 'in the judgement of', as it is mainly used to translate expressions that signify value judgements, such as the expressions עשה את הרע/הטוב/הישר בעיני or מצא חן בעיני.<sup>531</sup>

In the LXX as a whole, בעיני is rendered by Ἐνώπιον (or a related form Ἐνώπιος or κατενώπιον) 74 times. Ἐνώπιον is the most common equivalent only in 3 Reigns, where it renders 80% of cases, amounting to 16 total cases. In 2 Chron, it is used as the equivalent in 11 out of 20 instances, but otherwise it renders only a few occurrences in each book. It is noteworthy that this equivalence is found in nearly every translated book in the LXX.<sup>532</sup>

Jer 7:11 **בְּעֵינֵיכֶם** הָיָה הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עָלָיו **בְּעֵינֵיכֶם** – μὴ σπήλαιον ληστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου, οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ, Ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν;

Jer 18:4 **וַיַּעַשְׂהוּ כְּלִי כָלִי** **בְּעֵינֵי** יִשְׂרָאֵל **בְּעֵינֵי** הַיּוֹצֵר לַעֲשׂוֹת **בְּעֵינֵי** יִשְׂרָאֵל – καὶ διέπνευσε τὸ ἀγγεῖον, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἀγγεῖον ἕτερον, καθὼς ἤρεσεν Ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιῆσαι

In Jer, Ἐνώπιον is used to translate בעיני twice, both in Jer a', and in both cases the meaning refers to opinion, in 7:11 referring to the people's opinion of the temple as a

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Kgs 24:19–20.

<sup>529</sup> Cf. sec. 5.4.

<sup>530</sup> Sollamo 1975, 773–782, and Sollamo 1979, 18–20 and 311–312.

<sup>531</sup> Sollamo 1979, 128–131.

<sup>532</sup> Sollamo 1979, 124.

den of thieves and in 18:4 referring to the potter's opinion of his own work. In Jer 18:4, *ἐνώπιον* is used to render one of the common value judgements **יֵשֶׁר בְּעֵינֵי**.

## Ἐναντίον

The use and meaning of the Greek *ἐναντίον* has also been introduced above.<sup>533</sup> Like *ἐνώπιον*, it has the meaning 'in front of' or 'in the presence of', but may also mean 'against' under certain circumstances. In contemporary Greek literature, it is only attested in the local sense, and it is more common than *ἐνώπιον*.<sup>534</sup>

Like *ἐνώπιον*, *ἐναντίον* as a rendering of **בְּעֵינֵי** is found in nearly every translated book in the LXX, with the noteworthy exceptions of 1–2 Rgns and 4 Rgns. Sollamo identified 85 cases of the equivalence in the LXX, and she suggests that its use in Gen, Ex and Deut can be characterized as stereotyping. *Ἐναντίον* is also the most frequent equivalent in the books of 1 Chron, Job, Is and Jer, but the cases are not so numerous.<sup>535</sup>

Jer 7:30 **בְּעֵינֵי** **נְאֻם־יְהוָה** הָרַע הָרַע **בְּעֵינֵי** **נְאֻם־יְהוָה** – ὅτι ἐποίησαν υἱοὶ Ιουδα τὸ πονηρὸν *ἐναντίον* ἑμοῦ, λέγει κύριος

Jer 18:10 **בְּעֵינֵי** **לְבַלְתִּי שְׂמַע בְּקוֹלִי** הָרַע הָרַע **בְּעֵינֵי** **לְבַלְתִּי שְׂמַע בְּקוֹלִי** – καὶ ποιήσωσι τὰ πονηρὰ *ἐναντίον* μου τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν τῆς φωνῆς μου

Jer 47(40):4 **אֶס-טוֹב בְּעֵינֵי** **לְבֹא אֶתִּי בְּבֶל בֶּא וְאֶשְׁיִם אֶת-עֵינֵי עָלָיָהּ** – εἰ καλὸν *ἐναντίον* σου ἐλθεῖν μετ' ἑμοῦ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἤκαε, καὶ θήσω ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐπὶ σέ

In Jer, there are only three cases in which *ἐναντίον* renders **בְּעֵינֵי**.<sup>536</sup> Two cases (7:30 and 18:10), both in Jer a', contain the formulaic expression **עָשָׂה הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי** with reference to YHWH. Because the formulaic expression is used, it is most reasonable to assume that the intellectual meaning of **בְּעֵינֵי** is employed here, though theoretically a

<sup>533</sup> Cf. sec. 5.4.

<sup>534</sup> Sollamo 1979, 131–133 and 313–317.

<sup>535</sup> Sollamo 1979, 124.

<sup>536</sup> Each case has the variant reading *ἐνώπιον*. The witnesses supporting the variant readings are A-106 Q-534 Chrysostom and Cyrillus ALEXANDRINUS in 7:30, a citation of Chrysostom in 18:10, and O-233 L' in 47(40):4.

metaphorically local meaning is also possible. In the third example (47[49]:4), located in Jer b', it is clear that the meaning is the intellectual 'in the judgement of'.

### Ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς

The expression ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς occurs already in early Greek literature where it generally has a local, and occasionally an instrumental, meaning. The intellectual meaning 'in the judgement of' is also attested, but is very rare. In the LXX, it is the most common rendering of בְּעֵינַי by a slight margin in comparison to ἐναντίον. Ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς is the equivalent in 86 cases, and it is the preferred equivalent in 1–2 Rgns and 4 Rgns. Elsewhere, it occurs only a few times in the historical books, in poetical books, and in Jer. Its absence from the Pentateuch is notable.<sup>537</sup>

Jer 34:4(27:5) אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֶת־הָאָדָם וְאֶת־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עַל־פָּנָי  
 יֵשׁ בְּעֵינַי הַגָּדוֹל וּבְזִרְעֵי הַנְּטוּיָה וּנְתַתִּיהָ לְאִשְׁרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּעֵינַי  
 ἐποίησα τὴν γῆν ἐν ἰσχύι μου τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιχειρῶ μου τῷ  
 ὑψηλῷ καὶ δώσω αὐτὴν ᾧ ἐὰν δόξῃ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου

Jer 47(40):5 אֶל־כָּל־הַיִּשְׂרָאֵל בְּעֵינַי לֵלְכָתָּ לָךְ – εἰς πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς σου τοῦ πορευθῆναι πορεύου

Ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς is used as a rendering of בְּעֵינַי twice in Jer LXX, with each case in Jer b'. In both cases it is used to render the expression יֵשׁ בְּעֵינַי with the intellectual meaning 'in the judgement of,' one with reference to YHWH and one with reference to Jeremiah.

### Πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν

Πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν also occurs commonly in ancient Greek literature, where its meaning is usually figurative, 'to take into consideration' or 'to call to mind'. Only rarely is it used to convey a literal sense 'before the eyes'. Πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν is not very common in the LXX. It occurs nine times, and one instance is from 2 Macc, which is not a translation. Four instances in the Pentateuch render the Hebrew בֵּין עֵינַיִךְ/עֵינֶיכֶם, and one case in Lev 5:4 corresponds to the Hebrew מִנְּנִי. In Ps and Job, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν renders לִנְגַד עֵינַי. In the LXX, as a rendering of בְּעֵינַי, it only occurs in Jer.<sup>538</sup>

<sup>537</sup> Sollamo 1979, 124 and 329–330.

<sup>538</sup> Sollamo 1979, 124 and 330–331.

Jer 41(34):15 וַתָּשָׁבוּ אֲתָם הַיּוֹם וַתַּעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַיֵּשׁ בְּעֵינֵי לְקָרָא דְרֹר אִישׁ  
 לְרֵעֵהוּ – καὶ ἐπέστρεψαν σήμερον ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου  
 τοῦ καλέσαι ἄφεσιν ἕκαστον τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ

The equivalence is exceptional, and the variant reading *εν οφθαλμοις* is attested in *A L* ' 26 534 and in Theodoretus. The rest of the verse, however, is not rendered so rigorously as to suggest that this equivalence is not possible. The second verb in the sentence, the finite verb *וַתַּעֲשׂוּ*, is uncharacteristically rendered by an anarthrous infinitive, expressing the purpose of the previous action *וַתָּשָׁבוּ*. The meaning of *πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν* here is more in the intellectual sense 'in the judgement of,' and the referent is YHWH.

### Κατ' ὀφθαλμούς

*Κατ' ὀφθαλμούς* is a classical Greek expression, but it is not found in Greek texts contemporary to the LXX. Its use is often synonymous with the expression *κατὰ πρόσωπον*, meaning 'to a person's face' or 'in front of.' In the LXX, where it usually renders *לְעֵינֵי*, *κατ' ὀφθαλμούς* is used mostly in the local sense 'before a person's eyes' i.e. 'in front of'. The only instance in which *κατ' ὀφθαλμούς* renders *בְּעֵינֵי* is in Jer:<sup>539</sup>

Jer 39(32):30 כִּי־הָיוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְנֵי יְהוּדָה אֲדָן עֲשִׂים הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי מְנַעֲרֹתֵיהֶם  
 – ὅτι ἦσαν υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ υἱοὶ Ἰουδα μόνοι ποιοῦντες τὸ πονηρὸν κατ'  
 ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐκ νεότητος αὐτῶν

Here the Hebrew expression is the formulaic *עָשָׂה הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי*, and the meaning leans more towards the intellectual 'in the judgement of'. The Greek text is not as clear with regard to which nuance of meaning it intends to portray, either the local 'in front of' or the intellectual 'in the judgement of'. In light of the classical use of *κατ' ὀφθαλμούς*, one could argue that the Greek should be understood in the local sense. The referent here is also YHWH.

### The Dative Case

The dative case of a pronoun or noun as a rendering of *בְּעֵינֵי* is considered a free rendering as it gives no formal equivalent for the lexical units *בְּ* and *עֵינִים*. The

<sup>539</sup> Sollamo 1979, 128 and 331–332.

equivalent it provides is the dative form of the referent, either a noun or a pronoun, to which **בעיני** refers. The dative case is natural in Greek after certain verbs, and Sollamo has ascertained that, in most cases in the LXX where this equivalent is used, it functions naturally with its preceding verb. Such verbs are, for example, ἀρέσκειν, δοκεῖν and συμφέρειν. The dative as a rendering of **בעיני** occurs 27 times in the LXX, mainly in the Pentateuch, in Josh, Esth and in Prov. Singular cases are found in 3 Rgns, in Is and in Jer.<sup>540</sup>

Jer 33(26):14 **בְּעֵינֶיכֶם** וְכִי־יֵשֶׁר כָּטוֹב עֲשׂוּ־לִי בְיָדְכֶם וְאֲנִי הִנְנִי בְיָדְכֶם – καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐν χερσὶν ὑμῶν· ποιήσατέ μοι ὡς συμφέρει καὶ ὡς βέλτιον ὑμῖν

The sole case of the dative as an equivalent of **בעיני** is used to render the expression **עֲשֵׂה הַיֵּשֶׁר בְּעֵינִי**. The dative case follows the verb συμφέρει, but the verb is a rendering of either of the adjectival expressions **כָּטוֹב** or **כִּי־יֵשֶׁר**. The meaning is clearly 'in the judgement of', as the people performing the action are also the ones to whom **בעיני** refers to.<sup>541</sup>

## Summary

The semi-preposition **בעיני** has a rendering in ten cases in Jer LXX, four of which are in Jer a' and 6 in Jer b'. When comparing the renderings of **בעיני** in Jer a' and b' with one another, the feature that stands out is the exclusive use of ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον in Jer a' as opposed to the preferred use of the more literal equivalents based on the noun ὀφθαλμός in Jer b'. The only shared equivalent between the two is ἐναντίον, found twice in Jer a' (7:30 and 18:10) and once in Jer b' (47[40]:4).

Of the three main expressions in which **בעיני** is employed in the HB, two are used in Jer (**עֲשֵׂה אֶת הַיֵּשֶׁר/הָרַע בְּעֵינִי** and **יֵשֶׁר בְּעֵינִי**). These expressions are rendered differently in Jer a' and Jer b'. The expression with the verb **עֲשֵׂה** is translated by ἐναντίον in Jer a' (7:30 and 18:10), while these expressions are rendered by κατ' ὀφθαλμούς (39[32]:30), πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν (41[34]:15) and the dative case (33[26]:14) in

<sup>540</sup> Sollamo 1979, 124 and 134–136.

<sup>541</sup> Sollamo 1979, 135.

Jer b'. The expression **יֵשׁר בְּעֵינֵי** is found three times in total. Jer a' translates it with *ἐνώπιον* (18:4) and Jer b' with *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς* on both occasions (34:4[27:5] and 47[40]:5). The only time Jer b' employs *ἐναντίον* is when neither of the two Hebrew expressions are in use: **לְבֹאֵא אֶתִּי בְּבֶלְבָּא לְבְּעֵינֵי** – εἰ καλὸν *ἐναντίον* σου ἔλθεῖν μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ἥκε (Jer 47[40]:4). The different Hebrew expression may be the cause for this singular use of *ἐναντίον* as an equivalent for **יֵשׁר בְּעֵינֵי** in Jer b'.

Neither Jer a' nor Jer b' make a distinction between the uses of the semipreposition **בְּעֵינֵי** with reference to YHWH or to human beings. Jer a' uses the non-literal equivalents with reference both to human beings and to YHWH, and Jer b' uses the literal equivalents with reference to both as well. This observation for Jer a' is in slight contrast to the renderings of **לִפְנֵי** in Jer a',<sup>542</sup> which do display a tendency to use non-literal equivalents when the referent is YHWH and literal equivalents otherwise. Despite this, Jer a' does avoid anthropomorphism in relation to YHWH where Jer b' shows no such tendency. This situation is very similar to the distinction between the *kaige* and non-*kaige* sections in 1–4 Rgns, where the non-*kaige* sections prefer the natural Greek expressions *ἐνώπιον* and *ἐναντίον* while the *kaige* sections use the literal equivalents based on the noun *ὀφθαλμός* when **בְּעֵינֵי** refers to YHWH.<sup>543</sup>

The different renderings employed in Jer a' and Jer b' reflect a different translation character. Even though the number of times **בְּעֵינֵי** occurs in Jer is relatively low, the near complete dissimilarity between the way the two sections handle the words warrants a different characterization. Jer a' does not use the formally equivalent expressions based on the noun *ὀφθαλμός*, while these are essentially the default equivalent in Jer b'. This characterization is strengthened by, and supports, the similar characterization of the renderings of **לִפְנֵי**, which are presented above.<sup>544</sup> There too Jer b' contains hardly any trace of renderings other than the literal equivalents based on the nouns *πρόσωπον* and

<sup>542</sup> Cf. section 5.4.

<sup>543</sup> Seleznev 2018, 420–429. Seleznev's primary argument is that the non-*kaige* sections make a distinction between cases that refer to YHWH, rendered by the non-literal equivalents, and cases that refer to human beings, rendered by literal equivalents. He contends that the non-*kaige* sections of 1–4 Rgns constitute a "point of equilibrium" between the early translations which avoid anthropomorphisms in relation to YHWH and later translations and revisions which do not avoid them.

<sup>544</sup> Cf. sec. 5.4.

ὁφθαλμός. Jer a', on the other hand evinces several occurrences of the more naturally Greek equivalents ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον.

## 5.6. אַחַר

Tov proposes that some of the renderings of אַחַר(י) have been revised in Jer b' from the OG equivalent μετά, which he notes to be the stereotyped rendition in the LXX, to ὕστερος, which occurs nowhere else as a translation of אַחַר(י).<sup>545</sup> Tov apparently refers only to the occurrences of אַחַר(י) that function temporally, as he makes no reference to the renderings of local cases of אַחַר(י), which are nearly all rendered by ὀπίσω in Jer LXX. Pietersma, on the other hand, argues that the translator differentiates between the equivalents of אַחַר(י) based on context. "Ὑστερον, he claims, is used when the Greek text requires a comparative adverb, and μετά is used either when a temporal conjunctive is required or a temporal preposition."<sup>546</sup>

The preposition אַחַר may function either with a temporal or a local meaning. The temporal function denotes 'after' and the local function denotes 'behind'. The local function may also be used metaphorically, in which case אַחַר signifies behavior, e.g. 2 Kgs 13:2 וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיִּלְךָ אַחֲרֵהֶם חֲטָאת יִרְבָּעָם בְּוֶנְבֶּט. Waltke and O'Connor also mention a logical sense of the word, referring to interest or advantage, and a derived sense that refers to the edge of an entity, e.g. the far side of a wilderness וַיִּנְהַג אֶת־הַצֹּאֵן אַחֲרֵהֶם הַמִּדְבָּר.<sup>547</sup>

The main equivalents of the preposition אַחַר in the LXX are μετά+acc. and ὀπίσω+gen. The preposition μετά is very common in the LXX and carries several different meanings. Μετά as a rendering of אַחַר is generally followed by the accusative case and denotes the temporal 'after'. Ὀπίσω mainly denotes location, meaning 'behind', but it also is used temporally, meaning 'after' or 'hereafter'. Other equivalents occur seldom. The group ὀπίσθεν 'behind', κατόπισθεν 'behind' and ἐξόπισθεν 'from

<sup>545</sup> Tov 1976, 49. "Ὑστερος is used elsewhere in Prov, 1 Chron and Sirach, but not as renderings of אַחַר.

<sup>546</sup> Pietersma 2010b, 371.

<sup>547</sup> Waltke and O'Connor 1993, 192–193; Joüon and Muraoka 2003, 336.

behind' are used nearly 50 times in the LXX, and other equivalents less than ten times each. "Ὑστερον, as already mentioned, renders אַחֲרֵי only a few times in the LXX, all of which are located in Jer b'.

In Jer LXX, μετά+acc. and ὀπίσω+gen. are the most frequent equivalents of אַחֲרֵי, but a few other renderings occur as well. For this study, the temporal and local cases of אַחֲרֵי are distinguished from one another.

Temporal אַחֲרֵי	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
μετά	5	8	13
ὕστερος	—	3	3

Local אַחֲרֵי	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ὀπίσω	21	2	23
ὀπίσθεν	—	2	2
other	3	1	4

Table 10. renderings of the preposition אַחֲרֵי in Jer LXX.

It is important to note from the outset that the two main equivalents, μετά and ὀπίσω, are each used to render one of the two functions of אַחֲרֵי. Μετά + acc. renders the temporal uses of אַחֲרֵי, and ὀπίσω+gen. renders the local uses of אַחֲרֵי. Exceptions to this tendency are two cases in which ὀπίσω renders temporal אַחֲרֵי in Jer a' (9:22[21] and 13:27). These two cases, however, are most likely interpreted by the translator as local uses of אַחֲרֵי, possibly because they posed difficulties for him.<sup>548</sup> Those occurrences of אַחֲרֵי that do not have a Greek equivalent are mostly found in large plusses in the MT.<sup>549</sup>

<sup>548</sup> For discussion on these two cases, cf. below.

<sup>549</sup> Long plusses that were most likely not in the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX and that include occurrences of אַחֲרֵי are in Jer MT 29:18(–), 34:11(LXX41:11), 39:5(–), 46:26(–), 49:6(–), and 51:46(–). Jer LXX 27(50):21 attests several differences between the Hebrew and the Greek texts. First, the Greek *πιναρῶς* seems to understand מִרְתִּים as related to the word מֵר 'bitter', and renders it so. Second, the Hebrew text does not have a direct counterpart for the second occurrence of *ἐπ' αὐτήν*. Third, the Greek text interprets פָּקֹד not as a proper noun, but as a derivative of the root פָּקַד, rendering it by *ἐκδίκασον* 'to avenge'. Finally, אַחֲרֵיהֶם lacks an equivalent in the LXX, which possibly reflects a homoiooteleuton in the *Vorlage* due to



## Μετά+acc.

In ancient Greek, μετά+acc. carried the sense of 'among' or 'in the midst of.' This implies the notion of succession, both physical and temporal, from which derive the meanings 'behind' and 'after'. Μετά+acc. generally has a local meaning in ancient Greek, and in Attic prose its range of meaning is not very wide.<sup>550</sup> The temporal meaning is, however, to be found already in Homer and in Herodotus.<sup>551</sup> In the LXX, on the other hand, the temporal use predominates, which is reflected in its use in rendering אחר in Jer LXX.

3:7 וְאָמַר אַחֲרַי עֲשׂוּתָהּ אֶת־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים אֵלֵי תָשׁוּב – καὶ εἶπα μετὰ τὸ ποιῆσαι αὐτήν ταῦτα πάντα Πρὸς με ἀνάστρεψον

39(32):16 וְאֶתְפַּלֵּל אֶל־יְהוָה אַחֲרַי תַּתִּי אֶת־סֶפֶר הַמִּקְנָה אֶל־בְּרוּךְ 39 – Καὶ προσευξάμην πρὸς κύριον μετὰ τὸ δοῦναί με τὸ βιβλίον τῆς κατήσεως πρὸς Βαρουχ υἱὸν Νηρίου

38(31):33 כִּי זֹאת הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר אָכַרְתָּ אֶת־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֲרַי הַיָּמִים הָהֵם 38 – ὅτι αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, φησὶ κύριος

16:16 וְאֶחָד־כֶּן אֲשַׁלַּח לְרַבִּים צִידִים וְצִדּוֹם מַעַל כָּל־הָהָר וּמַעַל כָּל־גִּבְעָה 16 – καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποστελῶ τοὺς πολλοὺς θηρευτάς, καὶ

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the similarity with the previous word והחרם. The Hebrew text has proven to be an overwhelming challenge to the translator in this case, yet he clearly attempts to produce an equivalent for each Hebrew word. This strongly suggests that he would have produced an equivalent for the familiar אַחֲרֵיהֶם if it had been in his *Vorlage*.

In 25:26(32:12) and 41(48):16, אחר is part of a plus in the Hebrew text that consists of a complete phrase, בְּנִתְנִיָּה מִן־הַמִּצָּפָה אַחֵר הִכָּה אֶת־גְּדַלְיָה בֶן־אֲחִיקָם in 25:26(23:12) and וּמִלֶּךְ שֵׁשׁ יָשָׁתָה אַחֲרֵיהֶם in 41(48):16. The first is an addition into the list of nations in the cup of wrath sequence in Jer LXX 32 (Jer MT 25). The name of the nation, שֵׁשׁ, is an *athbash* code name for Babylon, and the purpose of the addition is to include Babylon in the list of nations that YHWH intends to punish. This same code name is found nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible except as a plus in Jer MT in the OAN section, Jer 51:41(LXX 28:41), indicating that both of these are a later addition to the text. For a discussion of this addition and similar redactional changes in the MT tradition of Jer, cf. Mäkipelto, Tekoniemi and Tucker (2017). The second case, 41(48):16, is an explanatory addition which briefly recounts the murder of Gedaliah by Johanan.

<sup>550</sup> Smyth 1920, 381.

<sup>551</sup> LSJ. s.v. μετά.

θηρεύουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπάνω παντὸς ὄρους καὶ ἐπάνω παντὸς βουνοῦ καὶ ἐκ  
τῶν τρυμαλιῶν τῶν πετρῶν

There are three types of constructions in Jer which are translated with *μετά*+acc. First, when **אָחַר** is followed by an infinitive, the rendering *μετά* is followed by an accusative articular infinitive. Examples of these are presented above, Jer 3:7 and 39(32):16.<sup>552</sup> Second, when **אָחַר** is followed by a noun or a pronominal suffix, *μετά* is followed by a noun or a pronoun in the accusative, as shown in example 38(31):33.<sup>553</sup> The third group consists of the expression **אָחֲרֵיכֶן**, which is rendered as *μετὰ ταῦτα*. This equivalence is found in 16:16 and 21:7.

In Jer a', there are five cases in which *μετά*+acc. renders temporal **אָחַר**. These include the two translated instances of the expression **אָחֲרֵיכֶן**.<sup>554</sup> Three cases of temporal **אָחַר** in Jer a' consist of **אָחַר** followed by an infinitive and rendered as *μετά* with an accusative articular infinitive (3:7, 12:15 and 24:1). A sixth case of temporal **אָחַר** is rendered by the Greek *ὀπίσω* (9:22[21]), which is understood by the translator to be a local use of the word.<sup>555</sup>

In Jer b' there are eleven equivalents of temporal **אָחַר**, and eight of them are rendered by *μετά*+acc. Five cases consist of **אָחַר** and an infinitive translated as *μετά* with an accusative articular infinitive (35[28]:12, 39[32]:16, 41[34]:8, 43[36]:27 and 47[40]:1), and three consist of **אָחַר** and a noun or a pronominal suffix rendered by *μετά* with the corresponding noun or pronoun in the accusative case (38[31]:33, 39[32]:18 and 9). There are three instances of temporal **אָחַר** followed by an infinitive that break from this pattern in Jer b'. These are rendered by *ὑστερος* followed by genitives instead of *μετά*+acc. These renderings are discussed further below.

<sup>552</sup> Other cases are 12:15, 24:1, 35(28):12, 41(34):8, 43(36):27, and 47(40):1. Tov argues that the variant reading *ὑστερον* in 47(40):1 is likely a change brought about by the reviser, and accordingly he counts 47(40):1 as his fourth case of *ὑστερος*.

<sup>553</sup> Other cases are 39(32):18 and 39.

<sup>554</sup> The expression occurs three other times in Jer MT (34:11, 46:26 and 49:6), and each is part of a large plus in the MT.

<sup>555</sup> Cf. discussion on 9:22(21), cf. below.

## Ὅπισω

Like μετά+acc., ὀπίσω+gen. may also be either local or temporal in ancient Greek. When it is followed by a genitive, it is generally local, with the sense of 'to follow' or 'go after' someone or something. In the LXX, the genitive noun following ὀπίσω may indicate "an object of attachment and devotion,"<sup>556</sup> which is also the most common use of ὀπίσω to be found in Jer LXX. In Jer, there are 23 cases of אַחֲרַי that are rendered by ὀπίσω. Twenty one of these are located in Jer a', and two cases are found in Jer b'.

9:14(13) – וַיֵּלְכוּ אֶתְרֵי שְׂרָרוֹת לָבָם וְאֶתְרֵי הַבְּעָלִים אֲשֶׁר לְמַדּוּם אֲבוֹתָם  
 ἄλλ' ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπίσω τῶν ἀρεστῶν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τῆς κακῆς καὶ  
 ὀπίσω τῶν εἰδώλων, ἃ ἐδίδαξαν αὐτοὺς οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν

25:6 – וְאַל־תִּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לְעַבְדָם וְלִהְשַׁתָּחוּת לָהֶם ὁπίσω θεῶν ἄλλοτρίων τοῦ δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς

2:8 והַנְּבִיאִים נִבְּאוּ בְּבַעַל וְאַחֲרָיִם – καὶ οἱ προφηταὶ  
ἐπροφήτευσαν τῇ Βααλ καὶ ὀπίσω ἀνωφελοῦς ἐπορεύθησαν

9:22(21) – וְנִפְלָה נְבִלַת הָאָדָם כְּדָמָן עַל־פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה וּבְעֵמִיד מֵאַחֲרֵי הַקֶּצֶר  
καὶ ἔσονται οἱ νεκροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς παράδειγμα ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς  
γῆς καὶ ὡς χάροτος ὀπίσω θερίζοντος

12:6 כִּי גַם־אֶתְּיָךְ וּבֵית־אָבִיךָ גַם־הֵמָּה בָּגְדוּ בָּךְ גַּם־הֵמָּה קָרְאוּ אֶתְּיָךְ מְלֶאֶה — ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρός σου, καὶ οὗτοι ἠθέτησάν σε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβόησαν, ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω σου ἐπισυνήχθησαν.

The occurrences of **אחר** that are translated by *δπίσω* may be classified similarly to those cases translated by *μετά*: **אחר** followed by a noun, **אחר** followed by a verb or **אחר** followed by a pronominal suffix. The first group is the most common of the three, and each instance in this group is rendered by *δπίσω* with a genitive noun. The first two examples above (9:14[13] and 25:6) exemplify this group, as they represent two of the most common phrases in which the equivalence **אחר** – *δπίσω* occurs, namely **הלך אחרי אלהים אחרים** and **הלך אחרי שררות הלב**. Generally these phrases are

<sup>556</sup> Muraoka 2009, 500.

rendered consistently as *πορεύομαι ὀπίσω θεῶν ἀλλοτρίων* and *πορεύομαι ὀπίσω τῶν ἀρεστῶν τῆς καρδίας* respectively, but variation does occur.

The third (2:8) and fourth examples (9:22[21]) are cases of **אָחֵר** followed by a verb. In both cases the LXX equivalent is a nominal form in the genitive case. In 2:8, this is achieved by transforming the verbal phrase **לֹא יִנְעֻלוּ** 'they will not profit' into the adjective *ἀνωφελοῦς* 'useless / unprofitable'. In 9:22(21), the articular participle **הַקֹּצֵר** 'the one who reaps' is rendered by the Greek participle *θερίζοντος* 'reaping'. This instance is also notable in that the Hebrew text can be understood as a temporal clause 'after the reaper (has reaped)' whereas the Greek text understands it as local 'behind the reaper'.<sup>557</sup> A similar shift from the temporal use of **אָחֵר** to the local use is in 13:27, which is possibly offset by a different understanding of the sentence due to an extra **עַד** in the *Vorlage* witnessed in the Greek by *ἕως: עַד מְתִי עַד אֲחֵרִי תִּטְהַרִי* – *ὅτι οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθης ὀπίσω μου, ἕως τίνος ἔτι;*

The final group, which consists of **אָחֵר** followed by pronominal suffixes, contains five cases. The suffix used is either the second masculine singular suffix **אֲחֵרַי** or the third masculine plural suffix **אֲחֵרֵיהֶם**, and each is rendered by the corresponding Greek genitive pronoun, *σου* or *αὐτῶν*, respectively. The only exceptional case is the one presented above (12:6). Instead of the expected *ὀπίσω*, the Greek text attests the reading *ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω σου*, corresponding to the Hebrew **אֲחֵרַי**. This suggests that the translator read or mistook his *Vorlage* with a prefixed preposition **מֵאֲחֵרַי**.

A striking feature about the equivalence **אָחֵר** – *ὀπίσω* in Jer is that they are mainly found in Jer a'. Twenty one out of the total of 24<sup>558</sup> cases are in Jer a', and only two are in Jer b'.<sup>559</sup> This is tempered by the fact that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Jer b' attests only five cases of local **אָחֵר**, in comparison to 24 cases in the *Vorlage* of Jer a'. Based on

<sup>557</sup> Though it is possible to interpret *ὀπίσω* as temporal, as stated above, the majority of cases indicate that the translator used *ὀπίσω* when he interpreted **אָחֵר** as local. It is therefore plausible to conclude the same here.

<sup>558</sup> Jer a 2:5, 8, 23, 25, 3:17, 7:6, 7:9, 8:2, 9:14(13) 2x, 22(21), 11:10, 12:6, 13:10, 27, 16:11, 12, 17:16, 18:12, 25:6, and 17(49:36).

<sup>559</sup> Jer b 42(35):15 and 52:8.

this, it is possible to conclude that both halves of the translation favor *ὁπίσω* as the rendering of local **אַחֲרַי**.

### Other Renderings of Local **אַחֲרַי**

In Jer a', there are only three cases of local **אַחֲרַי** that are rendered otherwise. In 2:2, the Hebrew verb and preposition **לְכַתִּיךָ אַחֲרַי** 'that you followed after me' is artfully rendered by an *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction τοῦ ἐξακολουθῆσαι σε 'you followed' in the phrase τοῦ ἐξακολουθῆσαι σε τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰσραηλ.<sup>560</sup> In the other two cases, the LXX employs other prepositions besides plain *ὁπίσω*:

3:19 **וּמֵאַחֲרַי** לֹא תָשׁוּבוּ – καὶ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἀποστραφήσεσθε

9:16(15) **וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי אַחֲרַיְכֶם אֶת־הַחֶרֶב** – καὶ ἐπαποστελῶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν μάχαιραν

Although one might easily expect the translation to reflect a different *Vorlage* in such cases, the example of 2:2 shows that the translator is capable of renderings that do not follow the Hebrew in a strict isomorphic manner. The other two cases are strong candidates for a more idiomatic rendering that follows the Greek verbal syntax.

*Ἐπαποστέλλω* often takes the preposition *ἐπί* to indicate the recipient of the action.<sup>561</sup>

Local **אַחֲרַי** is translated five times in Jer b'. Two of these are rendered as *ὁπίσω* (42[35]:15 and 52:8). The rendering in 49(42):16 is similar to 3:19 and 9:16(15) by conforming to Greek verbal syntax rather than adhering strictly to the Hebrew text in an isomorphic manner. The translation renders the preposition with only an accusative pronoun:

49(42):16 **וְהָרַעַב אֶשְׂרָאֵל דְּאִגִּים מִמֶּנּוּ שֶׁ יִדְבַּק אַחֲרֵיכֶם מִצָּרִים** – καὶ ὁ λιμός, οὗ ὑμεῖς λόγον ἔχετε ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, καταλήμψεται ὑμᾶς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

The final two cases of local **אַחֲרַי** that have an equivalent in Jer b' are two cases of *ὀπισθεν*. *Ὅπισθεν* is an adverb that is synonymous with *ὁπίσω*. It has both a local and a

<sup>560</sup> For a discussion on this example, cf. sec. 4.2.2.2.

<sup>561</sup> LSJ, s.v. *ἐπαποστέλλω*.

temporal function, meaning both 'behind' and 'after'. Ὅπισθεν occurs three times in Jer LXX. It renders the Hebrew **לְאַחֵר** once (in 7:24) and the local **אָחֵר** twice:

31(48):2 תִּלְךָ חֶרֶב אַחֲרֶיךָ תִּדְמִי תִדְמִי – καὶ παῦσιν παύσεται, ὅπισθεν σου βαδιεῖται μάχαιρα

39(32):40 וְכִרְתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית עוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־אָשׁוּב מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם לְהִיטִיבִי אֹתָם – καὶ διαθήσομαι αὐτοῖς διαθήκην αἰώνιον, ἣν οὐ μὴ ἀποστρέψω ὅπισθεν αὐτῶν

The two cases of ὅπισθεν in Jer b' both occur in conjunction with verbs of movement: **שׁוּב** and **הֵלךְ** in Hebrew and ἀποστρέφω and βαδίζω in Greek. These same verbs are used in connection with **אָחֵר** and ὀπίσω in Jer a', but in Jer b' ὀπίσω as the rendering of **אָחֵר** is also used in connection with other verbs of movement, namely καταδιώκω and πορεύομαι. The reading ὅπισθεν is fairly certain in these passages, as the variant ὀπίσω is only found in one ms for each case (codex S in 31[48]:2 and Ms 407 in 39[32]:40).

## Ὑστερος

Ὑστερος is also partially synonymous with ὀπίσω, and in ancient Greek it was used both locally ('behind' or 'coming after') and temporally ('after' or 'next') as an adjective. Within the translated books of the Septuagint, ὕστερος is only found in Jer, where it is always used in a temporal sense to render temporal cases of **אָחֵר**. Each case is located in Jer b'. The equivalent μετά in 47(40):1 has the variant reading ὕστερος in the majority of Mss, but Ziegler has chosen μετά as the more likely OG reading.<sup>562</sup>

36(29):2 אַחֲרֵי צֵאת יְכַנְיָה־הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַגְבִּירָה וְהַסָּרִיסִים שָׂרֵי יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם – ὕστερον ἐξελθόντος Ἰεχονίου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ τῶν εὐνούχων καὶ παντὸς ἐλευθέρου καὶ δεσμώτου καὶ τεχνίτου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ

<sup>562</sup> Ὑστερον as a variant reading is found at 47(40):1 in Mss 88, 407 and the L group. The double reading υστερον μετα is attested by a majority of the Mss. Ziegler's choice of μετα for the critical text is attested by B-S-106' C' and 26. Tov argues that υστερον is a change made by the reviser in this verse (1976, 49 n. 31).

38(31):19 כִּי־אַחֲרֵי שׁוּבִי נִחַמְתִּי וְאַחֲרֵי הַנִּדְעִי סַפַּקְתִּי עַל־יְרֵךְ בְּשָׁתִּי – ὅτι  
 ὕστερον αἰχμαλωσίας μου μετενόησα καὶ ὕστερον τοῦ γνῶναί με  
 ἐστέναξα ἐφ’ ἡμέρας αἰσχύνης

In each case, אַחֲרֵי is followed by an infinitive in the Hebrew, and ὕστερος is followed by a genitive in the Greek. The translator only renders the last case with an infinitive, however, as the first is rendered with a genitive participle to complement ὕστερος, and the second is rendered as if the translator understood שׁוּבִי as the noun שָׁבִי ‘captivity.’ In each case, the translator has shaped the Greek grammatical forms into genitives in order to conform to the requirement of ὕστερος. As shown above, μετὰ is the common rendering of temporal אַחֲרֵי in both Jer a’ and in Jer b’, and it is used in similar syntactical contexts as the three cases of ὕστερος, that is, when אַחֲרֵי is followed by an infinitive (e.g. 12:15 and 24:1). Ὑστερος may be used to more clearly mark the temporal nature of these clauses, but the contexts of the cases rendered by μετὰ seem unambiguously temporal as well. It is therefore uncertain whether one can ascribe a reason for the use of ὕστερος other than the intention to use different equivalents. Of the two equivalents, μετὰ is to be considered a more standard choice of the LXX translators since it is the most common equivalent of temporal אַחֲרֵי. Ὑστερος, on the other hand, is a more natural Greek expression that was not used by the translators as an equivalent for any particular Hebrew term.

## Summary

The most clear distinction between the different renderings of אַחֲרֵי in Jer LXX is that between μετὰ and ὀπίσω. Μετὰ is the main equivalent when אַחֲרֵי is temporal, and ὀπίσω is the main equivalent when אַחֲרֵי is local. It is the deviation from this pattern that has borne speculation regarding the unity of the translation, particularly with regard to the renderings of temporal אַחֲרֵי. Ὑστερος, a word that is not often used in the LXX, renders temporal אַחֲרֵי on three occasions in Jer b’. This equivalence is not found elsewhere in the LXX.

The temporal uses of אַחֲרֵי are rendered 13 times by μετὰ+acc., which is the usual rendering of the Hebrew expression throughout the LXX. In Jer a’, there are five such

equivalences. In two of these the Hebrew expression is אַחֲרֵי־כֵן, rendered as μετὰ ταῦτα (16:16 and 21:7). The other three cases render אַחֲר with an infinitive as μετὰ+articular infinitive in the accusative case (3:7, 12:15 and 24:1). In Jer b', there are eight cases of the equivalence between temporal אַחֲר and μετὰ+acc. Five of these render אַחֲר+infinitive (35[28]:12, 39[32]:16, 41[34]:8, 43[36]:27 and 47[40]:1) and three render אַחֲר+noun or pronominal suffix (38[31]:33, 39[32]:18 and 9).

The rendering ὕστερος is used three times in Jer LXX, once in 36(29):2 and twice in 38(31):19. In both verses, the word renders אַחֲר+infinitive with ὕστερος+gen. The Hebrew constructions are very much like the other cases of temporal אַחֲר that are rendered by μετὰ+acc. Jer 36(29):2 is a narrated text that describes the location of subsequent events in time, i.e. "after king Jeconiah [...] had departed from Jerusalem." Jer 24:1 employs the same Hebrew expression in a similar narrated context, yet the rendering is μετὰ+acc.: "after Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, had taken into exile Jeconiah [...] from Jerusalem." Jer 38(31):19 presents a dialogue between YHWH and Ephraim. Ephraim's proclamation consists of אַחֲר+inf. followed by a finitive verb. This pattern occurs twice: "For after I had turned away, I relented, and after I was instructed, I struck my thigh." The same grammatical construction is used in dialogue in Jer 12:15, and it is rendered with μετὰ+acc.: "And after I have plucked them up, I will again have compassion on them." Though it is highly likely that the translator understood the first occurrence of אַחֲר in 38(31):19 to be followed by a noun, a similar case is rendered by μετὰ+acc. in 38(31):33. The three cases of ὕστερος essentially render similar Hebrew constructions as those cases that are rendered by μετὰ both in Jer a' and in Jer b', and the translator appropriates the Greek syntax to conform to the use of ὕστερος.

The renderings of אַחֲר can largely be characterized in the same manner in Jer a' and Jer b'. Throughout the translation, μετὰ+acc. is used as the main equivalent of temporal אַחֲר, and ὀπίσω+gen. is used as the main equivalent of local אַחֲר. The few uses of ὕστερος, however, should be characterized as exceptional renderings that reflect more natural Greek expression. Ὑστερος is seldom used in the LXX, and should be noted in the characterization of the translation. It is a feature of Jer b' that must be



described as more natural Greek in character and not as a feature that resembles revisional changes of the type found in the *kaige* tradition.

## 5.7. לְבִלְתִּי

Renderings of the negative particle לְבִלְתִּי are referenced as evidence for bisectioning Jer LXX by both Thackeray and Tov.<sup>563</sup> Thackeray notes that the term is rendered by τοῦ μὴ in both parts of the book, and that πρὸς τὸ μὴ is used as a rendering only in Jer b'. Tov posits that, for many of the translators, the usual rendering of לְבִלְתִּי in the LXX, τοῦ μὴ, was not considered an adequate expression of the components of the Hebrew word, that is, they did not contain a formal representation of the preposition לְ. This prompted the use of other equivalents, but in most books the other equivalents do not outnumber the use of τοῦ μὴ. Only Jer b' can be said to use another equivalent with more consistency, as πρὸς τὸ μὴ is the rendering in ten of its eleven translated cases of לְבִלְתִּי.

Because the infinitive construct has a nominal character, its negation is usually expressed by לְבִלְתִּי, which itself is nominal in origin.<sup>564</sup> It occurs a total of 86 times in the HB. In the LXX, the genitive article with the negation, τοῦ μὴ, is its most common equivalent. This reflects the fact that לְבִלְתִּי is used as the common negation of the infinitive construct. In the LXX, final infinitives are often rendered as genitive articular infinitives,<sup>565</sup> thus their negation naturally employs the same article. A total of 39 of the 86 occurrences of לְבִלְתִּי in the LXX are rendered by τοῦ μὴ. The equivalent πρὸς τὸ μὴ, exclusive to Jer b', is the second most common equivalent in the LXX, amounting to ten occurrences. Other equivalents occur less frequently, but can be considered to represent more formal equivalents of לְבִלְתִּי than τοῦ μὴ. Ὅπως μὴ, ἵνα μὴ and ὥστε μὴ are all used as renderings, and they all start final clauses in Greek. Other renderings

<sup>563</sup> Thackeray 1903a, 251; Tov 1976, 49–50.

<sup>564</sup> Joüon and Muraoka 2003, 284, 433.

<sup>565</sup> Cf. the analysis of renderings of infinitives in Jer LXX, ch. 4.

of לְבַלְתִּי in the LXX include παρὰ τὸ μή, τὸ παράπαν μή, ἵνα μὴ τούτου, ἔνεκεν οὐ μή, τοῦ μὴ εἰς τέλος and τὸ καθόλου μή, all dispersed among various books.<sup>566</sup>

In Jer LXX, the two most common equivalents of לְבַלְתִּי are starkly split along the lines of Jer a' and Jer b', with only one case of a shared equivalent in Jer b' (τοῦ μὴ).

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
τοῦ μὴ	10	1	11
πρὸς τὸ μὴ	–	10	10
ὅθεν οὐκ	1	–	1
Table 11. renderings of the preposition לְבַלְתִּי in Jer LXX.			

The genitive article with the negation μὴ (τοῦ μὴ) is used ten times in Jer a' and once in Jer b', while the preposition πρὸς with the genitive article and the negation μὴ (πρὸς τὸ μὴ) is not used in Jer a' but is found ten times in Jer b'. The only other equivalent in Jer LXX is ὅθεν οὐκ, located in Jer a' (7:8). All three cases in which לְבַלְתִּי does not have an equivalent in the LXX (41[34]:10, 34:15[27:18] and Jer MT 33:20[–]) are longer plusses in the MT, and therefor were unlikely in the translator's *Vorlage*.<sup>567</sup>

### Τοῦ μὴ

The genitive article, as a rendering of לְבַלְתִּי, occurs eleven times in Jer LXX, and it is the simplest of the renderings. The function and use of the genitive articular infinitive is

<sup>566</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 78–80.

<sup>567</sup> Jer MT 33:20 is part of a longer plus in the Hebrew text that extends from 33:14 to 33:26. The content of this plus describes YHWH's eternal covenant with the house of David and with the levitical priesthood. It is most likely a later addition to the text. In the two other cases, 34:15(27:18) and 41(34):10, the MT plus amounts to a clause or two. In 34:15(27:18) over half of the verse is lacking in the LXX. The MT plus details how Jeremiah the prophet expects the false prophets to perform in order to prove that they are true prophets. The shared text contains the demand that they should intercede directly with YHWH, but the MT plus articulates the particular purpose for this, namely to prevent the looting of the temple vessels that have been left in Jerusalem, a theme that is greatly stressed in the other MT plusses in the chapter. Jer 41(34):10 contains a plus in the MT that further describes the covenant that the king and the people of Jerusalem had entered into during the siege of the city by the Babylonian army. לְבַלְתִּי occurs in both of these plusses, and both are most likely later additions to the text.

presented above.<sup>568</sup> In Greek, the particle μή is generally used with the articular infinitive to indicate its negation.<sup>569</sup>

17:23 וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ וְלֹא הָטוּ אֶת־אָזָנָם וַיִּקְשׁוּ אֶת־עַרְפָּם לְבַלְתִּי שָׁמוּעַ וּלְבַלְתִּי  
קָחַת מוֹסֵר – καὶ ἐσκήρυναν τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας  
αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦσαί μου καὶ τοῦ μὴ δέξασθαι παιδεῖαν

23:14 וּבְנֵי־אֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם רָאִיתִי שְׁעָרוֹרָה נָאֹף וְהָלַךְ בְּשֹׁקֶר וַחֲזִקוּ יְדֵי מְרָעִים  
לְבַלְתִּי־שָׁבוּ אִישׁ מִרְעָתוֹ הָיוּ־לִי כָלִם בְּסֹדֶם וַיִּשְׁבִּיָּהּ כַּעֲמָרָה – καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
προφήταις Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἑόρακα φρικτά, μοιχωμένους καὶ πορευομένους ἐν  
ψεύδεσι καὶ ἀντιλαμβανομένους χειρῶν πονηρῶν τοῦ μὴ ἀποστραφῆναι  
ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς· ἐγενήθησάν μοι πάντες ὡς  
Σόδομα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν ὥσπερ Γόμορρα

33(26):24 אֲדָ יָד אַחִיקָם בֶּן־שָׁפָן הִיָּתָה אֶת־יְרֵמְיָהוּ לְבַלְתִּי תִתְּאֲתוֹ בִּיד־הָעָם  
לְהָמִיתוֹ – πλὴν χεῖρ Ἀχικαμ υἱοῦ Σαφαν ἦν μετὰ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ μὴ  
παρὰδοῦναι αὐτὸν εἰς χεῖρας τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν

In most cases, לְבַלְתִּי is followed by an infinitive. The only perfect form is לְבַלְתִּי־שָׁבוּ in 23:14, but it is unusual, as לֹא is the proper negation of independent verbal clauses.<sup>570</sup> Proposed emendations of שָׁבוּ to שׁוּב are probably correct,<sup>571</sup> and the Greek rendering, which is similar to cases that render infinitives, suggests that the LXX *Vorlage* contained an infinitive here as well.

The context of these expressions is almost always YHWH speaking through the prophet Jeremiah. The negation לְבַלְתִּי is used mainly in prohibitions, urging the Israelites not to transgress against YHWH's will, and retellings of past transgressions, describing how the Israelites had not complied with YHWH's directives. Only two cases occur in other contexts, which portray how Ahikam prevented the murder of Jeremiah (לְבַלְתִּי תִתְּאֲתוֹ בִּיד־הָעָם 33[26]:24) and the judgement of YHWH on Babylon, that it

<sup>568</sup> Cf. sec. 4.1.3.

<sup>569</sup> Smyth 1920, 615.

<sup>570</sup> Gesenius et. al. (1910, 483) note a few cases in which לְבַלְתִּי occurs with a finite verb form (Ex 20:20, 2 Sam 14:14, Jer 27:18 and Ezek 13:3), but it is likely that these texts have been corrupted and do not reflect their original form. In addition, Is 44:10 contains the reading הוֹעִיל לְבַלְתִּי הוֹעִיל, but הוֹעִיל should be considered an infinitive instead of a perfect.

<sup>571</sup> Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley 1910, 483.

should be desolate (יִשְׁבּוּ לְבַלְתִּי הַיּוֹתֵבוּ 28[51]:62). The expression לְבַלְתִּי שְׁמַע (e.g. in example 17:23) is the most common expression used. It occurs four times while the other expressions are all unique in Jer.

Only one case of τοῦ μὴ as the equivalent of לְבַלְתִּי is located in Jer b' (33[26]:24). The other ten are all in Jer a'.<sup>572</sup> In Jer a', only one other equivalent of לְבַלְתִּי+inf. is to be found, and that is ὅθεν οὐκ in 7:8.<sup>573</sup> In Jer b', the renderings of לְבַלְתִּי+inf. are predominantly πρὸς τὸ μὴ+inf.

## Πρὸς τὸ μὴ

Πρὸς τὸ μὴ consists of the preposition πρὸς with an accusative article and the negation μὴ. It always occurs as an articular infinitive. Πρὸς with the articular infinitive is a Greek expression that occurs rarely elsewhere in the translated books of the LXX. Πρὸς τὸ μὴ appears a total of nine times in apocryphal books of the LXX, particularly in the Greek additions to Esther, in 1 and 2 Maccabees, and in the book of Baruch, and in the New Testament.<sup>574</sup> Its use in biblical Greek denotes “the end to which an act or state is directed, or toward which it tends,”<sup>575</sup> i.e. it is final in meaning.

Coincidentally, either as a rendering of לְבַלְתִּי, in which case the negation μὴ is included, or as a rendering of לַמַּעַן,<sup>576</sup> the expression πρὸς+acc. articular inf. only occurs in Jer b'. The equivalence לְבַלְתִּי – πρὸς τὸ μὴ is used ten times.

39(32):40 וְכָרְתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית עוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־אָשׁוּב מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם לְהִיטִיבֵי אוֹתָם  
וְאֶת־יְרֵאָתִי אָתֶּן בְּלִבָּבָם לְבַלְתִּי סוּר מֵעָלַי  
αὐτῶν, ἣν οὐ μὴ ἀποστρέψω ὅπισθεν αὐτῶν· καὶ τὸν φόβον μου δώσω  
εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποστῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

<sup>572</sup> Jer 16:12; 17:23(2x), 24(2x), 27; 18:10; 19:15; 23:14 and 28(51):62.

<sup>573</sup> Cf. example Jer 7:8 below.

<sup>574</sup> Esth 13:4-5; 1 Mac 12:10; 2 Mac 5:27; Bar 1:19, 2:5; 2 Cor 3:13; 1 Thess 2:9 and 2 Thess 3:8.

<sup>575</sup> Votaw 1896, 20.

<sup>576</sup> For an analysis of the renderings of לַמַּעַן in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 5.8.

42(35):8 וְנִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹל יְהוֹנָדָב בֶּן־רֵכָב אֲבִינוּ לְכָל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּנוּ לַבְלֹתִי שְׁתִּיתִין – και ἡκούσαμεν τῆς φωνῆς Ἰωνάδαβ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν πρὸς τὸ μὴ πιεῖν οἶνον πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν

43(36):25 וְגַם אֶלְנָתָן וְדִלְיָהּ וְגַמְרִיָּהּ וְהַפְּגַעִי בְּמֶלֶךְ לַבְלֹתִי שָׂרָף אֶת־הַמִּגְלָה – και Ἐλναθαν καὶ Γοδολίας καὶ Γαμαρίας ὑπέθεντο τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ κατακαῦσαι τὸ χαρτίον

In each case לַבְלֹתִי+inf. modifies a verb and is therefore used to indicate purpose. The genitive articular infinitive is used in the same manner elsewhere in the LXX. The use of the exceptional equivalent πρὸς τὸ μὴ+inf. must reflect a need to use a different expression. This is possibly triggered by the morphological components of לַבְלֹתִי, i.e. the preposition לְ and the particle בלתי. The use of the Greek preposition πρὸς and the negation μὴ allows the reviser to obtain a formal representation of both components of the word לַבְלֹתִי.

Πρὸς τὸ μὴ is the dominant equivalent of לַבְלֹתִי in Jer b'. Out of eleven occurrences that have an equivalent in Jer b', ten are rendered by πρὸς τὸ μὴ.<sup>577</sup> Only the one case in 33(26):24 is rendered by τοῦ μὴ. The occurrence in 33(26):24<sup>578</sup> is part of a narrated section describing past events. Similar cases are found in 41(34):9, describing how the people of Jerusalem had freed their slaves from serving them, and several cases are located in the account of the Rechabites (42[35]:8, 9 and 14), explaining how they had upheld their ancestor's decree not to drink wine or build houses to live in. The contexts in Jer b' are partially the same as those in Jer a'. These are retellings of past transgressions (e.g. 51[44]:5) in addition to the fulfilment of prohibitions by the Rechabites. A few cases refer to the future in the form of pleas (43[36]:25 and 45[38]:26) or proclamations of what will not or should not come to pass (39[32]:40 and 49[42]:13).

<sup>577</sup> Jer 39(32):40; 41(34):9; 42(35):8-9, 14; 43(36):25; 45(38):26; 49(42):13; 51(44):5 and 7.

<sup>578</sup> The Greek rendering of this verse is exceptional for other reasons as well. The negation of the first infinitive (תֵּת) is extended to the second infinitive (לִהְיוֹת), thus essentially reversing the meaning of the second infinitive. This verse is discussed in more detail in sec. 4.2.2.2 and 7.5.

## ὅθεν οὐκ

The relative adverb ὅθεν 'from where' is generally used to introduce local clauses, and can substitute the use of a relative pronoun preceded by the preposition ἐκ, e.g. ἐξ οὗ.<sup>579</sup> It occurs 43 times in the Septuagint, but a majority of these are found in apocryphal books, such as Judith and 2 Macc. The 18 cases that are translations generally render the relative pronoun אשר. There is only one case of ὅθεν in Jer, and nowhere else is it used to render לבלתי.

7:8 הִנֵּה אַתֶּם בֹּטְחִים לָכֶם עַל־דְּבָרֵי הַשָּׁקָר לְבַלְתִּי הוֹעִיל – εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς  
πεποιθότε ἐπὶ λόγοις ψευδέσιν, ὅθεν οὐκ ὠφελήθησθε

In Jer 7:8, לבלתי+inf. is rendered by ὅθεν οὐκ followed by an indicative verb form. This is an exceptional use of ὅθεν since it is not purely local, but metaphorically local. The prophet accuses the people of trusting in false words and claims that the lie will lead to no avail. The translation of this verse is exceptional in other ways as well. It attests one of the few cases in which the postpositive particle δέ is used in Jer, and only one of the three such cases in which δέ is not used to render the Hebrew coordinate conjunction וְ.<sup>580</sup> Also, the Hebrew participle בֹּטְחִים has been rendered as an indicative verb. All in all, these formal differences with the Hebrew text function to create a more natural Greek style in this verse.

## Summary and Conclusions

The negative particle לבלתי occurs 25 times in Jer and has a Greek equivalent in the LXX in 22 of these cases. The genitive articular infinitive and the prepositional phrase πρὸς τὸ μή+inf. are used to an almost equal amount as renderings of לבלתי (11 times and 10 times respectively), and the only other equivalent is the relative clause ὅθεν οὐκ+finite verb in 7:8.

<sup>579</sup> Smyth 1920, 101–102 and 562.

<sup>580</sup> The other two cases are found in Jer 31(48):30 and 32(25):31. For an analysis of the renderings of conjunctive וְ in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 5.2.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
τοῦ μή	10	1	11
πρὸς τὸ μή	–	10	10
ἔθεν οὐκ	1	–	1
Table 11. Renderings of the preposition לַבְלִיתִי in Jer LXX.			

As can be seen from table 11., there is a nearly definitive division of equivalents between Jer a' and Jer b'. In Jer a', the genitive articular infinitive τοῦ μή is used with only one exception, and πρὸς τὸ μή+inf. is never used. In Jer b', on the other hand, πρὸς τὸ μή+inf. is used with only one exception, which is the genitive articular infinitive τοῦ μή (33[26]:24).

Nearly all cases of לַבְלִיתִי in the Hebrew text precede an infinitive. Only 23:14 and 34:15(27:18) attest a perfect form. As discussed above, the case in 23:14 should be emended to an infinitive, which is what the LXX seems to translate, and the case in 34:15(27:18) was most likely lacking in the translator's *Vorlage*. From a grammatical point of view, then, the translated expressions are all very similar to one another.

The same can be said from a contextual point of view. The expression לַבְלִיתִי+inf. is mostly used in direct address concerning prohibitions and accusations of past transgressions. This is the case for both halves of the translation.

The stark difference between the translation equivalents of לַבְלִיתִי in Jer a' and Jer b' contributes to their different characterization. Jer a' follows the general custom of most LXX translations in rendering לַבְלִיתִי+inf. with τοῦ μή+inf. in ten of its eleven translated cases. The one use of ἔθεν οὐκ modifies this picture by presenting a special rendering unique to this section of the LXX. Jer b', on the other hand, after the one use of τοῦ μή at 33(26):24, adopts a unique rendering in πρὸς τὸ μή+inf. that is only used rarely in other Greek texts. The use of this rendering in ten out of eleven translated cases gives this section a special character, which sets it off from all other translations in the LXX, including the preceding chapters in Jer LXX.

Tov suggests that τοῦ μή was not deemed an adequate rendering by many translators, which explains the various other renderings that arose around לַבְלִיתִי. Quantitatively, τοῦ μή+inf. could be considered an adequate equivalent of לַבְלִיתִי+inf.

since it reproduces a representation of each component of the Hebrew construction: the preposition לְ (τοῦ), the particle בלתי (μή), and the inf. In this light, the rendering πρὸς τὸ μὴ+inf. seems to produce one element too many, unless the accusative indicator τὸ is assumed to go along with its governing preposition. On the other hand, the preposition might have been chosen due to its semantic value as an expression of the Hebrew infinitive, which indicates the purpose or result of an action, as suggested by Votaw,<sup>581</sup> or due to its correspondence with the Hebrew preposition.

Coincidentally or not, Jer b' is the only section in the LXX that employs the expression πρὸς+articular infinitive. This expression is used solely to render לבלתי+inf. and למען+inf.<sup>582</sup> Ex 1:16 is the only exception to this, but it differs from the cases in Jer b' by its use of the dative article instead of the accusative.

## 5.8. למען

Thackeray and Tov both reference the translations of the Hebrew למען among their arguments for bisectioning Jer LXX.<sup>583</sup> Thackeray makes the simple note that ἵνα is used in both sections of Jer LXX as the equivalent, while πρὸς τό is used only in Jer b'. Tov, however, specifies that he is only referring to renderings of the construction למען+inf, which are translated three times by finite clauses in Jer a', and four times by πρὸς τό+inf. and twice by ἵνα clauses in Jer b'. He explains that the rendering of Jer a' is the usual one in the LXX, and that the renderings in Jer b' have been revised toward a more literal equivalence of the Hebrew. Other scholars do not discuss the renderings of למען in their studies.

למען, which may be termed as a prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition לְ and the form מען,<sup>584</sup> has two principle functions in Hebrew. First, it serves as a preposition before nouns or pronouns, meaning 'on account of' or 'for the sake of', as in

<sup>581</sup> Votaw 1896, 20.

<sup>582</sup> Martin 1957, 276. Cf. also the analysis of the renderings of למען in Jer LXX, sec. 5.8.

<sup>583</sup> Thackeray 1903a, 251; Tov 1976, 50.

<sup>584</sup> For the definition of למען as a prepositional phrase, cf. Joüon and Muraoka 2003, §104b. For the constitution of למען as the preposition לְ and the form מען, cf. HALOT, s.v. מען.



the phrase **לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹ** 'for his name's sake' (Ps 23:3). Second, it serves as a conjunction marking a consecutive clause, often preceding verbs (e.g. Gen 37:22) or the relative pronoun **אֲשֶׁר** (e.g. Deut 20:18). **לְמַעַן** generally functions to express purpose. In Jer, **לְמַעַן** occurs 24 times. Of these, three cases function as prepositions, and 21 cases mark a consecutive clause.<sup>585</sup>

In Jer LXX, equivalents of **לְמַעַן** occur eleven times in Jer a' and eleven times in Jer b'. The most common equivalents are *ἵνα* (8 times) and *ὅπως* (7 times). The other equivalents are *πρὸς* followed by an accusative articular infinitive (*πρὸς τό+inf.*; 4 times), a genitive articular infinitive expressing purpose, the preposition *διὰ+acc.* and *ἐνεκεν+acc.*

The use and meaning of *ὅπως* and *ἵνα* are similar to **לְמַעַן** in that they can introduce a final clause,<sup>586</sup> but *ὅπως* may also be used in a modal sense.<sup>587</sup> *Πρὸς+acc.* denotes direction towards something, whether it be local, metaphorical or temporal.<sup>588</sup> The use and meaning of the genitive articular infinitive is discussed above.<sup>589</sup> *Διὰ* with an accusative can carry several different meanings. It may have the local sense 'through' or 'over', or it may denote indirect agency. An additional meaning, which is the more common meaning in the LXX, is causative, denoting reason, ground or credit.<sup>590</sup> The improper preposition *ἐνεκεν* is usually a postpositive in ancient Greek, but in the LXX it generally serves as a preposition with a genitive. It also indicates reason, ground, cause or purpose, and is a means of expressing motive.<sup>591</sup>

<sup>585</sup> Prepositional uses are in 7:19, 14:7 and 21; Conjunctive uses are in 4:14; 7:10, 18, 23; 10:18; 11:5; 25:7; 27(50):34; 28(51):39; 34:8(27:10), 12(15); 39(32):14, 29, 35; 42(35):7; 43(36):3; 49(42):6; 50(43):3; 51(44):8(2x) and 29.

<sup>586</sup> Smyth 1920, §2193.

<sup>587</sup> Muraoka 2009, s.v. "*ὅπως* conj."

<sup>588</sup> Smyth 1920, §1695 3.; Muraoka 2009, s.v. "*πρὸς* prep." III.

<sup>589</sup> Cf. the analysis of the renderings of *לְ*+inf., sec. 4.2.

<sup>590</sup> Smyth 1920, §1685 2.; Muraoka 2009, s.v. "*διὰ*" II.

<sup>591</sup> Smyth 1920, §1679 and §1700; Muraoka 2009, s.v. "*ἐνεκα*, *ἐνεκεν*."

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ὅπως	6	1	7
ἵνα	2	6	8
πρός	–	4	4
other	3	–	3
Table 12. Renderings of למען in Jer LXX.			

As table 12. shows, ὅπως is the most common rendering of למען in Jer a'. In Jer b', however, the most common rendering is ἵνα. Jer a' attests a few other equivalents, namely ἵνα twice, prepositional phrases with διὰ and ἔνεκεν, and a genitive articular infinitive. In Jer b', ὅπως is used once, and πρὸς is almost as common as ἵνα. There are two cases in which the LXX is lacking an equivalent for למען.<sup>592</sup> Tov's study focuses on the use of πρὸς in Jer b' instead of the difference between the two halves in their uses of ὅπως and ἵνα. His argument narrows the number of cases of למען to be considered to those that are followed by infinitives, which amounts to twelve cases.<sup>593</sup>

## Ὅπως

Ὅπως is used as the equivalent of למען on seven occasions, six of which are in Jer a' and one in Jer b'. In each case, ὅπως functions as a final conjunction followed by a subjunctive. In two instances (7:23 and 42[35]:7) the particle ἄν is used in conjunction with ὅπως. In ancient Greek, this mainly occurs in positive clauses.<sup>594</sup>

7:19 מְכַעֲסִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה הָלוֹא אַתֶּם לְמַעַן בְּשַׁת פְּנֵיהֶם – μὴ ἐμὲ  
αὐτοὶ παροργίζουσιν; λέγει κύριος· οὐχὶ ἐαυτοῦς, ὅπως καταισχυθῇ τὰ  
πρόσωπα αὐτῶν

<sup>592</sup> Jer 25:7 is part of a longer plus in Jer MT and is considered to be a later addition to the text. The MT plus in Jer 51(44):29 also consists of several words that form a longer sentence, but haplography is possibly the cause of the discrepancy here, either in the Hebrew tradition from עליכם to עליכם or in the Greek tradition from ἐφ' ὑμᾶς to ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.

<sup>593</sup> Tov 1976, 50.

<sup>594</sup> Smyth 1920, §2201.

10:18 הַנְּנִי קוֹלֶךָ אֶת־יְיֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ בַּפֶּעַם הַזֹּאת וְהַצָּרוֹתַי לָהֶם לְמַעַן יִמָּצְאוּ –  
 Ἴδου ἐγὼ σκελίζω τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἐν θλίψει, ὅπως  
 εὐρεθῇ ἡ πληγὴ σου

42(35):7 בְּאַהֲלֵים תִּשְׁבוּ כָּל־יְמֵיכֶם לְמַעַן תַּחֲיוּ יָמִים רַבִּים עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה –  
 ἐν σκηναῖς οἰκήσετε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὑμῶν, ὅπως  
 ἂν ζήσητε ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐφ’ ἧς διατρίβετε ὑμεῖς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς

27(50):34 רִיב יָרִיב אֶת־דִּרְבָּם לְמַעַן הִרְגִיעַ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וְהִרְגִּיזוּ לְיֹשְׁבֵי בָבֶל –  
 κρίσιν κρινεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδίκους αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐξάρῃ τὴν γῆν, καὶ  
 παροξυνεῖ τοῖς κατοικοῦσι Βαβυλῶνα

Jer 7:19 is the only case among these in which ὅπως renders לְמַעַן when it functions as a preposition. The Greek translation has not rendered the Hebrew straightforwardly, but has rather resolved the rhetorical question with the negative particle μή.<sup>595</sup> Jer 10:18 and 42(35):7 are examples of לְמַעַן as a conjunctive in connection with an imperfect verb. Ὅπως is the equivalent in four such cases in Jer.<sup>596</sup> In the two examples, ὅπως is employed with a subjunctive verb, and the particle ἄν is used in the latter. The translator has had some difficulty understanding 10:18, as the main verb וְהַצָּרוֹתַי 'to cause distress' has been rendered as the prepositional phrase ἐν θλίψει. This causes ὅπως to modify the equivalent of the previous verb קוֹלֶךָ (rendered as σκελίζω 'to overthrow / to upset') instead. Jer 27(50):34 exemplifies the two cases in which ὅπως translates לְמַעַן followed by an infinitive.<sup>597</sup> Of the seven accounts in which ὅπως renders לְמַעַן in Jer, only 42(35):7 is in Jer b'. The six other cases are supplemented by a few other renderings in Jer a'.

## Ἰνα

Ἰνα occurs eight times in Jer LXX as a rendering of לְמַעַן, but unlike ὅπως, it occurs mainly in Jer b'. Six cases are in Jer b' and only two in Jer a'.

<sup>595</sup> For a discussion on how the translator treats rhetorical questions, cf. sec. 7.5.

<sup>596</sup> The other two cases are 7:23 and 28(51):39.

<sup>597</sup> The other case is in Jer 11:5.

4:14 כְּבָסִי מִרְעָה לְבִי יְרוּשָׁלַם לְמַעַן תִּשְׁעִי – ἀπόπλυναι ἀπὸ κακίας τὴν καρδίαν σου, Ιερουσαλημ, ἵνα σωθῇς

49(42):6 אִם-טוֹב וְאִם-רָע בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר אָנּוּ שְׁלַחְתָּ אֵלָיו אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִשְׁמָע לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר יִיטַב-לָנוּ כִּי נִשְׁמָע בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ – καὶ ἐὰν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐὰν κακόν, τὴν φωνὴν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, οὗ ἡμεῖς ἀποστέλλομέν σε πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀκουσόμεθα, ἵνα βέλτιον ἡμῖν γένηται, ὅτι ἀκουσόμεθα τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν

50(43):3 כִּי בָרוּךְ בְּיַגְרִיָּה מַסִּית אֶתְּךָ בְּנוֹ לְמַעַן תֵּת אֶתְּנוּ בִּיד־הַכְּשָׁדִים – ἀλλ’ ἢ Βαρουχ υἱὸς Νηρίου συμβάλλει σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα δῶς ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας τῶν Χαλδαίων

“Ἴνα is used as a rendering in two types of cases. The first type, shown in the first two examples (4:14 and 49[42]:6), consists of לְמַעַן followed by an imperfect verb form. These are all rendered by ἵνα and a subjunctive form in Greek, such as ἵνα σωθῇς in 4:14 and ἵνα βέλτιον ἡμῖν γένηται in 49(42):6.<sup>598</sup> The second type of case is לְמַעַן followed by an infinitive, as in the third example (50[43]:3), and these are also rendered by ἵνα with a subjunctive.<sup>599</sup>

As table 12. indicates, ἵνα is used as an equivalent of לְמַעַן mostly in Jer b’. In Jer a’ this equivalence occurs twice. In 4:14 it renders לְמַעַן with an imperfect, and in 7:18 it renders לְמַעַן with an infinitive. Elsewhere in Jer a’, apart from 7:10, both of these Hebrew constructions are rendered by ὅπως.<sup>600</sup> In Jer b’, ἵνα is used more than any other equivalent to render לְמַעַן. It is used three times to render לְמַעַן with an imperfect and three times to render לְמַעַן with an infinitive. The latter construction, however, is rendered more often by πρὸς τό+inf. This occurs on four occasions and is discussed further below.

<sup>598</sup> Other instances are in 39(32):14 and 43(36):3.

<sup>599</sup> Other instances are in 7:18 and 51(44):8 (2x).

<sup>600</sup> Cf. above.

## Πρός

Πρός τὸ+inf. serves as the equivalent of לַמַּעַן in four cases in Jer LXX. Πρός with an accusative signifies direction toward something or someone, generally in a local sense. The temporal sense is rare in ancient Greek. In the LXX, the construction πρὸς with the accusative articular infinitive is confined to the book of Jeremiah. Only Ex 1:16 attests the use of πρὸς with an articular infinitive elsewhere in the LXX, but in that case the article is a dative. The use of πρὸς as an indicator of finality is also not so common in the LXX, but does occur a few times outside Jer.<sup>601</sup>

34:8(27:10) כִּי שָׁקַר הֵם נְבִאִים לָכֵן לַמַּעַן הִרְחִיק אֶתְכֶם מֵעַל אֲדַמְתְּכֶם – ὅτι ψευδῆ αὐτοὶ προφητεύουσιν ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸ μακρῦναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν

39(32):29 וְהִסְכּוּ נִסְכִּים לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים לַמַּעַן הִכְעִסֵנִי – καὶ ἔσπενδον σπονδὰς θεοῖς ἑτέροις πρὸς τὸ παραπικρᾶναι με

39(32):35 וַיִּבְנוּ אֶת־בָּמוֹת הַבַּעַל אֲשֶׁר בָּגֵיָא בֶן־הַנָּחַשׁ לְהַעֲבִיר אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת־בָּנוֹתֵיהֶם לְמַלְךְ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־צוּיִתִּים וְלֹא עָלְתָה עַל־לְבִי לַעֲשׂוֹת הַתּוֹעֵבָה וְאֶת־יְהוָה הִחֲטִי לַמַּעַן הִזָּאת – καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τοὺς βωμοὺς τῆς Βααλ τοὺς ἐν φάραγγι υἱοῦ Εὐνομ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἃ οὐ συνέταξα αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ καρδίαν μου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ βδέλυγμα τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἐφάμαρτεῖν τὸν Ἰουδα

Each instance in which πρὸς renders לַמַּעַן is located in Jer b'. In each case the translated Hebrew construction is לַמַּעַן+inf. The infinitive has a first person pronominal suffix לַמַּעַן הִדִּיחִי in 34:12(27:15). Jer b' has three other cases in which לַמַּעַן+inf. has a Greek equivalent (50[42]:3 and 51[44]:8 [2x]), and all three cases are rendered by ἵνα with a subjunctive verb form. In Jer a', two such cases are rendered by ὅπως, one case by ἵνα and the one case in 7:10 by the articular infinitive.

<sup>601</sup> Tov 1976, 50.

## Others

Apart from *ὅπως*, *ἵνα* and *πρός*, there are only three other equivalents of *למען* in Jer LXX. These are all presented in the following examples.

7:10 וּבִאֲתָם וְעִמְדָתָם לִפְנֵי בֵּית הָזֶה אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עָלָיו וְאַמְרָתָם נִצְלָנוּ  
לְמַעַן עֲשׂוֹת אֶת כָּל־הַתּוֹעֵבוֹת הָאֵלֶּה – καὶ ἦλθετε καὶ ἕστητε ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ  
ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, καὶ εἴπατε  
Ἀπεσχήμεθα τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ βδελύγματα ταῦτα

14:7 אִם־עֲוִינִי עָנֻ בְּנֵי יְהוָה עֲשֵׂה לְמַעַן שְׂמָךְ כִּי־רָבוּ מְשׁוּבָתֵינוּ לְךָ חֲטָאנוּ –  
εἰ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ἡμῶν ἀντέστησαν ἡμῖν, κύριε, ποιήσον ἡμῖν ἕνεκεν σοῦ, ὅτι  
πολλαὶ αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ἡμῶν ἐναντίον σοῦ, ὅτι σοὶ ἡμάρτομεν

14:21 שְׂמָךְ אֶל־תִּנָּבֵל כְּפֶסֶס כְּבוֹדְךָ לְמַעַן אֶל־תִּנָּאֵץ – κόπασον διὰ τὸ ὄνομά  
σου, μὴ ἀπολέσης θρόνον δόξης σου

In the first example, 7:10, *למען* is followed by an infinitive. There are four such constructions in the Hebrew text corresponding to Jer a'. Both *ὅπως* and *ἵνα* are used to render the other cases.<sup>602</sup> The Hebrew sense of 7:10 differs from the sense of the Greek text. The irony in the Hebrew text *לְמַעַן עֲשׂוֹת אֶת כָּל־הַתּוֹעֵבוֹת הָאֵלֶּה* “‘We are delivered!’—only to go on doing all these abominations?” has been changed into a statement which is a lie by implication *Ἀπεσχήμεθα τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ βδελύγματα ταῦτα* “We have kept away from doing all these abominations”. The translator either did not understand the irony, or he did not want to reproduce it because it might be misunderstood.<sup>603</sup> The difference hinges on the use of the negative *μὴ* in the Greek text, which does not correspond to the Hebrew text. A number of Mss lack the negation, whose omission is most likely a later correction toward the Hebrew text.<sup>604</sup> The genitive article represents the genitive of separation that can be expected in conjunction with the verb *ἀπέχω* ‘to keep away from’.<sup>605</sup>

<sup>602</sup> Cf. p. 215–216 and notes 596 and 598.

<sup>603</sup> For a discussion on the translator's use of converse translation, cf. sec. 7.5.

<sup>604</sup> *μὴ* B–S A–106' 26 86<sup>mg</sup> Arab] > rel.

<sup>605</sup> Tov also makes this observation (1976, 50 note 36).

The other two equivalents render למען when it functions as a preposition in the phrase למען שמך 'for your name's sake'. In 14:7, the equivalent is ἐνεκεν σοῦ, which lacks a representation of the noun שם. In 14:21 the rendering is διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου. A third instance of למען as a preposition is למען בשׁת פְּנִיָּהֶם in 7:19, which is in the same context as the other two cases. This, however, is rendered by ὅπως with a subjunctive, which is generally used to render למען in connection with an imperfect verb. This difference may result from the translator understanding the Hebrew as if בשׁת were a verb.

The renderings of למען display different characteristics between the two halves of Jer LXX. In Jer a', ὅπως is the most common equivalent, ἵνα is used infrequently, and free renderings occur three times. In Jer b', ἵνα is the most common rendering, and ὅπως only occurs once. Πρὸς τό+inf. is also used, but only to render למען followed by an infinitive.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ὅπως	6	1	7
ἵνα	2	6	8
πρὸς	—	4	4
other	3	—	3

Table 12. Renderings of למען in Jer LXX.

Both Thackeray and Tov appeal to the equivalents of למען in their argumentation for the bisectioning of Jer LXX, and both focus on the unique use of πρὸς τό+inf. in Jer b'. Only Tov, however, specifies that he is referring solely to renderings of the Hebrew construction למען+inf.

The renderings of למען+inf. do in fact conform to Thackeray's argumentation, as ἵνα is attested as the rendering in both halves of Jer LXX. "ἵνα is used once in Jer a' (7:18) and three times in Jer b' (50[43]:3 and 51[44]:8 [2x]) to render למען+inf. "ἵνα and ὅπως, used in finite clauses, are the most common renderings of למען+inf.

throughout the LXX,<sup>606</sup> and as such they are used in Jer LXX. Three other cases of **למען**+inf. are, however, rendered differently in Jer a'. Twice they are rendered with **ὅπως** (11:5 and 27[50]:34) and once with the negated articular inf. **τοῦ μή** (7:10). In Jer b', the seven instances of **למען**+inf. are rendered by either a **ἵνα** clause (50[43]:3 and 51[44]:8 [2x]) or by **πρὸς τό**+inf. (34:8[27:10], 12[15], 39[32]:29 and 39[32]:35). In this regard, Jer b' presents more consistency in its choice of equivalents to render **למען**+inf.

Apart from the expression **למען**+inf., all the renderings of **למען** in Jer a' and Jer b' present a different character as well. Jer a' employs **ὅπως** as its main rendering, particularly with regard to the conjunctive uses of **למען** (5 of 8 cases).<sup>607</sup> All of the prepositional uses of **למען** are located in Jer a', and they are rendered once by **ὅπως** (7:19), once by **ἐνεκεν** (14:7), and once by **διὰ**+acc. (14:21).

Jer b', on the other hand, attests **ὅπως** only once as a rendering of conjunctive **למען** (42[35]:7). **ἵνα** clauses are used six times as the rendering and **πρὸς τό**+inf. on four occasions.<sup>608</sup> **Πρὸς τό**+inf. is only used to render **למען**+inf. constructions, while **ἵνα** clauses render **למען**+inf. constructions three times (50[43]:3 and 51[44]:8 [2x]) and **למען**+imperfect constructions three times (39[32]:14, 43[36]:3 and 49[42]:6).

Jer a' and Jer b' do display a different translation character with regard to the renderings of **למען**. This difference is evident in the choice of equivalent to express the conjunctive function of the Hebrew preposition. In Jer a' the choice is clearly **ὅπως**. In Jer b', **ἵνα** is preferred over **πρός**, but only by a slight margin, and **πρός** is used to render **למען**+inf. more so than **ἵνα**. Both sections are quite consistent in their choice of equivalents. The exceptional rendering **πρὸς τό**+inf., together with the renderings of **לבלתי** as **πρὸς τὸ μή**+inf., serves to distinguish Jer b' from the rest of the LXX, as this equivalence is used nowhere else.

<sup>606</sup> Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 77. Tov 1976, 50 n. 37 mistakenly refers to page 72 of Soisalon-Soininen's work.

<sup>607</sup> Jer 7:23, 10:18, 11:5, 27(50):34 and 28(51):39.

<sup>608</sup> **ἵνα** clauses in 39(32):14, 43(36):3, 49(42):6, 50(43):3 and 51(44):8 (2x); **πρὸς τό**+inf. in 34:8(27:10), 12(15), 39(32):29 and 39(32):35.



## 5.9. מַאִין

The translations of מַאִין are mentioned by Thackeray, Martin and Tov as indications of bisectioning Jer LXX.<sup>609</sup> Thackeray refers to the translations of מַאִין as a part of the expression מַאִין יוֹשֵׁב 'without inhabitant,' which is rendered differently in Jer a' and Jer b'. Martin delineates the renderings of מַאִין in more detail and notes that the only shared rendering between Jer a' and Jer b' is *παρά*+articular inf., which represents the Hebrew construction in three out of 15 cases. Tov grounds his argument on the Hebrew expression מַאִין+noun, and focuses on the distinction between the renderings *διὰ*/*παρά*+articular inf. (Jer a') and *ἀπό*+noun (Jer b'). He concludes that *ἀπό*+noun is the more stereotypical of the two renderings and is more becoming of a revisionary tendency as it represents the Hebrew forms more precisely than the construction with the infinitive.

The Hebrew particle מַאִין can be interpreted in two ways. First, it can be understood as an interrogative adverb "from where", in which case it consists of the preposition מִן prefixed to the otherwise unattested form מַאִין\*.<sup>610</sup> The meaning of this form is locative. Second, מַאִין can be understood as the combination of the preposition מִן and the negative adverb of existence אֵין.<sup>611</sup> In this sense, מַאִין signifies 'without' or 'from the lack of', which also contains a nuance of the causative aspect of the preposition מִן.

The first use of מַאִין, as an interrogative adverb, is always rendered as *πόθεν* in the LXX. This is a good lexical match for the word in Greek, as it is also an interrogative adverb meaning 'from where'. Though there are only 16 cases of the interrogative adverb in the Hebrew Bible, its association with the equivalent *πόθεν* is so prevalent that cases of the negative adverb מַאִין are easily mistaken for the interrogative adverb in the Greek translation. One such example is Is. 41:24 מַאִין הֲאֶתֶּם – ὅτι πόθεν ἔστ' ὑμεῖς.

<sup>609</sup> Thackeray 1903, 248; Martin 1957, 190–191; Tov 1976, 62.

<sup>610</sup> Waltke & O'Connor 1990, 327–328.

<sup>611</sup> Joüon and Muraoka 2003, 604, claim the original meaning of the negative adverb to be 'where?'

The Hebrew is to be understood as “Behold, you are nothing”, while the translator has clearly understood the text as a question “because from where are you from”?

It is the second use of מַאִין, the negative adverb of existence, that is found in Jer, where it occurs a total of 20 times. There are three different contexts in which the word is used. It is mostly found in oracles of doom, both against Judah and against other nations, as part of the phrase מַאִין יוֹשֵׁב, referring to the desolation of the city or land in question. Similar phrases, מַאִין אָדָם and מַאִין בְּהֵמָה, are found in the same oracles of doom, but to a lesser extent. The second context refers to the lack of space in burial grounds וְקָבְרוּ בְּתֶפֶת מַאִין מְקוֹם, “for they will bury in Topheth because there is no room [elsewhere]” (7:32), and functions as a threat of punishment against Judah. The third context is that of comparison, in which the subject is defined as incomparable, e.g. הוּא כִּי גָדוֹל הַיּוֹם הַהוּא מַאִין כְּמָהוּ “Alas! That day is so great there is none like it” (30:7 MT).

There are several different ways in which these phrases have been rendered in Jer LXX. These renderings are distributed between Jer a’ and Jer b’ in the following manner.

	Jer a’	Jer b’	Total
παρὰ τὸ μή+inf	1	2	3
διὰ τὸ μή+inf	2	—	2
free rendering	2	1	3
ἀπό+noun	—	5	5
πόθεν	—	1	1

Table 13. Renderings of מַאִין in Jer LXX.

The most notable difference between the two halves is the use of διὰ τὸ μή+inf. only in Jer a’ and ἀπό+noun only in Jer b’. This is also the feature that is emphasized by both Thackeray and Tov in their argumentation and inferentially emphasized by Martin. Six cases do not have equivalents in Jer LXX, and these are considered later plusses in Jer MT.<sup>612</sup>

<sup>612</sup> Jer 10:6 and 7 both contain the expression מַאִין כְּמָהוּ. Both of these verses, however, are lacking in the LXX. The shorter text is also attested in 4QJer<sup>b</sup>. The evidence strongly suggests that the shorter text is the more original. An accidental omission on the part of the LXX or its *Vorlage* is unlikely because the

## Παρά τὸ μη+Inf. and Διὰ τὸ μη+Inf.

The prepositions *παρά* and *διὰ* with an accusative can both have several different meanings. *Διὰ* may have a local meaning, signifying movement 'through' or 'over' something, or it can indicate cause. *Παρά*+acc. also has a local meaning, signifying motion 'towards' or 'along' something, but additionally it can be temporal, indicating duration, or it can be causative.<sup>613</sup> When coupled with an accusative articular infinitive in the LXX, both prepositions are used to indicate causation. There are five cases in Jer that are rendered by these prepositional phrases.

4:7 מֵאֵין תִּצְיֶנָּה עָרֶיךָ – καὶ πόλεις καθαιρεθήσονται *παρά τὸ μὴ*  
κατοικεῖσθαι αὐτάς

40(33):10 עוֹד יִשְׁמַע בְּמִקְוִים־הָזֶה אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים חֲרֵב הוּא מֵאֵין אָדָם וּמֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב  
וּמֵאֵין בְּהֶמָּה בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבְחֻצוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם הַנִּשְׁמָוֹת מֵאֵין אָדָם וּמֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב  
וּמֵאֵין בְּהֶמָּה – "Ἐτι ἀκουσθήσεται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ὃ ὑμεῖς λέγετε  
"Ἐρημός ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν, ἐν πόλεσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἔξωθεν  
Ἱερουσαλὴμ ταῖς ἡρημωμέναις *παρά τὸ μὴ* εἶναι ἄνθρωπον καὶ κτήνος

7:32 מֵאֵין מְקוֹם בְּתֹפֶת יִקְבְּרוּ – καὶ θάψουσιν ἐν τῷ Ταφεθ *διὰ τὸ μὴ*  
ὑπάρχειν τόπον

26(46):19 כִּי־נִף לְשֹׁמֵה תִהְיֶה וְנִצְתָּה מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב – ὅτι Μέμφις εἰς  
ἀφανισμόν ἔσται καὶ καυθήσεται *διὰ τὸ μὴ* ὑπάρχειν κατοικοῦντας ἐν  
αὐτῇ

*Παρά τὸ μη+inf.* is the rendering of *מֵאֵין* in 4:7 and 40(33):10 and *διὰ τὸ μη+inf.* in 7:32 and 26(46):19. All four of these cases display a causative interpretation of the

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difference between the two text forms is the clearly defined doxology/hymn of praise to YHWH. It is more probable that this passage is a later addition in the MT than a deliberate omission in the LXX or its *Vorlage*. For a discussion of the textual history of Jer 10:1–10, cf. Tucker 2018, who argues that the LXX reading represents the early form of the text than the MT.

The other cases are expressions that have parallels elsewhere in Jer. The phrase *יִקְבְּרוּ מֵאֵין מְקוֹם בְּתֹפֶת* and *לִקְבוֹר* "they shall bury in Topheth because there will be no place else to bury" in 19:11 is nearly identical to the phrase in 7:32 *מֵאֵין מְקוֹם בְּתֹפֶת יִקְבְּרוּ* mentioned above. Also the expressions *מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב* in 40(33):10 and 51(44):22 and *מֵאֵין־אָדָם וְעַד־בְּהֶמָּה* in 40(33):12 are expressions that occur several times in Jer. These are most likely later harmonizations in the Hebrew text.

<sup>613</sup> Smyth 1920, 374–375 and 382–383.

Hebrew expression by their choice of equivalent: the cities will be desolate due to the lack of inhabitants and cattle. Of the two cases rendered by *διὰ τὸ μὴ*+inf., 26(46):19 can be understood similarly to the two cases rendered as *παρὰ τὸ μὴ*+inf. above. The main verb in the clause in 26(46):19, *וְנִצְתָּה*, derives from the same root (*נצה* 'to destroy') as the verb in 4:7. The only unambiguous case of causative *מן* as part of *מֵאִין* is 7:32, which the translator has correctly interpreted. The oracle predicts that people will be buried in a place where Judahites performed child sacrifices simply because there will not be space in common burial grounds for all the dead.

There are some textual differences between MT and LXX in 40(33):10. For the present discussion, the most important difference is the occurrence of *מֵאִין* five times in the verse in comparison to only two explicit equivalents in the LXX. The pair of phrases *מֵאִין אָדָם וּמֵאִין בְּהֵמָה* "without man and without beast," occurs twice in the verse, and it seems likely that the translator would have omitted the second equivalent of *מֵאִין* in both cases of this expression for stylistic reasons,<sup>614</sup> thus resulting in the attested *ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν* and *παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον καὶ κτήνος*. These should therefore be counted as renderings for four of the five instances of *מֵאִין* in this verse. The fifth phrase, *וּמֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב*, is completely lacking in the LXX, and is most likely a later addition from a parallel passage.<sup>615</sup>

*Παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον καὶ κτήνος* renders the second occurrence of the pair *מֵאִין אָדָם וּמֵאִין בְּהֵמָה* in 40(33):10, and it modifies the phrase *בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבְחֻצוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם הַנִּשְׁמֹות* "in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem that are desolate," which in turn is a part of the larger clause that continues in v. 11 "there shall be heard again in this place ... the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness..." It is not necessary to interpret the Hebrew text as containing a causative element here. *מֵאִין אָדָם וּמֵאִין בְּהֵמָה* can simply be understood as "without man and beast." The Greek translation, however, does suggest a causative interpretation, that the fact that there is nothing alive has resulted in the desolate state of the cities and streets. Jer 4:7 is a similar case. The

<sup>614</sup> *Contra* Janzen 1973, 49–50, who suggests that MT adds these two occurrences of *מֵאִין*.

<sup>615</sup> Similarly Janzen 1973, 49–50. The phrase *מֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב* occurs nine times in Jer, and twice (40[33]:10 and 51[44]:22) it is lacking in the LXX.

Hebrew text can easily be understood as “your cities will be ruins without inhabitants,” but the Greek translation picks up the causative nuance of the Hebrew preposition מן and renders the text as if the desolation is the result of the lack of inhabitants.

Three of these equivalents are found in Jer a'. Only the cases in 40(33):10<sup>616</sup> are located in Jer b'. The Hebrew expression מַאֲיִן יוֹשֵׁב occurs twice elsewhere in Jer a' and is rendered in a free manner by the conjunction καί followed by a negation.<sup>617</sup> In Jer b', מַאֲיִן יוֹשֵׁב is always rendered by ἀπό+noun. The expressions מַאֲיִן אָדָם and מַאֲיִן בְּהֵמָה are only found in Jer b', and apart from their second occurrence in 40(33):10, they are rendered by ἀπό+noun as well.

### Ἀπό+Noun

The preposition ἀπό always occurs with a genitive form, and can convey several different meanings. It generally purports the notion 'away from,' and can function locally, temporally and in a causal sense. In Jer LXX, ἀπό+noun is used to render מַאֲיִן on five occasions. Two of these are found in 40(33):10, mentioned above.<sup>618</sup>

33(26):9 מַאֲיִן יוֹשֵׁב תִּהְיֶה הַזֶּה – καὶ ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἐρημωθήσεται  
ἀπὸ κατοικούντων

39(32):43 מַאֲיִן הִיא שְׂמֵמָה אֲתָם אֲמָרִים אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה הַזֶּה בְּאֶרֶץ הַשָּׂדֶה וְנִקְנָה  
אֲדָם – καὶ κτηθήσονται ἔτι ἄγροι ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἣ σὺ λέγεις Ἄβατός ἐστιν ἀπὸ  
ἀνθρώπου

40(33):10 אָדָם מַאֲיִן הוּא אֲתָם אֲמָרִים חֲרֵב הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֶתָּה הַזֶּה בְּמִקְוֵם-הַזֶּה  
וּמַאֲיִן בְּהֵמָה בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבְחֻצוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם הַנְּשֻׁמּוֹת מַאֲיִן אָדָם וּמַאֲיִן יוֹשֵׁב  
וּמַאֲיִן בְּהֵמָה – Ἐτι ἀκουσθήσεται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ὃ ὑμεῖς λέγετε  
Ἐρημός ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν, ἐν πόλεσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἔξωθεν  
Ἰερουσαλὴμ ταῖς ἡρημωμέναις παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον καὶ κτῆνος

<sup>616</sup> Martin (1957, 191 n. 1) suggests that παρά+inf. might be Hexaplaric. He notes that four additional cases of παρά with the articular infinitive are found in the Hexaplaric Ms Q, two of which are marked with an asterisk. In addition, he notes that the fifth occurrence of מַאֲיִן in 40(33):10 has the asterisked equivalent παρά+articular inf. in Q<sup>mg</sup>. The Ms evidence for παρά as a rendering of מַאֲיִן 3<sup>o</sup> is strong. Only the Ms 239 and the Coptic translations lack it.

<sup>617</sup> Cf. examples on p. 228.

<sup>618</sup> Cf. example on p. 223.

41(34):22 **מֵאֵין** יֵשֵׁב שְׁמָמָה אֶתֵּן יְהוּדָה וְאַתְּ-עָרֵי יְהוּדָה – καὶ τὰς πόλεις Ιουδα, καὶ δώσω αὐτὰς ἐρήμους **ἀπὸ** κατοικούντων

Ἀπό+noun is used to render the phrases **מֵאֵין** יֵשֵׁב, **מֵאֵין** אָדָם and **מֵאֵין** בְּהֶמָּה, just as are *διὰ τὸ μή*+inf. and *παρὰ τὸ μή*+inf. mentioned above. The Hebrew context in these cases are very similar to each other. In each case the notion of a desolate or a destroyed land or city is modified by the phrase **מֵאֵין** בהמה / **מֵאֵין** אדם / **מֵאֵין** יושב. There are two ways in which this is expressed: either with the verbal or adjectival form of חרב or שָׁמָּה. The meaning of **מֵאֵין** in 39(32):43, 40(33):10 1° and 2°, and 41(34):22 is unambiguously ‘without.’ In the other cases, **מֵאֵין** can be interpreted as causative, e.g. “and this city shall be desolate from the lack of inhabitants” (33[26]:9), but “without inhabitants” is a natural interpretation as well.

As the Greek equivalent of **מֵאֵין**, *ἀπό*+noun is only found in Jer b’ in the Septuagint. Ἀπό is the most common rendering of the preposition מִן in the Pentateuch. Discerning whether the translator understood the Hebrew as causative or not is difficult, as *ἀπό* is used to render the preposition מִן in all its various functions.<sup>619</sup> The equivalent may be considered a literal rendering of **מֵאֵין**, though it does not present any formal counterpart for **אֵין**. Tov argues that *ἀπό*+noun “was meant to reflect **מֵאֵין**+noun more precisely” than the renderings in Jer a’, suggesting that *ἀπό*+noun is the more stereotyped rendering in comparison to renderings in Jer a’.<sup>620</sup>

## Πόθεν

The interrogative adverb πόθεν is attested as the equivalent of **מֵאֵין** on one occasion in Jer:

31(48):9 תִּנְוֶצֶיךָ לְמוֹאָב כִּי נִצָּא תִצָּא וְעָרֶיךָ לְשָׁמָּה תִּהְיֶינָה **מֵאֵין** יֹשֵׁב בָּהֶן – δότε σημεία τῇ Μωαβ, ὅτι ἀφ’ἧ ἀναφθήσεται, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις αὐτῆς εἰς ἄβατον ἔσονται· **πόθεν** ἔνοικος αὐτῇ

<sup>619</sup> Seppänen 2006, 113.

<sup>620</sup> Tov 1976, 62.

The translation contains a few equivalents that are becoming of Jer b', particularly ἄβατον for שִׁמָּה and ἔνοιχος for יֹשֵׁב,<sup>623</sup> and that mark this verse as characteristic of Jer b' as opposed to the equivalents used in Jer a'. However, there are several discrepancies in comparison to the Hebrew text, the most obvious of which are the plus ἄσαι in the LXX and the different form of the last pronoun in the verse, which incidentally also changes the referrant from the cities (MT) to Moab (LXX). In light of the tendency to add the particle כל in the Hebrew text, which is also reflected in a few plusses of πας in the LXX, it is possible that the translator's *Vorlage* contained כל in this passage.<sup>624</sup>

There are three other renderings of וְאִם in Jer LXX. These all consist of the conjunction καί and a negative particle, either οὐ, οὐκ or μή.

<sup>621</sup> *πόθεν]* απο A Arab; pr. παρα το μη είναι ανοικούντα (κατοικ. 62) εν αυτη L' Arm (om. εν αυτη) Tht.

<sup>623</sup> For an analysis of the renderings of שָׁמָּה in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 6.25; for an analysis of the renderings of יֵשֶׁב in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 6.12.

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28(51):37 יוֹשֵׁב מִצֵּי וְשִׁרְקָה שְׂמָה מְעוֹן־תְּנִים לְגִלְיָהּ בְּבָלָהּ וְהִתְהַבְּלָה – καὶ ἔσται  
 Βαβυλῶν εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ οὐ κατοικηθήσεται

37(30):7 כְּמֵהוּ מִצֵּי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוּא בִּי גְדוֹל – ὅτι μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τοιαύτη

The two cases in Jer 28(51) are similar to each other. In both, the participle יוֹשֵׁב has been rendered by a verbal form, κατοικεῖσθαι in v. 29 and κατοικηθήσεται in v. 37. The infinitive κατοικεῖσθαι in 28(51):29 is a continuation of the previous clause with an articular infinite τοῦ θεῖναι τὴν γῆν Βαβυλῶνος εἰς ἀφανισμόν “to make the land of Babylon an annihilation.” The indicative κατοικηθήσεται in 28(51):37 functions as a coordinate clause to its preceding clause καὶ ἔσται Βαβυλῶν εἰς ἀφανισμόν “and Babylon shall become an annihilation.”

The third example, 37(30):7, renders the Hebrew כְּמֵהוּ מִצֵּי “there is none like it.” This is also rendered as a coordinate clause of the preceding ὅτι μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη “because that day is great.” Elsewhere, similar uses of מִצֵּי in Jer a’ are located only in Jer 10. These, however, both occur in the larger MT plus of verses 10:6–8.<sup>625</sup> Nevertheless, the rendering of מִצֵּי by a coordinate clause follows the similar pattern of the previous two examples, located in Jer a’.

## Summary and Conclusions

Jer LXX translates 14 cases of מִצֵּי. Five of these are in Jer a’ and nine are in Jer b’. The main difference between the renderings in the two halves of the book is the use of the preposition ἀπό in Jer b’. Shared equivalents between the two halves are παρὰ τὸ μῃ+inf. and the negated coordinate clause (free rendering).

<sup>625</sup> For a discussion on the text critical differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX in 10:1–11, cf. sec. 2.2.1 and n. 612 above.



	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
παρὰ τὸ μὴ+inf	1	2 <sup>626</sup>	3
διὰ τὸ μὴ+inf	2	–	2
ἀπό+noun	–	5 <sup>627</sup>	5
πόθεν	–	1	1
others	2	1	3
Table 13. renderings of מֵאִין in Jer LXX.			

The renderings of מֵאִין are few in number in Jer LXX, yet they do display a marked difference between their treatment in Jer a' and Jer b'. The translations in Jer a' suggest that the translator interpreted the preposition מֵ as bearing a causative nuance. This is reflected in the equivalents παρὰ τὸ μὴ+inf. and διὰ τὸ μὴ+inf. The phrase מֵאִין מקום in 7:32, rendered by διὰ τὸ μὴ+inf., is unambiguously causative, but the four occurrences of מֵאִין יושב are not. Two cases, one rendered by παρὰ τὸ μὴ+inf. (4:7) and one by διὰ τὸ μὴ+inf. (26[46]:19), are interpreted as causative, while the other two equivalents, negated conjunctive coordinate clauses (28[51]:29 and 37), do not reflect any causative interpretation. The context of the oracle against Babylon might have triggered the different choice of equivalent, as the oracle refers to a time in the future.

The renderings of מֵאִין in Jer b' do not display such an obvious understanding of the preposition מֵ as causative, since five of the nine equivalents employ the preposition ἀπό, which is used elsewhere in the LXX to render all manners of the Hebrew preposition מֵ. The equivalence מֵ = ἀπό is most common in the Pentateuch, and as such can be characterized as a more literal rendering than the prepositions παρὰ and διὰ. The expression מֵאִין, on the other hand, is nowhere else rendered by ἀπό+noun, which makes Jer b' unique in this sense. The equivalent of two cases of παρὰ τὸ μὴ+inf. in Jer 40(33):10 is the only shared equivalent between Jer a' and Jer b'. Jer b' does

<sup>626</sup> Includes one elided equivalent that represents מֵאִין 5° in Jer MT. Martin's calculations include 40(33):12, but the Greek equivalent found in Rahlfs' text (used by Martin) is most likely a hexaplaric reading and is not accounted for in the table.

<sup>627</sup> Includes one elided equivalent that represents מֵאִין 2° in 40(33):12.

contain one case of a negated coordinate conjunction (37[30]:7), but this renders a Hebrew expression, **מֵאִין כְּמֹהוּ**, that bears a different sense than the two cases in Jer a', which render **מֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב**. Jer b' also contains the one instance in which **מֵאִין** is mistakenly interpreted as an interrogative (31[48]:9), resulting in the Greek interrogative *πόθεν*. Jer b' is also more consistent in rendering the expression **מֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב** than Jer a', as each case is translated by *ἀπό*+noun, apart from the misinterpretation in 31(48):9.

The difference in how the two halves of Jer LXX handle **מֵאִין** contribute to their different characterization. Jer a' employs free renderings according to a specific interpretation of the expression **מֵאִין**, either as causative in certain contexts or otherwise in other contexts. Jer b', on the other hand, consistently chooses the common equivalent *ἀπό* as a rendering for the prefixed preposition **מִן**, which yields very little information about how the Hebrew expression is interpreted. This change is highly indicative of revisional activity since it embodies a turn toward more consistency in the choice of equivalent and more formal equivalence with the syntactical elements of the Hebrew expression.

Furthermore, the case of 40(33):10 may also be seen as evincing the different stages in the development of the text. The text attests both of the equivalents *ἀπό*+noun and *παρὰ τὸ μὴ*+inf. Tov proposes that *παρὰ τὸ μὴ*+inf. may be an unrevised exemplar of the OG rendition or a Hexaplaric addition in the text, a suggestion offered by Martin as well.<sup>628</sup> The verse contains several elements derived from elsewhere in Jer, e.g. **מֵאִין** **וּמֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב** and **וּמֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב**, the last of which clearly seems to be a late addition. The OG rendition *παρὰ τὸ μὴ*+inf. might reflect the Hebrew verse at its most simplest form **עוֹד יִשְׁמַע בְּמִקוֹם־הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים חֲרֹב** **וּמֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב**, followed in the next verse by the object of the verb **שָׁמַע**. By the time the reviser began to work with the translation, his Hebrew text would likely have grown to include the phrase **וּבְחֻצוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם** and the second occurrence of **וּמֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב**. Finally, neither the OG nor the revision attest the

<sup>628</sup> Tov 1976, 62 n. 83; Martin 1957, 191 n.1.

final addition to the passage found in the MT, וּמֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב, near the very end. The fact that both equivalents are attested in the same Greek verse testifies to the inconsistency of the revision.

## 5.10. Summary

The translation technical analysis of renderings of Hebrew syntactical features has revealed important similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' as well as significant differences between them. The similarities include the conjunction καί to render the Hebrew paratactic conjunction וְ, the use of ὅτι to render the particle כִּי, and the use of μετά+acc. and ὁπίσω to render the temporal and local uses of אַחֵר respectively. These equivalences are very common in other books of the LXX, and therefore cannot be considered as distinctive agreements between Jer a' and Jer b', but they do indicate a common characteristic in the translations of the two halves.

The differences between the renderings of these syntactical features display various characteristics when comparing the changes from Jer a' to Jer b'. Only some of these changes correspond to revisional principles identified in the *kaige* revision. A feature that is not parallel to those of early Jewish revisions is the use of ὕστερος to render three cases of temporal אַחֵר in Jer b'. Ὑστερος is a natural Greek expression that is very rarely used in the LXX. Semantically, it is a good match for אַחֵר, but the translators of the LXX preferred μετά as a more formally adequate equivalent. Other unique renderings to Jer b', which distinguish it from all other translations and revisions, consist of πρὸς+acc. articular inf. to render both לַמַּעַן+inf. and לְבִלְתִּי+inf., the latter with the addition of the negative particle μή. Ἀπό+noun is also a unique rendering of מֵאֵין.

Ἀπό+noun as a rendering of מֵאֵין also possibly indicates a change toward more formal representation of the Hebrew expression in Jer b'. The preposition מִן is most often rendered by ἀπό throughout the LXX. More obvious examples of a change toward formal equivalence with the Hebrew comprise the renderings of the semiprepositions לְפָנַי and בְּעֵינַי. Jer a' renders these mainly by the natural Greek expressions ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον, but Jer b' nearly always resorts to the more literal equivalents κατὰ προσώπον and ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς respectively. This change is also observable in the *kaige*

revision of 1–4 Reigns in which the anti-anthropomorphisms used to render **בעיני** with reference to YHWH in the OG are replaced with the literal renderings based on the noun *ὁφθαλμός*.<sup>629</sup> The renderings of **לפני** in Jer a' do display a tendency to differentiate between cases referring to YHWH and cases referring to human beings, but the renderings of **בעיני** do not. In any case, the change from the non-literal renderings in Jer a' to the literal renderings in Jer b' is tangible.

Finally, the renderings of the particle **כי** and the conjunction **ו** evince a change toward greater consistency from Jer a' to Jer b'. Both halves employ the standard renderings *ὅτι* and *καί* respectively, but Jer a' attests a far greater amount of variant equivalents. Jer a' has a different equivalent for the particle **כי** once every 14,4 verses (58 / 835) and Jer b' once every 45,7 verses (13 / 594). Similarly, Jer a' has an alternative equivalent to paratactic **ו** once every 7,7 verses (108 / 835), while Jer b' has a different equivalent once every 18,6 verses (32 / 594). Also, the variety of different equivalents significantly decreases when moving from Jer a' to Jer b'. The disposition evident in Jer b' is tempered to convey the underlying Hebrew conjunction with more uniform consistency than Jer a'. The translation in Jer a' reflects a significantly greater willingness to conform to natural Greek expression through the use of varying equivalents, particularly the use of *διότι* for **כי** and the different contrastive conjunctions for **ו**.

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<sup>629</sup> Cf. Seleznev 2018.

## 6. Studies on Lexical Equivalents in Greek Jeremiah

### 6.1. Overview

Bisectioning theories of Jer LXX are mostly based on lexical differences between Jer a' and Jer b'. Thackeray contended that the differences result from the work of multiple translators, while Tov suggested that there was only one translator and that a later reviser made the changes.<sup>630</sup> They both present their evidence in a very concise manner. Thackeray lists references of the equivalents that he refers to with very minimal comment, and Tov generally provides a brief discussion in connection to his data. However, their approach does not allow for a closer look into the contexts of the Hebrew words and their Greek equivalents to determine any possible cause for the distinctive renderings.

In this section I analyse a number of important differences between Jer a' and Jer b' with consideration to the syntactical and semantic contexts of both the Hebrew and the Greek texts in which they occur. This is necessary in order to determine what influenced the translator and reviser to decide on any specific rendering. By this means it is possible to distinguish how much the Hebrew text influenced the translation, how much the conventions of the Greek language influenced it, and how much the translator's peculiarities influenced it.<sup>631</sup>

### 6.2. אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים

Tov cites the renderings of the expressions אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים “other gods (besides YHWH)” in arguing that the reviser has replaced some non-stereotyped equivalents with stereotyped equivalents.<sup>632</sup> He proposes that the reviser has replaced the renderings θεοὶ ἀλλότριοι, the equivalent in Jer a', with θεοὶ ἕτεροι in Jer b'.

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<sup>630</sup> Cf. the presentation of Thackeray and Tov's arguments in sec. 2.4.2.

<sup>631</sup> For a discussion on this method, cf. sec. 3.2.

<sup>632</sup> Tov 1976, 58.

Pietersma and Saunders consider the renderings of אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים to reflect an interpretive element that a single translator has inserted in his translation, though they do admit that the reason for variation is not always clear.<sup>633</sup> They propose that the translator has made a distinction between the renderings based on the locale in which the people of Judah and Jerusalem are accused of worshipping strange and foreign gods. They appeal to Deut for a parallel phenomenon. Deut attests the equivalent ἕτερος in chapters 3–30 and ἄλλοτριος in chapters 31–32.

The expression אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים is solely used in Jer when the text accuses the people of Judah and Jerusalem, or their forefathers, of worshipping gods other than YHWH. The equivalent θεοὶ ἄλλοτριοι occurs eleven times, all in Jer a', and the equivalent θεοὶ ἕτεροι occurs seven times, one of which is in Jer a' and six in Jer b'.<sup>634</sup>

1:16 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לְמַעֲשֵׂי יְדֵיהֶם – וַיִּקְטְרוּ לְאֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים – καὶ ἐθυμίᾱσαν θεοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις καὶ προσεκύνησαν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν.

39(32):29 וּבָאוּ הַכַּשְׂדִּים הַנִּלְחָמִים עַל־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת וְהָצִיתוּ אֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת בָּאֵשׁ וּשְׂרָפוּהָ וְאֵת הַבָּתִּים אֲשֶׁר קָטְרוּ עַל־גִּגְוֹתֵיהֶם לְבַעַל וְהִסְכוּ נָסִכִּים בָּאֵשׁ – וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לְאֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים – καὶ ἤξουσιν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι οἱ πολεμοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ καύσουσι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην ἐν πυρὶ καὶ κατακαύσουσι τὰς οἰκίας, ἐν αἷς ἐθυμιῶσαν ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων αὐτῶν τῇ Βααλ καὶ ἔσπενδον σπονδὰς θεοῖς ἑτέροις πρὸς τὸ παραπικραῖναι με.

אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים occurs as the object of five different verbal expressions: הלך אחרי 'to go after' seven times, קטר ל' 'to make a sacrifice to' six times, נסך ל' 'to make a libation to' three times, עבד 'to serve' once, and השתחוה ל' 'to prostrate before' once.<sup>635</sup> Each of these phrases occurs in Jer a', and they are all rendered by θεοὶ ἄλλοτριοι save for the one rendering of אֶת־אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים in 16:13, which is translated by θεοὶ ἕτεροι.

<sup>633</sup> Pietersma and Saunders 2009, 877 <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/34-ieremias-nets.pdf> (2.3.2018).

<sup>634</sup> Θεοὶ ἄλλοτριοι in Jer LXX 1:16; 7:6, 9, 18; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11; 19:4, 13; 22:9; 25:6; θεοὶ ἕτεροι in Jer LXX 16:13; 39:29; 42:15; 51:3, 5, 8, 15.

<sup>635</sup> הלך אחרי in Jer LXX 7:6, 9; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11; 25:6 and 42:15; קטר ל' in Jer LXX 1:16; 19:14; 51:3, 5, 8 and 15; נסך ל' in Jer LXX 7:18; 19:13 and 39:29; עבד in Jer 16:13; השתחוה ל' in Jer 22:9.

Jer b' attests the phrases with קטר לְ, נסד לְ and הלך אחרי, each of which is rendered by θεοὶ ἔτεροι.

Pietersma and Saunders' proposal applies to the variation of equivalents in Jer a' very well since 16:13 is the only case in Jer a' that mentions the worship of other gods in a foreign land. This distinction does not stand, however, in Jer b'. The occurrences in 39(32):29, 42(35):15 and 51(44):3 all describe the worship of other gods in Jerusalem or Judah. The first describes how Jerusalemites have made libations on the rooftops of the city, the second is dated to the reign of Jehoiakim and contrasts the loyalty of the Rechabites with the unfaithfulness of the people of Jerusalem to serve YHWH, and the third accuses the forefathers of the Judean and Jerusalemite refugees of sacrificing to other gods in their cities as a reason for the current exile. Though the OG might very well attempt to distinguish between the locale of worship, the equivalents in Jer b' do not display such tendency.

Going beyond the expression אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים, Jer a' displays an accute differentiation of the uses of אחר 'other.' As part of the expression, the equivalent is ἀλλότριος, with the one exception of 16:13. When the word is used in other contexts, in a total of four times in Jer a', it is rendered by ἕτερος.

3:1 לֹא־אָמַר הָיָה יְשַׁלַּח אִישׁ אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וְהִלְכָה מֵאֵתוֹ וְהָיְתָה לְאִישׁ־אַחֵר – Ἐὰν ἐξαποστείλῃ ἀνὴρ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἑτέρῳ

6:12 וְנָסְבוּ בְּתֵיחֶם לְאַחֲרִים שְׂדוֹת וְנָשִׁים יַחֲדוּ – καὶ μεταστραφήσονται αἱ οἰκαίαι αὐτῶν εἰς ἑτέρους, ἀγροὶ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό

8:10 לָכֵן אֶתְּנֶנְסִיָּהֶם לְאַחֲרִים שְׂדוֹתֵיהֶם לְיוֹרְשֵׁים – διὰ τοῦτο δώσω τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ἑτέροις καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτῶν τοῖς κληρονόμοις

18:4 וְנִשְׁחַת הַכְּלִי אֲשֶׁר הוּא עֹשֶׂה בְּחֶמֶר בִּיד הַיּוֹצֵר וְשֵׁב וַיַּעֲשֶׂהוּ כְּלִי אַחֵר – καὶ διέπνεσε τὸ ἀγγεῖον, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε, ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἀγγεῖον ἕτερον, καθὼς ἤρρεσεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιῆσαι

Jer 3:1 refers to another man, 6:12 and 8:10 refer to other people, and 18:4 refers to another vessel. In each case the equivalent is ἕτερος. By this means the translator of Jer a' does make a clear distinction between the use of אחר as part of the expression אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים

אֲחֵרִים and its other uses. Jer b' does not display this distinction. It contains two instances of אַחַר apart from the expression אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים and both are rendered by ἔτερος, the same equivalent that renders אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים.

43(36):28 וְכָתַב עָלֶיהָ אֶת כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים שׁוּב קַח־לָךְ מִגִּלָּה אַחֶרֶת – Πάλι  
λάβε χαρτίον ἔτερον καὶ γράψον πάντας τοὺς λόγους

43(36):32 וַיִּרְמְיָהוּ לְקַח מִגִּלָּה אַחֶרֶת וַיִּתֶּנָּה אֶל־בְּרוּךְ בֶּן־נְרִיָּהוּ הַסֹּפֵר – καὶ  
ἔλαβε Βαρουχ χαρτίον ἔτερον

Both instances refer to another scroll. The MT and LXX of Jer 43(36):32 attest significantly divergent texts, but the shared element is מִגִּלָּה אַחֶרֶת / χαρτίον ἔτερον, which undoubtedly occurs as such in the *Vorlage* of the Greek text.

The clear distinction between the equivalents used to render the expression אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים in Jer a' and Jer b' requires a different characterization. The predominant rendering of the word אַחַר in Jer a' is ἀλλότριος because it is used to render the word as part of the expression אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים. However, the other uses of the word in Jer a' are always rendered by ἔτερος, and therefore conform to the preferred rendering of the word elsewhere in the LXX. This could also be considered the preferred rendering in Jer a' that is varied only when the phrase אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים is to be rendered. In any case, Jer a' makes a clear distinction between the uses of אַחַר.

Jer b' on the other hand eradicates any such distinction and sticks to the equivalent ἔτερος in all its uses. This difference in character between Jer a' and Jer b' is a strong implication that the renderings have been revised. The accute differentiation employed by Jer a' would definitely be expected to continue in Jer b', and it is hard to concieve that a single translator would make such a significant change in principle after working meticulously to preserve the difference. The most obvious reason for the absence of this differentiation in Jer b' is intentional revision, and its most likely motive is a change toward more persistent renderings.

### 6.3. בֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה

The Hebrew verb אָמַר holds the general meaning 'to say' and often follows or is followed by direct speech. It rarely introduces direct speech by itself, but rather employs



the use of auxiliary words, such as כִּי or כֹּה, or it is part of a relative clause following אֲשֶׁר. In some contexts the meaning is rather 'to answer', as in Jer 28:5 וַיֹּאמֶר יִרְמְיָהּ הַנָּבִיא “and Jeremiah the prophet answered Hananiah the prophet.”

When אָמַר is not used in connection with direct speech, its range of meaning is broader, including 'to speak,' 'to command,' or 'to promise.' The meaning 'to think' is not infrequent, and can easily be identified by the context, through such expressions as אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ "to say in one's heart", or when one is speaking to oneself.<sup>636</sup>

The two equivalents of the phrase כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה in Jer LXX both employ the verb λέγω, but in two different forms: τάδε λέγει κύριος and οὕτως εἶπε κύριος. Generally speaking, the verb λέγω is a good semantic match of the Hebrew אָמַר. Its main uses in classical Greek include the meanings 'to say,' 'to speak' and 'to command,' but it may also signify 'to count,'<sup>637</sup> which does not correspond to any uses of אָמַר. In the LXX, λέγω is a frequent equivalent of אָמַר. The participle λέγων can be called a stereotyped rendering of the frequent Hebrew infinitive לְאָמַר because the equivalence is so prevalent. As a rendering of כֹּה אָמַר, τάδε λέγει represents more natural Greek usage than οὕτως εἶπε, as τάδε λέγει is found in ancient Greek letters and documents.<sup>638</sup> The equivalent οὕτως εἶπε is almost exclusively found in Jer b', with only a few cases in the books of Rgns, Chron, Is and Ezek.<sup>639</sup>

The renderings of this expression and the next one to be discussed (נֹאם יְהוָה) form the most striking and obvious differences between Jer a' and Jer b'. כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה is the first example on Thackeray's list of evidence for two translators in Jer LXX. He notes that τάδε λέγει κύριος occurs *passim* in Jer a', a total of "about 60 times" in Jer LXX 2–28, with three occurrences also in Jer LXX 29. In Jer b', οὕτως εἶπε κύριος occurs *passim* "about 70 times" in Jer LXX 30–51.<sup>640</sup>

<sup>636</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. אָמַר.

<sup>637</sup> LSJ, s.v. λέγω.

<sup>638</sup> LSJ, s.v. λέγω III, 8.

<sup>639</sup> Tov 1976, 57.

<sup>640</sup> Thackeray 1903a, 247.

Tov goes into more detail regarding these equivalents. He lists the occurrences of 58 cases of *τάδε λέγει κύριος* in Jer a' and 69 occurrences of *οὕτως εἶπε κύριος* in Jer b', and he also lists the few cases of alternative equivalents in both halves.<sup>641</sup> Based on his survey of translations of *כה* followed by verbs of saying (*verba dicendi*), he reasons that the stereotyped rendering of *כה* when occurring with a verb of saying in the LXX as a whole is *οὕτως*. This is his grounds for claiming that the rendering favored by Jer b' is more literal than that of Jer a'. He also determines the exceptional nature of Jer b' by demonstrating that Jer b' and the latter half of Isaiah are the only translated portions of the LXX in which *τάδε λέγει* is not the preferred rendering of *כה אמר*.

Another noteworthy observation on Jer a' is that it reserves the equivalent *τάδε* to render *כה* for cases of *כה אמר יהוה* only, and reverts to *οὕτως* whenever the word is used in other contexts. Tov briefly mentions this, but does not explicate it:<sup>642</sup>

5:13 *וְהַנְבִּיאִים יְהִי לְרוּחַ וְהַדְבָּר אֵין בָּהֶם כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה לָהֶם* – οἱ προφῆται ἡμῶν ἦσαν εἰς ἄνεμον, καὶ λόγος κυρίου οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν ἐν αὐτοῖς· οὕτως ἔσται αὐτοῖς.

21:3 *וַיֹּאמֶר יְרֵמְיָהוּ אֲלֵיהֶם כֹּה תֹאמַרְןָ אֶל־צִדְקִיָּהוּ* – καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἰερεμίας Οὕτως ἐρεῖτε πρὸς Σεδεκίαν βασιλέα Ἰουδα

23:35 *כֹּה תֹאמַרוּ אִישׁ עַל־רֵעֵהוּ וְאִישׁ אֶל־אָחִיו מִה־עֵנָה יְהוָה וּמִה־דְבָר* : *יְהוָה* – οὕτως ἐρεῖτε ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Τί ἀπεκρίθη κύριος καὶ Τί ἐλάλησε κύριος;

In Jer b', *כה* only occurs as part of the phrase *כה אמר יהוה*, so its treatment of *כה* in other contexts is beyond reach. Nonetheless, there is sufficient evidence to draw conclusions based on this evidence. For the translator of Jer a' to meticulously restrict his use of *τάδε* to render *כה אמר יהוה* and to use *οὕτως* only in other contexts, and then for him to continue by completely reverting his use of *οὕτως* to render *כה אמר יהוה* instead of *τάδε* is implausible. Jer a' displays a strong intentionality in its renderings of *כה*, one that is in line with how the other books of the LXX treat the

<sup>641</sup> Tov 1976, 56–58.

<sup>642</sup> Tov 1976, 56.

phrase **כה אמר יהוה**. Jer b', on the other hand, is almost unique within the LXX in its rendering of the phrase, and represents the past tense of the Hebrew verb with a formally equivalent past tense verb in Greek. The approach that Jer a' and Jer b' have towards **כה אמר יהוה** and the particle **כה** are incompatible with each other

Pietersma explains the different renderings by a single translator's intentional variation based on his recognition of a duology in the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX.<sup>643</sup> The first part of the duology comprises chapters 1–32 (LXX-H1) and the second part chapters 33–52 (LXX-H2). Pietersma argues that *τάδε λέγει κύριος* is used to render **כה אמר יהוה** in Jer a' because the translator recognizes that in that section Jeremiah is portrayed as the divine mouthpiece who utters the *ippsissima verba* of YHWH, and that the oracular formula is best suited to represent the Hebrew in such a context. In Jer b', however, Jeremiah is portrayed as a preacher who merely reports divine speech, for which the past tense equivalent *οὕτως εἶπε κύριος* suits the context much better.<sup>644</sup>

The primary problem with Pietersma's proposal is that the shift from *τάδε λέγει κύριος* to *οὕτως εἶπε κύριος* does not take place between Jer LXX 32 and 33, his proposed point of division between LXX-H1 and LXX-H2, but rather between Jer LXX 29 and 30. Pietersma's division of the book into LXX-H1 and LXX-H2 occurs at the end of the OAN section, but the change of equivalent occurs in the middle of the OAN section. Pietersma suggests that this mismatch may be attributed to the confusion of the translator, who he claims might have recognized a similarity between Jer LXX 30:1–5 and Josh 13:24–28, texts which both mention territories and cities of the Ammonites.<sup>645</sup>

Pietersma's explanation seems unlikely, not only because the change from poetic oracles to prose narrative is so stark at the turning point between Jer LXX 32 and 33 and not between 29 and 30, but also because the equivalent *οὕτως εἶπε κύριος* is used in the oracular section of Jer b' in chapters 37 and 38, while it is not used in the dated prose sections of Jer a' in Jer LXX 21 and 24. If the translator indeed varies the equivalent based on the exegetical principles set out by Pietersma, one would expect him to use the oracular formula *τάδε λέγει κύριος* to represent **כה אמר יהוה** within chapters 37 and

<sup>643</sup> For a summary of Pietersma's argumentation on the duology of the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.4.3.

<sup>644</sup> Pietersma 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ieremias-excursus.pdf> (2.3.2018).

<sup>645</sup> Pietersma 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ieremias-excursus.pdf> (2.3.2018).

38, the oracles of hope for Israel and Judah. These oracles are not dated as those in the surrounding prose chapters are, and Jeremiah is here also presented as the conduit of YHWH's *ippsissima verba*, not only a preacher of YHWH's word. On the other hand, the prose sections in Jer a' (e.g. Jer LXX 21 and 24) also bear the equivalent *τάδε λέγει κύριος* even though they are literally more akin to the prose narratives in Jer b' than to the oracles in Jer a'. The change that occurs between Jer a' and Jer b' is more stereotypical than exegetical. After Jer LXX 29, nearly every occurrence is rendered with the same equivalent regardless of the literary or contextual content. Jer a' distinguishes between the uses of כה as part of the oracular formula and the uses outside of the formula while Jer b' does not.

## 6.4. אִמַּר יְהוָה and נֹאֵם יְהוָה

The meaning of the Hebrew noun נֹאֵם is 'utterance', or more colloquially 'prophetic oracle,' as the term is most commonly used with reference to a divine utterance that is reported by a prophet. It is always used in the construct state. In only a few cases is the speaker someone other than YHWH.<sup>646</sup>

The renderings of the phrase נֹאֵם יְהוָה in Jer LXX are λέγει κύριος and φησὶ κύριος. In both cases it is likely that the translators understood נֹאֵם as a verb instead of a noun.<sup>647</sup> The meaning of the verb λέγω is discussed above.<sup>648</sup> The verb φημί is a synonym of λέγω and carries the similar meanings 'to say,' 'to speak,' 'to think,' and 'to command.' It is not very frequent in the LXX and nearly always renders נֹאֵם. It mostly appears in the third singular forms φησί(ν) or ἔφη. It assumes the function of its Hebrew *Vorlage*, so that it is mostly used to mark direct speech and divine direct speech in particular.

Tov refers to these equivalents in his study. He argues that Jer a' employs λέγει κύριος indiscriminately to render both the formulas נֹאֵם יְהוָה and אִמַּר יְהוָה, including כה אִמַּר יְהוָה, and that Jer b' attempts to distinguish the two by rendering the former

<sup>646</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. נֹאֵם.

<sup>647</sup> For a discussion of this issue, cf. Tov 1976, 70 n. 111.

<sup>648</sup> Cf. sec. 6.3.

with *φησὶ κύριος* and the latter with *εἶπε κύριος*. He also notes that this equivalency is a shared characteristic between Jer b' and later known translations, such as the "three," and later revisions, such as the Hexaplaric and Lucianic revisions, and that it is almost exclusive to Jer b' within the LXX.<sup>649</sup>

Pietersma argues that the switch from the equivalent *λέγει* to *φησὶ* is again due to the different nature of the content in LXX-H1 and LXX-H2.<sup>650</sup> Here again, however, the change in equivalent already occurs at Jer LXX 30 instead of 33, which is the beginning of LXX-H2 in Pietersma's argumentation. In addition, *φησὶ* is used in Jer LXX 37 and 38, whose content consists of divine oracles similar to those in Jer a', a context in which one would expect the translator to use the oracular formula per Pietersma's proposition.

Tov and Soderlund calculate the equivalents in a slightly different manner. Though he does not explicate it, Tov seems to count cases that have an extant representation in Jer MT, while Soderlund states that his figures are based on occurrences in Jer LXX. Tov lists 68 cases of *λέγει κύριος* in Jer a' compared to Soderlund's 75. Both mention two cases of *εἶπε κύριος* in Jer a', and Tov adds that in some Mss. *φησὶ κύριος* occurs four times. In Jer b', Tov counts 21 cases of *φησὶ κύριος*, four cases of *λέγει κύριος* and six cases of *εἶπε κύριος*, while Soderlund counts 23, 4 and 6 of the same.<sup>651</sup> The equivalents *λέγει κύριος* and *εἶπε κύριος* are sporadic in Jer b', and they render *נאם יהוה* in similar cases as those rendered by *φησὶ κύριος*.<sup>652</sup> Their use in Jer b' is very inconsistent.

The near exclusive confinement of *φησὶ κύριος* as the translation equivalent of *נאם יהוה* in Jer b' is a strong indication of the distinct character of Jer b' in relation to the other translated books in the LXX, including Jer a'. Here again the objection to Pietersma's argument can be made based on the equivalents in the dated prose sections in Jer a' (e.g. Jer LXX 21 and 24) and the oracular poetic sections in Jer b' (Jer LXX 30

<sup>649</sup> Tov 1976, 69–70. Other occurrences in the LXX are found in 1 Sam 2:30, 2 Kgs 9:26 and 2 Chr 34:27.

<sup>650</sup> For an explanation of Pietersma's theory, cf. sec. 2.4.3.

<sup>651</sup> Cf. figures in Tov 1976, 69–70 and Soderlund 1985, 175.

<sup>652</sup> The occurrences of the equivalent *λέγει κύριος* are located in 32:17(25:31); 34:18(27:22); 29:14(49:13); 51:35(45:5), and the occurrences of the equivalent *εἶπε κύριος* are located in 30(49):5, 10(32); 34:6(27:8); 37(30):8; 38(31):1 and 41(34):5.

and 31). The equivalents in the respective halves do not make any exception for these sections, which strongly indicates that the choice of equivalent is not based on an exegetical principle that distinguishes between the different literary natures of LXX-H1 and LXX-H2.

This equivalence in Jer b' is one of the strongest indications of the revisionary character of the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' because it is a shared equivalent with other known revisions of the LXX. Though it is clear that all of the different equivalents to be found in Jer b' are not the same as those found in other revisions, the fact that a number of them are in agreement bespeaks of the character that is to be expected from early revisions of the LXX.

## 6.5. גִּבּוֹר

The translations of גִּבּוֹר 'mighty' are used by Tov in his argument for a revision in Jer b'.<sup>653</sup> He notes that the most common equivalent of the word in Jer a', μαχητής, is not the usual rendering of the word in the LXX, and that the reviser changed the renderings to ισχυρός and δυνατός in order to employ more standard equivalents.

The adjective גִּבּוֹר 'mighty' is used in the HB attributively mainly to describe אֱלֹהִים 'God,' but also men, such as kings and princes. Alternatively, it can be used as a predicate noun or adjective with the sense 'mighty (one)' or 'warrior'.<sup>654</sup>

The Greek terms used to render this adjective in Jer LXX are μαχητής, ισχυρός and δυνατός. These three words, though all within the semantic realm of 'strong,' have different uses and meanings in Greek literature. Μαχητής is a noun that simply refers to a 'fighter' or 'warrior.' The other two words are adjectives, both signifying 'strong,' 'powerful' or 'mighty.' Ισχυρός is used more with reference to essential strength, that is, personal or physical power, but also strong food (indigestible), taste and literary style (vigorous). Δυνατός, on the other hand, is more concerned with outward strength. Though it is also used to refer to the strength of the mind or body, it can indicate one's

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<sup>653</sup> Tov 1976, 75.

<sup>654</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. גִּבּוֹר.

power to influence and to produce and one's potential or ability to accomplish something.<sup>655</sup>

In the LXX, ἰσχυρός and δυνατός are the common renderings of גְּבוּר. These are also the renderings used in Jer b'. Μαχητής, used by Jer a' in addition to ἰσχυρός, is an uncommon rendering of גְּבוּר found almost exclusively in Jer a' and the MP. גְּבוּר is represented in Jer 14:9 by ἀνὴρ, which most likely results from the translator understanding the word as גַּבַּר 'man' instead of גְּבוּר.

The noun μαχητής is the rendering in eight cases of גְּבוּר.<sup>656</sup> Each case occurs in Jer a'.

20:11 יְהוָה אֹתִי כְּגִבּוֹר עָרִיץ עַל־בֶּן רֹדְפִי יִכְשְׁלוּ וְלֹא יָכֻלוּ – καὶ κύριος μετ' ἐμοῦ καθὼς μαχητής ἰσχύων· διὰ τοῦτο ἐδίωξαν καὶ νοῆσαι οὐκ ἠδύναντο

26(46):12 שְׁמָעוּ גוֹיִם קְלוֹנִיד וְצוֹחֲתִיד מְלֶאכֶה הָאָרֶץ כִּי־גִבּוֹר בְּגִבּוֹר כְּשֵׁלוּ – ἤκουσαν ἔθνη φωνήν σου, καὶ τῆς κραυγῆς σου ἐπλήσθη ἡ γῆ, ὅτι μαχητής πρὸς μαχητήν ἠσθένησεν, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔπασαν ἀμφότεροι

28(51):30 חֲדָלוּ גִבּוֹרֵי בָבֶל לְהִלָּחֵם יֵשְׁבוּ בְּמִצְדֹת נִשְׁתָּה גִבּוֹרָתָם – ἐξέλιπε μαχητής Βαβυλῶνος τοῦ πολεμεῖν, καθήσονται ἐκεῖ ἐν περιοχῇ, ἐθραύσθη ἡ δυναστεία αὐτῶν

Only the first example (20:11) is a description of YHWH. The other seven cases describe the downfall of the warriors of Egypt and Babylon in the oracles against the nations in Jer LXX 26–28(MT 46 and 50–51). All but one of these instances (28[51]:56) have a variant reading attested by the hexaplaric witnesses. In four cases the hexaplaric variant is δυνατός (20:11, 27[50]:9, 36 and 28[51]:30), and in three cases it is ἰσχυρός (26[46]:9 and 12[2x]). The later translators did not consider μαχητής to be the proper rendering of גְּבוּר, which also is the inclination of the translators of the other books of the LXX since μαχητής is seldom used elsewhere in the LXX to render גְּבוּר.

<sup>655</sup> LSJ s.v. μαχητής, ἰσχυρός and δυνατός.

<sup>656</sup> Jer 20:11, 26(46):9, 12(2x); 27(50):9, 36; 28(51):30 and 56.

The equivalent *ισχυρός* is employed seven times to render *גִּבּוֹר*.<sup>657</sup> These cases occur in three different contexts.

9:23(22) *כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־הַלֵּל חֲכָם בַּחֲכָמָתוֹ וְאֱלֹהֵי־הַלֵּל הַגִּבּוֹר* – *Τάδε λέγει κύριος Μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ ἰσχύϊ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ*

29:23(49:22) *וְהָיָה לִבְגִּבּוֹרֵי אֲדוֹם בְּיוֹם הַהוּא כְּלָב אִשָּׁה מַצְרָה* – *καὶ ἔσται ἡ καρδία τῶν ἰσχυρῶν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ὡς καρδία γυναικὸς ὠδινούσης*

39(32):18 *עֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד לְאֶלְפִים וּמַשְׁלֵם עֵין אֲבוֹת אֶל־חֵיק בְּנֵיהֶם אַחֲרֵיהֶם* – *ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας καὶ ἀποδιδούς ἀμαρτίας πατέρων εἰς κόλπους τέκνων αὐτῶν μετ’ αὐτούς, ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ὁ ἰσχυρὸς*

The equivalence in 39(32):18 is the only time in Jer that both the Hebrew and Greek terms are used as attributive adjectives. In this case they describe YHWH. The reference in 9:23(22) is to warriors in general, and the other five cases refer to the soldiers of the enemy from the north (5:16), Egypt (26[46]:5 and 6), Edom (29:23[49:22]) and Moab (31[48]:14). The four cases located in Jer a’ all refer to warriors. Two of the three cases in Jer b’ refer to warriors, and one refers to YHWH.

*Δυνατός* is used to render *גִּבּוֹר* three times in Jer LXX: 48(41):16, 50(43):6<sup>658</sup> and 51(44):20.

51(44):20 *וַיֹּאמֶר יְרֵמְיָהוּ אֶל־כָּל־הָעָם עַל־הַגִּבָּרִים וְעַל־הַנָּשִׁים וְעַל־כָּל־הָעָם* – *καὶ εἶπεν Ἰερεμίας παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τοῖς ἀποκριθεῖσιν αὐτῷ λόγους, λέγων*

These three renderings represent the Hebrew word *גִּבָּרִים* in the MT, which denotes ‘men’ or ‘soldiers.’ This equivalence occurs elsewhere in the LXX only three times (Judg 5:30; 1 Chr 24:4 and 26:12), and the usual rendering of *גִּבָּר* is *άνήρ* or *άνθρωπος*.

<sup>657</sup> Jer 5:16; 9:23(22); 26(46):5, 6; 29:23(49:22); 31(48):14 and 39(32):18.

<sup>658</sup> The Ms evidence for 50(43):6 attests *δυνατους ανδρας* in all Mss except O-233 L’ (*ανδρας*). Ziegler suggests that the original text only contained *δυνατους*, implying that *ανδρας* is a later addition intended as a more accurate representation of *גִּבָּרִים*.



In these three cases in Jer, it is most likely that the translator has understood the words to derive from גְּבוֹר, as δυνατός is a common equivalent of גְּבוֹר in the LXX. In the example (51[44]:20), גְּבָרִים is followed by נָשִׁים 'women,' which implies that the meaning is here 'men' instead of 'warriors.' The other cases are even more distinct, as the word is followed by נָשִׁים and טף 'children,' though 'men of war' are also mentioned in 48(41):16.<sup>659</sup>

Table 14. displays the distribution of the renderings of גְּבוֹר in Jer LXX.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
μαχητής	8	-	8
ἰσχυρός	4	3	7
δυνατός	-	3	3
other	1	-	1
Total	13	6	19

Table 14. Renderings of גְּבוֹר in Jer LXX.

Ἰσχυρός is an equivalent shared by both halves of the book, and it is used in similar contexts to refer to the warriors of different nations. The difference between the two halves concerns the equivalents μαχητής and δυνατός. Μαχητής is the most common equivalent of גְּבוֹר in Jer a', but it is not used at all in Jer b'. The hexaplaric witnesses attest a different equivalent (δυνατός or ἰσχυρός) for almost each case, and these are more in line with the equivalents used in Jer b'.

Δυνατός renders the word גְּבָרִים three times in Jer b'. The word גְּבָר occurs six times elsewhere in Jer, but only in singular form, and is each time rendered by ἄνθρωπος.<sup>660</sup> The translator has interpreted the three plural forms as גְּבָרִים. Δυνατός is a common equivalent of גְּבוֹר in the LXX, and as an equivalent of גְּבָר, it occurs only

<sup>659</sup> BHS suggests that אֲנָשִׁי הַמְלָחָמָה is an addition to explain the confusion between גְּבָרִים and גְּבוֹרִים.

<sup>660</sup> Jer 17:5, 7; 22:30; 23:9; 30(37):6 and 38(31):22.

three times elsewhere (Judg 5:30; 1 Chr 24:4 and 26:12). The plural form גְּבָרִים occurs six times in Jer a', and is rendered by both μαχητής and ἰσχυρός.<sup>661</sup>

The relatively unusual use of μαχητής as an equivalent of גְּבָרִים in Jer a' sets the character of the equivalents apart from Jer b', since it is not used a single time in Jer b'. The OG might very well have employed the equivalent throughout the translation, only later to be changed by a reviser who wanted to use the more common equivalents δυνατός and ἰσχυρός. In addition, it is very possible that Jer OG rendered גְּבָרִים correctly as ἄνθρωποι in 48(41):16, 50(43):6 and 51(44):20 only to be reinterpreted by the reviser as גְּבָרִים and rendered by δυνατός.

## 6.6. הוציא

The renderings of הוציא are referred to by Tov in his study on Jer LXX.<sup>662</sup> He includes them under the heading titled “3. Stereotyped (literal) Replacing Non-stereotyped (free) Renditions,” and argues that the reviser has eliminated variation among the equivalents that was employed by the OG in favor of using a single stereotyped equivalent.

According to Tov's statistics, Jer a' has three different renderings for the verb (ἐκφέρω, ἐξάγω and ἀνάγω) while Jer b' mainly uses ἐξάγω with a single occurrence of ἐξαιρέω.

הוציא is the *hiph'il* form of the verb יצא. Its essential meaning is causative, and depending on the object it can signify 'to take out,' 'to bring out,' 'to lead out,' 'to produce' or 'to cause to appear.'<sup>663</sup> הוציא occurs 277 times in the Hebrew Bible and 18 times in Jer.<sup>664</sup>

In Jer LXX, הוציא is translated by four different verbs. These are the compound verbs ἀνάγω, ἐξάγω, ἐκφέρω and ἐξαιρέω. Ἐκφέρω and ἐξάγω are good semantic matches for הוציא, though both have their own nuances. Ἐκφέρω is used in Greek literature to convey the meanings 'to carry out' and 'to bring forth,' with an emphasis on

<sup>661</sup> Μαχητής in 26(46):9; 27(50):36; 28(51):30 and 56, and ἰσχυρός in Jer 5:16 and 26(46):5.

<sup>662</sup> Tov 1976, 65–66.

<sup>663</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. יצא I.

<sup>664</sup> Jer 7:22; 8:1; 10:13; 11:4; 15:19; 17:22; 20:3; 26:23; 31:32; 32:21; 34:13; 38:23; 39:14; 50:25; 51:10, 16, 44 and 52:31.

the aspect of carrying. 'Eξάγω, on the other hand, has the meanings 'to carry out,' 'to bring out' and 'to bring forth' or 'produce,' but with an emphasis on the aspect of leading. 'Εξαιρέω and ἀνάγω are more particular in meaning, ἐξαιρέω signifying 'to take out,' 'to take from' and in certain contexts 'to remove' a people from a land, and ἀνάγω means 'to lead up' or 'to bring back.'<sup>665</sup>

In Jer LXX, ἐξάγω is used eleven times to render הוציא, which includes one case in which the Hebrew equivalent is actually a *hoph'al* form of יצא (Jer LXX 45[38]:22). The other renderings are ἐκφέρω five times, ἀνάγω twice and ἐξαιρέω once. 'Eξάγω is used to render הוציא in three types of contexts:

10:13 וַיַּעֲלֶה נְשָׂאִים מְקֻצָּה אֶרֶץ בְּרָקִים לְמִטָּה עָשָׂה וַיּוֹצֵא רוּחַ מֵאַרְצֹתָיו –  
καὶ ἀνήγαγε νεφέλας ἐξ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, ἀστραπὰς εἰς ὑετὸν ἐποίησε καὶ  
ἐξήγαγε φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν αὐτοῦ

38(31):32 לֹא כְבָרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַתִּי אֶת־אַבְוֹתָם בְּיוֹם הַחַיִּיקִי בְיָדִם לְהוֹצִיאָם –  
οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην, ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν  
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς  
Αἰγύπτου

46(39):14 וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־יִרְמְיָהוּ מִחֶצֶר הַמִּטְרָה וַיִּתְּנוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל־גְּדַלְיָהוּ –  
καὶ ἀπέστειλαν καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν Ιερεμίαν ἐξ αὐλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὸν πρὸς  
Γοδολίαν υἱὸν Αχικαμ υἱοῦ Σαφαν· καὶ ἐξήγαγον αὐτόν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν  
μέσῳ τοῦ λαοῦ

Most commonly, ἐξάγω translates הוציא when it refers to a concrete situation in which a person or persons are brought from one place to another. Such is the case in six instances<sup>666</sup> as presented in example 46(39):14 in which Jeremiah is brought out from confinement to live among the people. Closely related to this context are the two cases in which הוציא describes YHWH's deliverance of the people of Israel from Egyptian bondage, in 38(31):32 and 39(32):21. In these two contexts, the notion of ἐξάγω as 'to bring out' or 'to bring forth' is conveyed. The third group is a mixed group that consists

<sup>665</sup> LSJ s.v. ἀνάγω, ἐκφέρω, ἐξαιρέω and ἐξάγω.

<sup>666</sup> Jer 20:3; 33(26):23; 45(38):22, 23; 46(39):14 and 52:31.

of the doublet 10:13 || 28(51):16 that describes the power of YHWH over natural forces, and one case that uses **הוציא** to refer to the utterance of words **יָקָר מְזוּלָל וְאִם-תּוֹצִיא** **כְּפִי תִהְיֶה** – καὶ ἐὰν ἐξαγάγῃς τίμιον ἀπὸ ἀναξίου, ὡς στόμα μου ἔσῃ (15:19). Four cases of the equivalent ἐξαγωγή occur in Jer a' and six in Jer b'. All occurrences in Jer b' consist of cases from the first and second group, that is, cases that describe bringing a person or a nation from one place to another. Only one occurrence in Jer a' can be considered a part of these two groups, and the other three are categorized in the mixed group.

The equivalent ἐκφέρω is used as a rendering of **הוציא** on five occasions, all in Jer a'. The contexts in which it is used can be delineated into two groups.

17:22 **וְלֹא-תוֹצִיאוּ מִשָּׂא מִבְּתֵיכֶם בְּיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת** – καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρετε βαστάγματα ἐξ οἰκιῶν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων

28(51):44 **וּפָקַדְתִּי עַל-בָּבֶל בְּבֶבֶל וְהִצֵּאתִי אֶת-בָּלְעֹז מִפִּי** – καὶ ἐκδικήσω ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ ἐξοίσω ἃ κατέπιεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῆς

The first group consists of cases where **הוציא** is used to describe the moving of objects, such as carrying loads on the Sabbath (17:22). Jer 8:1 describes the moving of bones out of their graves, and 27(50):25 depicts YHWH bringing out the vessels of his wrath. The other context comes close to the metaphorical sense in 27(50):25, but the objects are abstract entities, such as the nations that Babylon has “swallowed” in 28(51):44 and righteousness in 28(51):10.

The other renderings of **הוציא** are ἀνάγω twice (7:22 and 11:4) and ἐξαιρέω once (41[34]:13). In each case these translate the phrase **בְּיוֹם הַצִּיאָה יֵאָדָה מִצָּרִים מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם** ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἀνήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου (7:22 and 11:4); ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἐξειλάμην αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου (41[34]:13).

The difference between Jer a' and Jer b' with regard to the renderings of **הוציא** is that the range of equivalents is narrowed down in Jer b' to include mainly ἐξαγωγή and one occurrence of ἐξαιρέω.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ἐξάγω	4	7	11
ἀνάγω	2	—	2
ἐκφέρω	5	—	5
ἐξαίρῃ	—	1	1

Table 15. Renderings of הוציא in Jer LXX.

All the occurrences in Jer b' refer to the relocation of individuals or the nation of Israel from one place to another.<sup>667</sup> Such cases are rendered as ἀνάγω in Jer a' (7:22 and 11:4), with the one exception of ἐξάγω in 20:3. The other occurrences of הוציא, all found in Jer a' and all rendered by ἐξάγω or ἐκφέρω,<sup>668</sup> all refer to the bringing out of inanimate objects, sometimes concrete (e.g. bones in 8:1; a load in 17:22) and sometimes abstract (e.g. wind in 10:13 || 28[51]:16; vessels of wrath in 27[50]:25). Since cases in this second group do not occur in Jer b', one cannot ascertain how they would be rendered therein.

Taking all equivalents into consideration, Jer b' can be characterized as narrowing down the number of equivalents used to render a single Hebrew word in its various uses. When the OG translator translates cases that express the leading of people or individuals from one place to another, he prefers to use ἀνάγω 'to lead up.' Jer b' does not use ἀνάγω a single time despite the fact that all its cases of הוציא are similar in content. Jer b' prefers ἐξάγω, which in turn, together with ἐκφέρω, is the equivalent used in Jer a' to refer to the bringing out of abstract entities. Jer OG displays a willingness to vary its equivalents, while Jer b' eradicates the variety in favor of the one equivalent ἐξάγω. The equivalents in Jer b' are best characterized as revised in the intention of standardizing the equivalents.

<sup>667</sup> Individuals in 33(26):23; 45(38):22, 23; 46(39):14 and 52:31, and the nation of Israel in 38(31):32; 39(32):21 and 41(34):13.

<sup>668</sup> ἐξάγω in Jer LXX 10:13 || 28(51):16 and 15:19; ἐκφέρω in Jer LXX 8:1; 17:22; 27(50):25; 28(51):10 and 44.

## 6.7. הכעיס

Thackeray and Tov both regard the renderings of כעס *hif'il* to indicate the bisectioning of Jer LXX.<sup>669</sup> Thackeray lists the equivalent of Jer a' as παραργίζω and the equivalents of Jer b' as πικραίνω and παραπικραίνω, and he offers a few references for their occurrences. Tov counts five cases of παραργίζω in Jer a' and four cases of παραπικραίνω in Jer b', and he adds that the two equivalents are near synonyms but that the latter is "a stronger expression." Thackeray and Tov differ in the data they cite for Jer b'.<sup>670</sup> This is because Thackeray relied on the edition by Henry Barclay Swete, while Tov used Ziegler's edition.

The verb כעס occurs ca. 100 times in the HB. Half of these are *qal* forms and half are *hif'il* forms. In addition, a few *pi'el* forms are found as well. The *qal* form signifies 'to be angry,' and the *pi'el* and *hif'il* forms are causative, 'to provoke (to anger)' or 'to offend.' Only *hif'il* forms occur in Jer.

The Greek renderings of the verb כעס in Jer LXX are παραργίζω and παραπικραίνω. The terms can be used synonymously as both denote 'to provoke,' but παραπικραίνω is possibly the stronger expression of the two with a durative aspect 'to embitter.' The meaning of παραπικραίνω is closely connected to the verb πικραίνω itself. Any difference between παραπικραίνω and πικραίνω is dependent on how one interprets the occurrences of παραπικραίνω in the LXX as it is found only in the LXX and related literature. Elsewhere in the LXX, παραπικραίνω mainly renders derivations of the word מרה 'to be rebellious,' and Jer LXX is the only book in which it renders כעס.

Παραργίζω is used as the equivalent of כעס on five occasions (7:18, 19; 8:19; 11:17 and 25:06) in Jer LXX.

<sup>669</sup> Thackeray 1903, 249; Tov 1976, 94.

<sup>670</sup> In addition, Thackeray refers to two cases in which πικραίνω actually renders other Hebrew words: רגז 'to tremble / to agitate' in Jer LXX 40:9 and קצף 'to be angry / to enrage' in Jer LXX 44:15.



in the LXX, and each other case in Jer b' is rendered by παραπικραίνω. The dropping of the prepositional prefix is easily explained as haplography.

The Hexaplaric reading παροργίζετε is attested as the rendering in 51(44):8. The same equivalent is also attested by Hexaplaric witnesses in the two cases in which the LXX lacks an equivalent for כעס in Jer (25:7 and 39[32]:30). This suggests that “the three” translators preferred παροργίζω as the rendering of כעס throughout Jer LXX.

Table 16. displays the distribution of the renderings of כעס in Jer LXX.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
παροργίζω	5	-	5
παραπικραίνω	-	4	4

Table 16. Renderings of כעס in Jer LXX.

The difference between Jer a' and Jer b' is very clear. The verb כעס is used throughout Jer in the same manner and in the same type of context. The translation of the term changes from παροργίζω in Jer a' to παραπικραίνω in Jer b'. There seems to be no other reason for the change than the simple preference of one equivalent instead of the other. The choice of παραπικραίνω to represent כעס *hiph'il* sets Jer b' apart from other translated books in the LXX since this equivalence is not used elsewhere. Though there are not so many cases of the verb in Jer, the clear difference renders the characters of Jer a' and Jer b' as distinct, and these renderings should be regarded as evidence for bisectioning the translation. The reviser was not satisfied with the usual rendering in the LXX (παροργίζω), and opted to choose the rare equivalent παραπικραίνω. The later translators reverted the equivalent to παροργίζω as is evident from the Hexaplaric readings.

6.8. זרוע

The translations of זרוע 'arm' in Jer LXX are referred to by both Thackeray and Tov in their arguments for bisectioning the translation.<sup>671</sup> Thackeray lists the two equivalents found in Jer LXX, assigning βραχίων to Jer a' and ἐπίχειρον to Jer b', and notes that

<sup>671</sup> Thackeray 1903, 250; Tov 1976, 48–49.



βραχίων also occurs twice in Jer b'. He discusses the meaning of ἐπίχειρον by referring to the lexicons, which only cite the meaning of the plural form as 'wages.' He goes on to mention the only other occurrence of ἐπίχειρον in the LXX, the plural form in 2 Macc 15:33, and considers the meaning there to be 'arm.'

In Tov's opinion, Jer b's use of ἐπίχειρον reflects the reviser's attempt to represent the meaning of זרוע more precisely than the OG rendering βραχίων. Tov interprets the meaning of ἐπίχειρον in Jer LXX as "that which is above the hand," i.e. 'arm.' He further suggests that the reviser may have coined this use of the word since it does not occur in the singular form elsewhere in Greek literature. In a footnote, he discusses Origen's use of the term, and supposes that Origen did not understand the meaning of its singular form, though he did demonstrate knowledge of the plural use of the word.

The renderings of זרוע have attracted comments from other scholars as well, particularly with reference to a conjectural reading ἐπίχειρον in 29:11(49:10) that was first proposed by Rudolph and later adopted into the critical text by Ziegler. Rudolph argues for the conjecture based on the fact that זרוע is never rendered by χείρ.<sup>672</sup> Ziegler regards the conjecture plausible because he accepts Thackeray's theory that Jer b' is the work of a second translator whose preferred equivalent for זרוע is ἐπίχειρον.<sup>673</sup> Soderlund later argues against this emendation in his discussion on Tov's theory of revision in Jer b' and does not regard the renderings of זרוע to be a good example of reviser tendency. He claims that it is too difficult to determine whether a translator or a reviser would regard ἐπίχειρον as corresponding to the meaning of זרוע better than βραχίων.<sup>674</sup>

Pietersma has written an article on this equivalence in Jer LXX as well. His main focus is to examine the meaning of the term ἐπίχειρον in more detail, and he identifies a few passages in non-biblical literature in which its singular form is used. Within these passages, Pietersma interprets the semantic range of the term to include 'help,' 'penalty' and 'reward,' which is very similar to the meaning of the more common plural form of

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<sup>672</sup> Rudolph 1930, 278.

<sup>673</sup> Ziegler 1958, 28–29. For discussion on the conjecture itself, cf. below.

<sup>674</sup> Soderlund 1985, 147–149 and 174–175.

the word. Based on this, he argues that *ἐπίχειρον* is neither unique in attestation nor in meaning. He further argues that the variation between *βραχίων* and *ἐπίχειρον* does not warrant use as evidence for bisectioning the book since the variation is inconsistent and since no clear motivation for a change from *βραχίων* to *ἐπίχειρον* can be identified.<sup>675</sup>

The word זרוע, variously spelled זרע, is fairly straightforward in meaning. It signifies 'arm,' possibly specifically 'forearm,' but occasionally the meanings 'shoulder' or 'wrist' might be a more accurate. The term is also used metaphorically to indicate strength, either physical or political.<sup>676</sup>

The Greek renderings of this term in Jer LXX are *βραχίων* and *ἐπίχειρον*. The first is a good semantic match of the Hebrew term, denoting 'arm,' and in certain constructions 'shoulder.' It is also used as a symbol of strength by a few Greek authors. *Ἐπίχειρον*, as a singular form, is rarely used elsewhere in Greek literature. The plural form *ἐπίχειρα* is used in classical Greek to mean 'wages,' 'reward' or due punishment.<sup>677</sup> *Βραχίων* mainly renders זרוע in the LXX, but it is also used as the equivalent of שוק, 'the thigh' of a sacrificial animal, and occasionally of יד 'hand.' *Ἐπίχειρον* occurs in the LXX only three times, all in Jer LXX, and it renders זרוע each time.

The term זרוע occurs a total of six times in Jer,<sup>678</sup> and it is exceptionally spelled אזורע in 39(32):21. In addition to these, Jer LXX renders the word זרע 'seed' as if it were זרע in 29:11(49:10). On four occasions, זרוע is prefixed with the preposition ב to indicate means.

21:5 חֲזָקָה וּבִזְרוֹעַ נְטוּיָה בְיָד אֲתָכֶם אֲנִי וְנִלְחַמְתִּי אִנִּי – καὶ πολέμησω ἐγὼ  
 ὑμᾶς ἐν χειρὶ ἐκτεταμένῃ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι κραταιῷ

<sup>675</sup> Pietersma 2002, 101–108.

<sup>676</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. זרוע.

<sup>677</sup> LSJ s.v. *βραχίων* and *ἐπίχειρον*.

<sup>678</sup> Jer 17:5; 21:5; 31(48):25; 34:4(27:5); 39(32):17 and 21.

אֲנֹכִי עָשִׂיתִי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֶת־הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עַל־פָּנָי 34:4(27:5)  
הָאָרֶץ בְּכֹחַי הַגָּדוֹל וּבְזִרְעִי הַנְּטוּיָה – ὅτι Ἐγὼ ἐποίησα τὴν γῆν ἐν ἰσχύι  
μου τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπίχειρῳ μου τῷ ὑψηλῷ

In each of these four cases a momentous event is described as being acted out by the arm of YHWH. Two of these refer to the creation of the world (34:4[27:5] and 39[32]:17), one refers to the exodus (39[32]:21), and one is an oracle of doom against Jerusalem (21:5). Three of these are rendered by *βραχίων* (21:5, 39[32]:17 and 39[32]:21) and one by *ἐπίχειρον* (34:4[27:5]). Significantly, the two cases that describe the creation of the world, which are nearly identical to each other, employ different equivalents for זִרְעַי, that is, *βραχίων* in 39(32):17 and *ἐπίχειρον* in 34:4(27:5).

Jer LXX renders זִרְעַי on two other occasions:

אָרִיז הַגִּבּוֹר אֲשֶׁר יִבְטַח בְּאַדָּם וְשָׁם בְּשַׁר זִרְעוֹ וּמִן־יְהוָה יָסוּר לָבוֹ 17:5  
Ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ’ ἄνθρωπον καὶ στηρίσει  
σάρκα βραχίονος αὐτοῦ ἐπ’ αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀποσθῇ ἡ καρδία  
αὐτοῦ

נִגְדָּעָה קֶרֶן מִזֶּבֶחַ וּזְרַעוֹ נִשְׁבְּרָה נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה 31(48):25  
κατεάχθη κέρας  
Μωαβ, καὶ τὸ ἐπίχειρον αὐτοῦ συνετρίβη

In Jer 31(48):25, the arm of Moab is the object of YHWH’s judgement and is rendered by *ἐπίχειρον*. The translation of 17:5 represents *בְּשַׁר זִרְעוֹ* as a construct chain *σάρκα βραχίονος αὐτοῦ* “the flesh of his arm.” The sense of the Hebrew *וְשָׁם בְּשַׁר זִרְעוֹ* is rather “and places his strength [i.e. his arm] in flesh.” The Greek rendering indicates that the Hebrew construction was difficult for the translator, but the addition of *ἐπ’ αὐτόν* indicates that his final interpretation is similar to the Hebrew text. Alternatively, *ἐπ’ αὐτόν* could represent an attempt to correct the Greek text, or it could reflect a different Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The equivalent *ἐπίχειρα* in 29:11(49:10) is problematic.

כִּי־אֲנִי חָשַׁפְתִּי אֶת־עֵשׂוֹ גְּלִיתִי אֶת־מִסְתָּרָיו וְנִחַבְּהָ לֹא יוֹכֵל 29:11(49:10)  
וְשִׁבְּרִי וְאִינְנוּ – ὅτι ἐγὼ κατέσυνα τὸν Ησαυ, ἀνεκάλυσα  
τὰ κρυπτά αὐτῶν, κρυβῆναι οὐ μὴ δύνωνται· ὥλοντο ἐπίχειρα ἀδελφοῦ  
αὐτοῦ καὶ γείτονος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν

It is a conjecture argued for by Ziegler and Rudolph.<sup>679</sup> All Greek manuscripts agree on the reading *διὰ χεῖρα* instead of *ἐπίχειρα*. While *διὰ χεῖρα* does not render the MT as one would expect, regardless of whether the Hebrew text is understood as 'his seed' *זרעו* or 'his arm' *זרעו*, the lack of variant readings in the Mss renders this emendation doubtful. Ziegler's argumentation in its favor leans toward circular reasoning, since he appeals to Thackeray's theory of multiple translators to support it, all the while the conjecture is upheld in support of the theory.<sup>680</sup> The slightest possibility in support of the conjecture would be to argue that an original *ἐπι* in front of *χειρα* was changed to *διὰ* at an early point in the transmission of the text in order to solidify the meaning "He (Esau) perished by the hands of his brother and his neighbor." The reading *διὰ χεῖρα*, however, is grammatically unsuitable in the sentence, since the plural *ὄλοντο* requires a subject. Ziegler further surmises that *ἐπίχειρα* would fulfil this task.

Due to the problems with the conjecture *ἐπίχειρα* in 29:11(49:10), it is not included in the following figures that sum up the renderings of *זרעו* in Jer LXX. The distribution of the renderings of *זרעו* in Jer LXX is as follows:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
<i>βραχίων</i>	2	2	4
<i>ἐπίχειρον</i>	–	2	2
Table 17. Renderings of <i>זרעו</i> in Jer LXX.			

Jer a' renders *זרעו* twice, and both as *βραχίων*. In Jer b', there are four cases that translate *זרעו*. *βραχίων* is used twice and *ἐπίχειρον* twice. Three of these occurrences refer to the arm of YHWH, and one refers to the arm of human beings or mankind. Both of the equivalents, *βραχίων* and *ἐπίχειρον*, are used in both contexts.

The two cases in Jer a' are 17:5, which refers to the arm of man, and 21:5, which refers to the arm of YHWH as it battles against Jerusalem. The translation character to be derived from these two cases is uniform, but the very small number of occurrences lessens the weight of this evidence.

<sup>679</sup> Rudolph 1930, 278; Ziegler 1958, 28–29.

<sup>680</sup> For this observation, I thank my colleagues in the study group on textual criticism at the University of Helsinki faculty of Theology: Dr. Ville Mäkipelto, Dr. Timo Tekoniemi, Paavo Huotari and Ossi Arpe.

The four cases in Jer b' are split between *βραχίων* and *ἐπίχειρον*. *Βραχίων* renders the arm of YHWH in its two occurrences (39[32]:17 and 21), and *ἐπίχειρον* renders *זרוע* once with reference to the arm of YHWH 34:4(27:5) and once with reference to the arm of Moab 31(48):25. A clear definition of the translation character of these equivalents is difficult to determine based on so few cases that vary to this degree.

The use of the renderings of *זרוע* in support of bisectioning Jer LXX are hindered by two factors. First, there are so few cases of *זרוע* in Jer that it is difficult to determine a distinct translation character between Jer a' and Jer b'. Second, the distribution of the two renderings in Jer b' does not lend itself to apparent distinction so as to supply a reason for the variation. However, the fact that the term *ἐπίχειρον* is itself extremely rare in the LXX and in Greek literature does support the description of Jer b' as exceptional in comparison to other translated sections of the LXX. On these grounds, *ἐπίχειρον* can be used in support of other evidence for bisectioning the book.

## 6.9. זרע

Tov references the renderings of *זרע* 'seed' as an example of the reviser's attempt at exegetical consistency. He proposes that the reviser distinguishes between the meanings 'seed' and "offspring of a certain person or group" in his use of the equivalents *σπέρμα* for the former and *γένος* for the latter.<sup>681</sup>

*זרע* can refer to the seed of plants, but it is also used to signify the 'semen' of human beings and animals. By extension it may refer to the produce of seed, that is grain or offspring, whereby it may be used to denote human beings or animals.<sup>682</sup>

The Greek equivalents of *זרע* in Jer LXX are *σπέρμα*, *γένος*, *καρποφόρος* and *ἐπίχειρον*. *Σπέρμα* is a fair semantic match of *זרע*, denoting the 'seed' of plants, animals and human beings. It may also refer to offspring. However, it has the additional meaning of 'germ' or 'origin,' and can also signify 'race' or 'descent.' *Σπέρμα* is also the most commonly used equivalent to render *זרע* throughout the LXX. *Γένος*, on the

<sup>681</sup> Tov 1976, 72.

<sup>682</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. *זרע*.

other hand, is a more specific term related to the genealogy of beings, whether plants, animals or human beings. It can mean 'offspring' or 'descent,' 'clan' or 'race,' or even 'age,' 'generation' or 'class,'<sup>683</sup> and it is used as the equivalent of זרע only in Jer b' and once each in Lev, Esth and Dan. Γένος generally translates the words מין, עם and משפחה in the LXX. Καρποφόρος 'fruitful' occurs only three times in the whole LXX, and only in Jer does it render זרע. A misinterpretation of זרע as זרוע has resulted in the rendering ἐπίχειρον in 29:11(49:10).<sup>684</sup>

The rendering σπέρμα occurs seven times in Jer LXX. It is used to denote four types of 'seed.'

22:30 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה כְּתִבּוּ אֶת־הָאִשׁ הַזֶּה עֲרִירִי גִבֹּר לֹא־יִצְלַח בְּיָמָיו כִּי לֹא יִצְלַח מִזֶּרְעוֹ אִישׁ יָשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד וּמִשְׁלַל עוֹד בִּיהוּדָה – Γράψον τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκκήρυκτον ἄνθρωπον, ὅτι οὐ μὴ αὐξηθῇ ἐκ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου Δαυὶδ ἄρχων ἔτι ἐν τῷ Ιουδα

26(46):27 וְאַתָּה אֶל־תִּירָא עַבְדִּי יַעֲקֹב וְאֶל־תַּחַת יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי הִנְנִי מוֹשְׁעֶךָ – σὺ – מִרְחוֹק וְאֶת־זֶרְעֶךָ מֵאֶרֶץ שָׁבִים וְשָׁב יַעֲקֹב וְשָׁקֵט וְשָׁנָן וְאֵין מַחְרִיד δὲ μὴ φοβηθῆς, δοῦλός μου Ιακωβ, μὴδὲ πτοηθῆς, Ισραηλ, διότι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ σῶζω σε μακρόθεν καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐκ γῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀναστρέψει Ιακωβ καὶ ἡσυχάσει καὶ ὑπνώσει, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ παρενοχλῶν αὐτόν

38(31):27 הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְזֶרְעִי אֶת־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶת־בֵּית הַנְּהָמָה – διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ σπερῶ τὸν Ισραηλ καὶ τὸν Ιουδα σπέρμα ἀνθρώπου καὶ σπέρμα κτήνους

42(35):7 וּבֵית לֹא־תִבְנוּ וְזֶרְע לֹא־תִזְרְעוּ וְכֹרֶם לֹא־תִטְעוּ וְלֹא יִהְיֶה לָכֶם כִּי 7 – καὶ οἰκίαν οὐ μὴ οἰκοδομήσητε καὶ σπέρμα οὐ μὴ σπείρητε, καὶ ἀμπελῶν οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐν σκηναῖς οἰκήσετε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ὑμῶν

In 22:30, the terms refer to the seed or children of a specific person, king Jeconiah of Jerusalem. In 26(46):27, the reference is to the seed of Israel, thus denoting the

<sup>683</sup> LSJ s.v. σπέρμα and γένος.

<sup>684</sup> For a discussion of the rendering of זרע in 29:11(49:10), cf. sec. 6.8.

Israelites, which is similar to “the seed of Ephraim” in 7:15. The two cases in 38(31):27 refer to the seed of man and the seed of animals, and זרע in 42(35):7 denotes literal seeds to be planted in the ground. This concrete meaning is also used in 42(35):9.

Three of these renderings are found in Jer a' (7:15, 22:30 and 26[46]:27) and four in Jer b' (38[31]:27 [2x], 42[35]:7 and 9). The cases in Jer a' refer to the offspring of Jeconiah and to the offspring of Israel and Ephraim. The cases in Jer b' refer to actual seeds and to humankind and animals.

Γένος renders זרע five times in Jer LXX, each in Jer b'. This equivalence is used to render three types of uses of the word.<sup>685</sup>

36(29):32 זרעו ועל-למי הנחלמי על-שמעיה הנחלמי – διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ἰδού ἐγὼ ἐπισκέψομαι ἐπὶ Σαμαίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν

48(41):1 מִזְרַע הַמְּלוּכָה בֶן-נְתַנְיָה בֶן-אֶלְיָשָׁמַע מִזְרַע – Καὶ ἐγένετο τῷ μνητῷ ἐβδόμῳ ἦλθεν Ισμαηλ υἱὸς Ναθανίου υἱοῦ Ελεασα ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δέκα ἄνδρες μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Γοδολίαν

38:37(31:36) אִם-יִמְשׁוּ הַחֲקִים הָאֵלֶּה מִלְּפָנַי נְאֻם-יְהוָה גַּם זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל – Ἐὰν παύσωνται οἱ νόμοι οὗτοι ἀπὸ προσώπου μου, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ τὸ γένος Ἰσραὴλ παύσεται γενέσθαι ἔθνος κατὰ πρόσωπόν μου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας

When γένος renders זרע, there are two cases in which the terms refer to the offspring of specific people. These are Shemaiah the Nehelamite (36[29]:32) and king Jehoiakim of Jerusalem (43[36]:31). Closely related to these is the occurrence in 48(41):1, where Ishmael the son of Nathaniah is described as being מִזְרַע הַמְּלוּכָה “of the royal family.” The final two cases (38:35[31:37] and 37[36]) refer to the ‘seed’ of Israel, i.e. the Israelites.

<sup>685</sup> The Lucianic Mss of Jer 43(36):31 are the only instances that attest the variant σπέρμα in place of γένος within the Ms evidence. However, the hexaplaric readings attest this variant reading in each of the five cases in which γένος is used as the rendering. Γένος is also the equivalent in the hexaplaric additions to Jer LXX which correspond to the MT plusses.

The final two equivalents that stand to represent זרע in Jer LXX are καρποφόρος in 2:21 and ἐπίχειρον in 29:11(49:10).

2:21 וְאֲנֹכִי נִטְעֵתִיךָ שָׂרֵךְ כָּלָה זֶרַע אֱמֶת וְאִיךָ נִהַפְכָתָ לִי סוּרִי הַגֶּפֶן נִכְרִיהָ –  
ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφύτευσά σε ἄμπελον καρποφόρον πᾶσαν ἀληθινήν· πῶς  
ἐστράφης εἰς πικρίαν, ἢ ἄμπελος ἢ ἀλλοτρία

29:11(49:10) כִּי־אֲנִי חֲשַׁפְתִּי אֶת־עֲשׂוֹ גִלְתִּי אֶת־מִסְתָּרָיו וְנִחַבָּה לֹא יוֹכֵל  
זֶרַעוֹ וְאֶחָיו וְשִׁכְנָיו וְאִיָּנָנוּ – ὅτι ἐγὼ κατέσυρα τὸν Ησαυ, ἀνεκάλυψα  
τὰ κρυπτά αὐτῶν, κρυβῆναι οὐ μὴ δύνωνται· ὥλοντο ἐπίχειρα ἀδελφοῦ  
αὐτοῦ καὶ γείτονος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν

As mentioned above, καρποφόρος is a rare equivalent in the LXX, and 2:21 is the only time it renders זרע. The other two occurrences of the word (Ps. 106[107]:34 and 148:9) both render פרי. Jer 2:21 elaborates on the metaphor of Israel as YHWH’s vineyard. The case of 29:11(49:10) has been discussed earlier.<sup>686</sup> The equivalent ἐπίχειρα is a conjectural reading proposed by Rudolph and Ziegler, and the Ms evidence attests the reading δια χειρα. The rendering implies that the translator understands the Hebrew to mean זרע ’arm’ instead of זרע ’seed,’ interpreting the phrase to mean “the might of his brother” (ἐπίχειρα) or by his brother (δια χειρα). This case cannot, therefor, be considered as a rendering of זרע, but rather as a rendering of זרע.

Table 18. illustrates the distribution of the renderings of זרע in Jer LXX:

	Jer a’	Jer b’	Total
σπέρμα	3	4	7
γένος	-	5	5
καρποφόρος	1	-	1

Table 18. Renderings of זרע in Jer LXX.

זרע is translated thirteen times in Jer LXX, and nine of these are in Jer b’. The most significant difference between Jer a’ and Jer b’ is that γένος is not used as a rendering in Jer a’. In Jer b’ there is a clear distinction between the use of σπέρμα and γένος. Σπέρμα is the equivalent when זרע refers to the generic ’seeds’ of men and ’seeds’ of

<sup>686</sup> For further discussion of the equivalence, cf. sec. 6.8.



animals, on the one hand, and actual seeds on the other. Γένος, however, is used when the reference is to certain offspring of individuals or groups, as Tov has put it.<sup>687</sup> The cases of זרע in Jer a' that are rendered by σπέρμα are similar to those that are rendered by γένος in Jer b'. Σπέρμα in Jer a' refers to the offspring of individuals (Jeconiah) or groups (Israel and Ephraim).

Jer a' and Jer b' are distinct in the character of their translation equivalents in this regard, and may be said to bear a difference in translation character. This must, however, be qualified only as a slight difference since there are only a few cases to be considered. In addition, the exceptional use of γένος as the rendering of זרע contributes to the unique nature of the character of Jer b' among the translations in the LXX, even more so since the later revisers of the LXX rather preferred the equivalent σπέρμα as a representation of זרע.

## 6.10. הָרֶבֶץ

Tov discusses the translations of הָרֶבֶץ as part of his evidence for a revision in Jer b'.<sup>688</sup> For Jer a', he lists 35 cases of the equivalent μαχαίρα and 2 cases of the equivalent ρομφαία. For Jer b', the corresponding figures are 13 cases of μαχαίρα and 11 cases of ρομφαία. Tov mentions that both equivalents are used throughout the LXX. His argument is that the use of μαχαίρα decreases significantly in Jer b', and he suggests that the reviser has changed the equivalent from μαχαίρα to ρομφαία in some instances.

The Hebrew word הָרֶבֶץ is straightforward in meaning and refers to a 'dagger' or a 'short sword.' The translations in the LXX are mostly divided between the two equivalents ρομφαία and μαχαίρα. The difference between these words is that μαχαίρα denotes a dagger or a short sword, while ρομφαία generally refers to a larger sword, such as a 'broad sword.' In Jer LXX, the most common equivalent is μαχαίρα, which is the rendering on 48 occasions. Ρομφαία is the rendering only on 14 occasions.

The rendering μαχαίρα is used in three types of contexts in Jer LXX

<sup>687</sup> Tov 1976, 72.

<sup>688</sup> Tov 1976, 101–102.

26(46):16 הָרָבָה בּוֹשֵׁל גַּם-נֶפֶל אִישׁ אֶל-רַעְהוּ וַיֹּאמְרוּ קוּמָה וְנִשְׁבָּהּ  
 הָרַב הַיּוֹנָה – אֶל-עַמּוּנוּ וְאֶל-אַרְצָךְ מוֹלִדְתָּנוּ מִפְּנֵי הָרַב הַיּוֹנָה  
 και ἔπεσε, και ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐλάλουν Ἀναστῶμεν και  
 ἀναστρέψωμεν πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἡμῶν ἀπὸ προσώπου  
 μαχαίρας Ἑλληνικῆς

27(50):37 הָרַב אֶל-סוּסָיו וְאֶל-רֶכְבּוֹ וְאֶל-כָּל-הָעָרֵב אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹכָהּ וְהָיוּ לְנָשִׁים  
 הָרַב אֶל-אֲזִרְתֶּיהָ וּבָזָזוּ – μάχαιραν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους αὐτῶν και ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἄρματα αὐτῶν· μάχαιραν ἐπὶ τοὺς μαχητὰς αὐτῶν και ἐπὶ τὸν  
 σύμμεικτον τὸν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, και ἔσσονται ὥσει γυναῖκες· μάχαιραν ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῆς, και διασκορπισθήσονται

39(32):24 הִנֵּה הַסִּלּוֹת בָּאוּ הָעִיר לְלִכְדָּהּ וְהָעִיר נִתְּנָה בְּיַד הַבְּשָׁדִים  
 הָרַב וְהָרַעַב וְהָרַב מִפְּנֵי הַנִּלְחָמִים עָלֶיהָ – ἰδοὺ ὄχλος ἔχει εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
 συλλαβεῖν αὐτήν, και ἡ πόλις ἐδόθη εἰς χεῖρας Χαλδαίων τῶν  
 πολεμούντων αὐτήν ἀπὸ προσώπου < τῆς > μαχαίρας και τοῦ λιμοῦ·

Μαχαίρα is used as the rendering seven times when in a genitive construction,<sup>689</sup> as in the first example (26[46]:16). הָרַב הַיּוֹנָה “the sword of the oppressor” is interpreted as “the Greek sword” by the rendering, understanding הַיּוֹנָה as deriving from יוֹן ‘Greek.’ Other such cases refer to “the sword of YHWH” (12:12 and 29[47]:6) and “the sword of the enemy” (20:4).

The second example (27[50]:37) represents cases that are metaphorical, in which ‘the sword’ symbolizes death or destruction. In this particular verse, the term הָרַב is rendered three times in the LXX, the second of which does not have a counterpart in Jer MT. Streane suggests this is dittography from similar words in the previous verse, but it is also very likely that the phrase has fallen out of the text via haplography (from הָרַב to הָרַב). Similar uses of the word and its rendering μαχαίρα occur 23 times in Jer LXX.<sup>690</sup>

The third example (39[32]:24) represents cases in which הָרַב occurs as part of the phrase הָרַב וְהָרַעַב וְהָדָבָר, with or without articles or prepositions. Such instances account

<sup>689</sup> Jer 2:30; 12:12; 20:4; 26(46):16; 27(50):16; 29(47):6; and 31(48):10.

<sup>690</sup> Jer LXX 4:10; 9:16(15); 15:3, 9; 18:21; 19:7; 20:4; 21:7; 25:17(49:37); 26(46):10, 14; 27(50):35, 36, 37(3x); 31(48):2; 32:2(25:16), 13(27), 15(29), 17(31); 33(26):23; and 38(31):2.

for 18 cases of the equivalence.<sup>691</sup> The rendering *μαχαίρα* is used 35 times in Jer a' and thirteen times in Jer b'. In both halves it renders cases from all three contexts mentioned here.

*Ρομφαία* is the rendering of *חֶרֶב* on 14 occasions.

6:25 – אֶל־תִּצְאִי הַשָּׂדֶה וּבִדְרָךְ אֶל־תִּלְכִּי כִּי חֶרֶב לְאַיִב מְגֹר מִסָּבִיב מִן – μὴ ἐκπορεύεσθε εἰς ἀγρὸν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μὴ βαδίζετε, ὅτι *ρομφαία* τῶν ἐχθρῶν παροικεῖ κυκλόθεν

46(39):18 כִּי מִלֵּט אֲמַלְטָךְ וּבַחֲרֵב לֹא תִפֹּל וְהִיִּתָּה לְךָ נֶפֶשׁ לְשָׁלָל כִּי־בִטְחָתָּ 18 – ὅτι σῶζων σώσω σε, καὶ ἐν *ρομφαία* οὐ μὴ πέσης· καὶ ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ σου εἰς εὕρεμα, ὅτι ἐπεποιθεις ἐπ' ἐμοί, φησὶ κύριος

49(42):17 יִהְיוּ כָל־הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־שָׂמוּ אֶת־פְּנֵיהֶם לְבֹא מִצְרַיִם לְגֹר שָׁם 17 – καὶ ἔσονται πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀλλογενεῖς οἱ θέντες τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν εἰς γῆν Αἰγύπτου ἐνοικεῖν ἐκεῖ ἐκλείψουσιν ἐν *ρομφαία* καὶ ἐν λιμῷ

*Ρομφαία* is used as the equivalent of *חֶרֶב* in a genitive construction only once (6:25) and as part of the phrase *חֶרֶב וְרָעַב וְדָבָר* seven times (e.g. 49[42]:17).<sup>692</sup> Jer 49(42):16 also renders *חֶרֶב* with *ρομφαία* in connection to the word pair *חֶרֶב* and *רָעַב*, but not as part of the formulaic phrase *חֶרֶב וְרָעַב וְדָבָר*. The five remaining cases employ *חֶרֶב* as a metaphor for death and destruction, as in example 46(39):18.<sup>693</sup>

Two of these renderings are located in Jer a' (5:17 and 6:25), and the other twelve are in Jer b'. Apart from two cases (45[38]:2 and 46[39]:18), all of instances in Jer b' are found in chapters 49–51 (42–44), which narrates the flight of the refugees to Egypt. As part of this narrative, the prophet Jeremiah warns the refugees several times that YHWH will send the sword (*חֶרֶב*) against them if they flee to Egypt.

The two final equivalents of *חֶרֶב* in Jer LXX are *γῆ* 'land' and *προμαχών* 'bulwark.'

<sup>691</sup> Jer LXX 5:12; 11:22; 14:12, 13, 15, 16, 18; 15:2(2x); 16:4; 18:21; 21:7, 9; 24:10; 34:6(27:8); 39(32):24, 36; and 41(34):17.

<sup>692</sup> Jer 45(38):2; 49(42):17, 22; 51(44):12, 13, 18 and 27.

<sup>693</sup> Jer 5:17; 46(39):18; 50(43):11(2x); and 51(44):28.

פְּלִטִים מִחֶרֶב הִלְכוּ אֶל־תַּעֲמִדוּ זָכְרוּ מִרְחוֹק אֶת־יְהוָה וִירוּשָׁלַם 28(51):50  
 תַּעֲלֶה עַל־בִּבְבְּכֶם – ἀνασφύζομενοι ἐκ γῆς, πορεύεσθε καὶ μὴ ἴστασθε· οἱ  
 μακρόθεν, μνησθητε τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ Ἱερουσαλημ ἀναβήτω ἐπὶ καρδίαν  
 ὑμῶν

כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־בִּתִּי הָעִיר הַזֹּאת וְעַל־בִּתִּי מַלְכִּי 40(33):4  
 וְאֶל־הַחֶרֶב – ὅτι οὕτως εἶπε κύριος περὶ οἴκων  
 τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ περὶ οἴκων βασιλέως Ἰουδα τῶν καθηρημένων εἰς  
 χάρακας καὶ προμαχῶνας

The rendering ἐκ γῆς in 28(51):50 possibly interprets the Hebrew text as מִחֶרֶב “from a dry land,”<sup>694</sup> but since Jer LXX otherwise always rendered חֶרֶב by ἐρήμωσις ‘desolation’ or ἔρημος ‘desert,’ it is more likely that the translator had a *Vorlage* with the variant reading מֵאֶרֶץ. The end of 40(33):4 and the beginning of the following verse have a degree of textual difficulties, particularly regarding the proper interpretation of the words.<sup>695</sup> These difficulties are possibly reflected in the rendering προμαχῶνας in the LXX, which Streane describes as a midrashic interpretation of the text.<sup>696</sup>

The renderings of חֶרֶב are distributed within Jer LXX in the following manner:

	Jer a’	Jer b’	Total
μαχαίρα	35	13	48
ῥομφαία	2	12	14
others	0	1	1
Total	37	26	63

Table 19. Renderings of חֶרֶב in Jer LXX.

Μαχαίρα is the rendering in almost all cases in Jer a’ but in only half the cases in Jer b’. The use of ῥομφαία increases in Jer b’. One notes that both renderings are employed in similar contexts, both within Jer LXX as a whole and within Jer b’ in particular.

<sup>694</sup> Cf. Rudolph 1930, 280; Ziegler 1958, 27 and McKane 1996, 1340.

<sup>695</sup> McKane 1996, 855–857.

<sup>696</sup> Streane 1896, 226.

The shift, however, does not occur at the usual juncture between Jer a' and Jer b', between chapters 28 and 29, but rather after chapter 41. *Μαχαίρα* is used consistently until chapter 41, and not a single time in the following chapters, while *ρόμφαία* is used on each occasion beginning from chapter 42 onwards. A possible cause for the sudden change is the fact that the final chapters of Jer LXX narrate the flight of the refugees to Egypt (chapters 49–51), a section in which *חֶרֶב* occurs a total of ten times. Only two cases of *ρόμφαία* in Jer b' occur outside this narrative section. One could argue for an exegetical reason behind this change of equivalence if it were assumed that the make of the referenced sword or dagger is essentially different in this section of text than it is elsewhere, but this is difficult to prove. Also, there is no variation in the use of the expression *חֶרֶב וְרֶעֶב וְדָבָר* within this section and elsewhere, and yet the renderings are different.

The use of *ρόμφαία* is a shared feature between Jer b' and the *kaige* revision, for which *ρόμφαία* is the choice equivalent of *חֶרֶב*.<sup>697</sup> By association, this gives the character of Jer b' an air of revisionary flavor which is absent from Jer a' and the equivalent *μαχαίρα*. *Ρομφαία* is used in Jer b' to a significant extent for no other apparent reason than that it is the preferred rendering within chapters 42–52. The use of *μαχαίρα* withholds the characterization of Jer b' from being as consistent in its practice of revision as is the *kaige* tradition, but this is evident from other revised equivalents as well.

## 6.11. ידע

Tov uses the renderings of *ידע* to make his case for a revision in Jer b'.<sup>698</sup> He proposes that the reviser has eliminated the variation of equivalents that is found in Jer a', and limited his choice of equivalents to *γινώσκω*, with the exception of one occurrence of *οἶδα*. Jer a' mainly employs *γινώσκω* as well, but other renderings include *οἶδα*, *ἐπίσταμαι* and *ἐπιγινώσκω*.

<sup>697</sup> McLay 1998, 133.

<sup>698</sup> Tov 1976, 67.

Pietersma criticizes Tov's use of the renderings of **יָדַע** as evidence for a revision,<sup>699</sup> but he does not directly argue that the data should not be used as evidence for a revision. Rather, he notes that the use of **οἶδα** in Jer b' would indicate an inconsistent revision. His main critique of Tov's use of this example, and of Tov's whole section on "stereotyped (literal) [equivalents] Replacing Non-stereotyped (free) Renditions,"<sup>700</sup> is that the use of the label "stereotype" is subjective. He observes that many of Tov's examples in this section are structural or grammatical items, and suggests that these are less indicative of revisions since they tend to display more inconsistency as equivalents than full lexemes do. This, however, is not true, since it is often the subtle equivalents and renderings of common and ordinary words and syntactic constructions that display the most characteristic features of a translation (or a revision).<sup>701</sup>

The verb **יָדַע** is very common in the HB. It occurs in the *qal* form over 800 times, in the *hiph'il* form 71 times, in the *niph'al* form 41 times, and a few times in the other verbal stems. In its *qal* form, the verb can have several different nuances. The most common use is the intellectual 'to know.' Another usage is experience based, that is, 'to be familiar with' or 'to be acquainted with (someone).' Another meaning refers to sexual relations, and yet another to skill or ability, 'to know how to do (something).' The *hiph'il* forms of the verb are causative in significance: 'to make known,' 'to declare' or 'to teach.' The *niph'al* forms carry the passive meaning of the *qal* forms.<sup>702</sup>

Jer LXX employs a few different equivalents to render **יָדַע**. These are **γινώσκω**, **ἐπιγινώσκω**, **ἐπίσταμαι** and **οἶδα**, all of which convey the meaning 'to know' in some way or another. A subtle distinction between **γινώσκω** and **οἶδα** is based on perception, that is, **γινώσκω** denotes knowledge acquired by observation, while **οἶδα** denotes knowledge acquired by reflection, although occasionally such a distinction is blurred. However, it is rather **οἶδα** that is used to denote ability or skill. **Ἐπιγινώσκω** has a sense of the acquisition of knowledge, 'to recognize,' 'to discover' or 'to decide.'

<sup>699</sup> Pietersma 2010b, 376.

<sup>700</sup> Located in Tov 1976, 55–68.

<sup>701</sup> Cf. e.g. Soisalon-Soininen 1951, 117; Aejmelaeus 2020, 172–173.

<sup>702</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. **יָדַע** I.

Ἐπίσταμαι also refers to intellectual knowledge and ability but rarely to familiarity, i.e. knowledge of a person.<sup>703</sup>

In Jer, ידע *hiph'il* occurs only three times, and is rendered by δηλώω and γνωρίζω (11:18 and 16:21[2x]). ידע *niph'al* occurs twice, and is rendered both times by γιγνώσκω (35[28]:9 and 38[31]:19). There are 69 occurrences of the *qal* form in Jer, and 60<sup>704</sup> of them have equivalents in Jer LXX. In addition, one occurrence each of רעע (15:12) and רעה (2:16) is interpreted by the translator as instances of ידע by confusion of the letters ט and ר. The main equivalent of the *qal* forms throughout Jer LXX is γιγνώσκω, and it is almost the exclusive rendering in Jer b'. Jer a' employs other equivalents as well. Οἶδα occurs eleven times, ἐπίσταμαι four times and ἐπιγιγνώσκω twice. This analysis will focus only on the *qal* forms of ידע.

The equivalent γιγνώσκω is used to represent ידע *qal* on 42 occasions.<sup>705</sup> These equivalents are employed when ידע is used in three different meanings: acquaintance, knowledge and ability (once in 6:15). The most common is the second, denoting knowledge about something, and it accounts for 35 cases.<sup>706</sup>

5:4 וְאֲנִי אֶמְרָתִי אֲדַלֵּים הֵם נוֹאֲלוּ כִּי לֹא יָדְעוּ דְרֹךְ יְהוָה מִשְׁפָּט אֱלֹהִים –  
καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπα Ἵσως πτωχοὶ εἰσι, διότι οὐκ ἠδυνάσθησαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔγινωσαν  
ὁδὸν κυρίου καὶ κρίσιν θεοῦ

18:23 וְאֵתָּה יְהוָה יָדַעְתָּ אֶת־כָּל־עֲצָתָם עָלַי לְמוֹת – καὶ σύ, κύριε, ἔγινωξ  
ἅπασαν τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἐμέ εἰς θάνατον

31(48):30 אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי נְאֻם־יְהוָה עֲבָרְתוֹ וְלֹא־כֵן בִּדְיוֹ לֹא־כֵן עָשָׂו – ἐγὼ δὲ  
ἔγινωκ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· οὐχὶ τὸ ἱκανὸν αὐτοῦ, οὐχ οὕτως ἐποίησε

<sup>703</sup> LSJ s.v. γιγνώσκω, ἐπιγιγνώσκω, ἐπίσταμαι and οἶδα.

<sup>704</sup> Jer LXX 1:5-6; 2:8, 19, 23; 3:13; 4:22(2x); 5:1, 4-5; 6:15, 18, 27; 7:9; 8:7(2x); 9:3, 6, 16, 24; 10:23, 25; 11:18-19; 12:3; 13:12(2x); 14:18, 20; 15:14-15; 16:13, 21; 17:9, 16; 18:23; 19:4; 22:28; 24:7; 27:24; 31:17, 30; 33:15(2x); 38:34(2x); 39:8; 40:3; 43:19; 45:24; 47:14(2x)-15; 48:4; 49:19(2x); 51:3, 15 and 28.

<sup>705</sup> Jer LXX 2:16, 19, 23; 3:13; 5:1, 4; 6:15, 27; 8:7(2x); 9:3, 16, 24; 11:18-19; 12:3; 13:12(2x); 14:20; 15:12, 15; 16:21; 17:9; 18:23; 27:24; 31:30; 33:15(2x); 38:34; 39:8; 40:3; 43:19; 45:24; 47:14(2x)-15; 48:4; 49:19(2x); 51:3, 15 and 28.

<sup>706</sup> Jer LXX 2:19, 23; 3:13; 5:1, 4; 6:15, 27; 8:7(2x); 11:18-19; 13:12(2x); 14:20; 15:12, 15; 16:21; 17:9; 18:23; 27:24; 31:30; 33:15(2x); 39:8; 40:3; 43:19; 45:24; 47:14(2x)-15; 48:4; 49:19(2x); 51:15 and 28.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו הִידְעָה תִּדְעָ כִּי בַעֲלִים מָלַךְ בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן שָׁלַח 47(40):14  
 אֶת־יִשְׁמָעֵאל בֶּן־נַתָנְיָה לְהַכְתִּיד נָפֶשׁ – καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ Εἰ γινώσκει γινώσκεις  
 ὅτι Βεελίας βασιλεὺς υἱῶν Ἀμμων ἀπέστειλε πρὸς σὲ τὸν Ἰσμαὴλ πατάξαι  
 σου ψυχὴν

The subject of the verbs varies, and the choice of equivalent does not seem to be determined by it. In 18:23 and 31(48):30, for example, the subject is YHWH, and in the other two examples it is human beings. The objects also vary, from the abstract “way of YHWH” (5:4) to conspiracy (47[40]:14). The Hebrew phrase in 6:15 הַכְלִים לֹא יָדְעוּ, with the infinitive form, signifies that the people of Jerusalem did not know how to be ashamed of their deeds, thus denoting ability. Jer LXX interprets the verb as the noun הַכְלָמָה ‘dishonor’ and renders it accordingly as τῇν ἀτιμίαν. This changes the sense of יָדְעוּ from ability to knowledge, resulting in the meaning “they do not know their dishonor.”

The second context in which γινώσκω renders יָדַע *qal* refers to acquaintance. This occurs on seven occasions.<sup>707</sup>

וְגַם־בְּנֵי־נֶחַד וְתַחֲפֹנִס יָרְעוּךָ קִדְקֵד 2:16 – καὶ υἱοὶ Μέμφεως καὶ Ταφνας  
 ἔγνωσάν σε καὶ κατέπαιζόν σου  
 מִפְּנֵי רָעָתָם אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לְהַכְעִסְנִי לָלֶכֶת לְקַטֹּר לְעַבֵּד לְאֱלֹהִים 51(44):3  
 אֲחֵרִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדְעוּם הֵמָּה אַתָּם וְאַבְתִּיכָם – ἀπὸ προσώπου πονηρίας  
 αὐτῶν, ἧς ἐποίησαν παραπικραῖνάί με πορευθέντες θυμῶν θεοῖς ἑτέροις,  
 οἷς οὐκ ἔγνωτε

Jer LXX reads יָרְעוּךָ as יָדְעוּךָ “(they) knew you” in 2:16. Regardless of whether the *Vorlage* contained ד or ר, the text was challenging to the translator as he does not understand the rare word קִדְקֵד ‘skull.’ In 2:16 the object of acquaintance is Israel, and in 51(44):3 it is other gods. In three of these instances, the object is YHWH (9:2, 23 and 38[31]:34<sup>708</sup>).

The distribution of the equivalent γινώσκω in Jer LXX is as follows. There are 25 cases in Jer a’ and 17 cases in Jer b’. In Jer a’, five cases denote acquaintance, and 20

<sup>707</sup> Jer 2:16; 9:2, 15, 23; 12:3; 38(31):34 and 51(44):3.

<sup>708</sup> For a discussion on Jer 38(31):34, cf. below.



cases denote knowledge. In Jer b', two cases denote acquaintance, and 15 cases denote knowledge.

The verb *oĩda* is used as a rendering of *יָדַע* *qal* on 13 occasions.<sup>709</sup> Its use can be distinguished in two different contexts, one denoting acquaintance, and the other denoting knowledge. When denoting acquaintance, *oĩda* is used both when referring to YHWH and when referring to people or other entities.

10:25 וְעַל מִשְׁפָּחוֹת אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׂמָךְ לֹא יָדָעוּ – ἔκχεον τὸν θυμόν σου ἐπὶ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα σε καὶ ἐπὶ γενεὰς αἱ τὸ ὄνομά σου οὐκ ἐπεκαλέσαντο

22:28 הָעָצָב נִבְּהָה נָפוּץ הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה כְּנִיָּהּ וְאִם־כָּלִי אֵין חָפֵץ בּוֹ מִדּוּעַ הוּטְלוֹ – ἡτιμώθη Ιεχονίας ὥς σκεῦος, οὐ οὐκ ἔστι χρεῖα αὐτοῦ, ὃ τι ἐξερίφη καὶ ἐξεβλήθη εἰς γῆν, ἣν οὐκ ᾔδει

38(31):34 וְלֹא יִלְמְדוּ עוֹד אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ וְאִישׁ אֶת־אֲחִיו לֵאמֹר דָּעוּ – καὶ οὐ μὴ διδάξωσιν ἕκαστος τὸν πολίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ λέγων Γινῶθι τὸν κύριον· ὅτι πάντες εἰδήσουσι με ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἕως μεγάλου αὐτῶν

The cases denoting acquaintance may be further divided into those that signify acquaintance with YHWH (e.g. 38[31]:34) or human beings (e.g. 10:25) and those that signify acquaintance with a specific land (e.g. 22:28). There are seven cases in the first group and four cases in the second.<sup>710</sup> The example 38(31):34 contains two different renderings of *יָדַע*, both of which signify acquaintance with YHWH. The first is rendered by *γινγνώσκω* and the second by *oĩda*. This is the only case of *oĩda* occurring in this use in Jer b', and it raises the question whether the translation is intentionally distinguishing between the two cases of *יָדַע*. The first instance, rendered by *γινγνώσκω*, is placed in the speech of the people, who are described as teaching each other to know YHWH. In the second instance, rendered by *oĩda*, it is YHWH who predicts that everyone will know him. Theoretically one might argue that the meaning of the people's statement implies a

<sup>709</sup> Jer 4:22; 7:9; 9:6(5); 10:23, 25; 14:18; 15:14; 16:13; 19:4; 22:28; 24:7; 31(48):17 and 38(31):34.

<sup>710</sup> Cases denoting acquaintance with YHWH or human beings are in Jer 4:22; 7:9; 9:6(5); 10:25; 19:4; 24:7 and 38(31):34; cases denoting acquaintance with a specific land are in Jer 14:18; 15:14; 16:13 and 22:28.

process of getting to know YHWH through experience, while YHWH's intention is that everyone will know him to an equal degree, from the least to the greatest. Such a subtle distinction, however, cannot be observed elsewhere, and it seems unlikely.

The equivalent *οἶδα* is also used as a rendering of *יָדַע* *qal* in the sense of knowledge. This is the case on two accounts.

10:23 יְהוָה כִּי לֹא לְאָדָם דִּרְכוֹ לֹא־לְאִישׁ הַלֶּךְ וְהַכִּין אֶת־עַצְמוֹ – *οἶδα*,  
 κύριε, ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ πορεύσεται καὶ  
 κατορθώσει πορείαν αὐτοῦ

The speaker of Jer 10:23 admits to knowing that man does not direct his own steps. In the second case (31[48]:17), the seaker urges all who knew Moab by name to grieve for her.

The distribution of *οἶδα* between the two halves of the book is more one-sided than the distribution of *γινώσκω*. Eleven cases are in Jer a', and only two occur in Jer b'. The two cases in Jer b' are 38(31):34, which signifies acquaintance, and 31(48):17, which signifies knowledge. In Jer a', ten cases denote acquaintance, either with a deity, with a person or with a land, and one case denotes knowledge. In comparison to the use of *γινώσκω*, it seems fair to say that *οἶδα* is the preferred rendering when the meaning of *יָדַע* *qal* refers to acquaintance, as it is used in eleven of twenty such cases. *Γινώσκω* is used in seven of the cases and *ἐπίσταμαι* in two. *Οἶδα* is otherwise used only twice, in cases denoting knowledge. *Γινώσκω* is the preferred rendering for such cases.

There are only a few cases of *יָדַע* *qal* that are not rendered by *γινώσκω* or *οἶδα*, and these are *ἐπιγινώσκω* twice (4:22 and 5:5) and *ἐπίσταμαι* four times (1:5; 6; 2:8 and 17:16). One occurrence is rendered by the verb *ποιμαίνω* (6:18), but it clearly understands the Hebrew to be *רעה* instead of *יָדַע*.

1:5 בְּטָרִם אֲצֻרְךָ בְּבִטּוֹן יְדַעְתִּיךָ וּבְטָרִם תַּצֵּא מִרְחֹם הַקִּדְשִׁיתִךָ נָבִיא לְגוֹיִם  
 יִתְּתִיךָ – Πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ *ἐπίσταμαί* σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε  
 ἐξελεθεῖν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγίακά σε, προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη τέθεικά σε

4:22 יָדַעְךָ לֹא וְלִהְיִיטִיב לָהֶרַע הַמָּה וְלִכְמֹם הַמָּה – σοφοί εἰσι τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι, τὸ  
 δὲ καλῶς ποιῆσαι οὐκ *ἐπέγνωσαν*

17:16 וְאֲנִי לֹא-אֶצְטִי מִרְעָה אֶחָדָךְ יוֹם אֶנּוּשׁ לֹא הִתְאַוִּיתִי אֵתָּה יְדָעָתָּ  
הָיָה מוֹצֵא שְׂפָתַי נֶכַח פְּנֵיךְ הָיָה – ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐκοπίασα κατακολουθῶν ὁπίσω  
σου καὶ ἡμέραν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἐπεθύμησα, σὺ ἐπίστῃ· τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα  
διὰ τῶν χειλέων μου πρὸ προσώπου σου ἐστι

These infrequent equivalents are used in the same contexts as the more common equivalents *γινώσκω* and *οἶδα*. *Ἐπιγινώσκω* is used to denote both knowledge (5:5) and ability (4:22), and *ἐπίσταμαι* is used to denote acquaintance (1:5 and 2:8), knowledge (17:16) and ability (1:6). All of these are located in Jer a'.

The difference in the use of equivalents for the verb *יָדַע* *qal* between Jer a' and Jer b' can be portrayed as the use of various equivalents in Jer a' and the lack of variety in Jer b'.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
<i>γινώσκω</i>	25	17	42
<i>οἶδα</i>	11	2	13
<i>ἐπίσταμαι</i> and <i>ἐπιγινώσκω</i>	6	–	6
misinterpretation	1	–	1
Table 20. Renderings of <i>יָדַע</i> in Jer LXX.			

There are more total cases in Jer a' than there are in Jer b', but the proportion of the equivalent *γινώσκω* in Jer b' is much greater than it is in Jer a'. In Jer b', 89% (17 of 19) of cases are rendered by *γινώσκω*, while in Jer a' the corresponding amount is 59% (25 of 42). The other significant difference between the two halves is that the variety of equivalents present in Jer a' is nearly lacking in Jer b'. In Jer a', one finds three other equivalents used, which are *ἐπιγινώσκω*, *ἐπίσταμαι* and *οἶδα*. These occur in 41% of the cases. In Jer b', on the other hand, only two cases are rendered with an equivalent other than *γινώσκω*, those being the two cases of *οἶδα*. Based on the pervasive use of *γινώσκω* and the lack of variation among the equivalents in Jer b' in comparison to Jer a', the translation character of Jer a' and Jer b' regarding this equivalency should be described differently. Jer a' presents more variety, and Jer b' uses a narrower scope of equivalents to render *יָדַע*.

A possible point of distinction between Jer a' and Jer b' can be made based on their delineation of the different connotations of the verb **יָדַע**, though this is slightly hindered by the fact that Jer b' attests so few cases of a secondary connotation in only 3 cases of 'acquaintance' in comparison to 16 cases of 'knowledge.' Nevertheless, Jer b' is again to be characterized as eliminating the variety of equivalents used in Jer a' when **יָדַע** denotes 'knowledge.' Jer a' employs all four equivalents **γινώσκω** (20x), **οἶδα** (once), **ἐπιγινώσκω** (once) and **ἐπίσταμαι** (once), and Jer b' uses only **γινώσκω** (15x) and **οἶδα** (once). In Jer a', **οἶδα** is rather the preferred rendering when **יָדַע** denotes acquaintance, occurring ten times in comparison to five cases of **γινώσκω** and two cases of **ἐπίσταμαι**. Jer b' attests **οἶδα** only once in such cases, and uses **γινώσκω** in the other two cases. Jer a' presents a stronger attempt to differentiate between the two main connotations of **יָדַע** by preferring **γινώσκω** to express knowledge and **οἶδα** to express acquaintance. Based on the limited evidence present in Jer b', one cannot characterize Jer b' in the same manner.

## 6.12. יָשַׁב

Both Thackeray and Tov include the renderings of **יָשַׁב** in their arguments for bisectioning Jer LXX,<sup>711</sup> but they refer to them for different reasons. Thackeray includes them under the heading (**יָשַׁב**) **מֵאֵין**, whose main focus is the renderings of **מֵאֵין**. At the end of this heading, he briefly notes that “the verbs **ὑπάρχειν** and **ἐνοικεῖν**,” both of which are renderings of **יָשַׁב**, are confined to Jer a' and Jer b' respectively. Tov, on the other hand, refers to the renderings of **יָשַׁב** to characterize the revision as eliminating certain non-stereotyped renderings and replacing them with stereotyped renderings. Accordingly, he suggests that the reviser eliminated the use of **κατοικέομαι** as a rendering, which occurs ten times in Jer a' and never in Jer b', and replaced it with active forms of the verb.

The verb **יָשַׁב** is very frequent in the HB, and it nearly always is used in the *qal* form. The *niph'al* and *hiph'il* forms are very rare. The verb **יָשַׁב** essentially has two

<sup>711</sup> Thackeray 1903, 248; Tov 1976, 61.

uses: 'to sit' and 'to dwell.' These have further derived meanings, such as 'to be enthroned,' 'to remain' and 'to populate.'<sup>712</sup>

The Greek translations of **ישב** in Jer LXX mainly consist of derivatives of the verb *οἰκέω*. These are *κατοικέω*, *κατοικέομαι*, *ἐνοικέω*, *καθίζω* and *κάθημαι*. *Κατοικέω* is the most common of these, and it denotes 'to dwell' or 'to settle.' The middle / passive form *κατοικέομαι* conveys the same basic meaning. *Ἐνοικέω* is also similar, but has the added prepositional emphasis 'to dwell in.' *Καθίζω* and *κάθημαι* more accurately reflect the first use of **ישב**, that is 'to sit,' with an occasional causal nuance 'to set' or 'to place.' LSJ also mentions 'to reside' as a meaning of both of these words,<sup>713</sup> but that meaning is derived solely from the LXX and its contingencies, which makes it questionable since these words generally render the Hebrew **ישב** and should not be understood as assuming its full range of meanings. *Κατοικέω* is also used throughout Jer LXX as a rendering of **ישב**, as are *καθίζω* and *κάθημαι*. The equivalent *ἐνοικέω* is used in Jer b' but not in Jer a'. The significant difference between the two halves is the confinement of *κατοικέομαι* to Jer a' and the significantly decreased use of *κατοικέω* in Jer b', which is replaced by the renderings *καθίζω* and *κάθημαι*. Due to its common use to denote both 'sitting' and 'dwelling' in Hebrew, **ישב** presents an challenge to the translator to determine which use is in question in each instance. The translator can only choose one equivalent, and none of the Greek equivalents conveys both connotations. He must choose which meaning the text intends, whether 'to sit' or 'to dwell.'

The equivalent *κατοικέω* is the most common rendering of **ישב** in Jer LXX, and is used as such a total of 70 times. The meaning of each case is 'to dwell.' In 58 instances,

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<sup>712</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. **ישב**.

<sup>713</sup> LSJ s.v. *κατοικέω*, *ἐνοικέω*, *καθίζω* and *κάθημαι*.

κατοικέω renders a participle form of יָשַׁב,<sup>714</sup> and in twelve instances it renders other forms of the verb.<sup>715</sup>

11:9 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי נִמְצָא-קֶשֶׁר בְּאִישׁ יְהוּדָה וּבִישָׁבִי יְרוּשָׁלַם – καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς με Εὐρέθη σύνδεσμος ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ιουδα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλημ

33(26):15 אֲדָ יָדַעַ תִּדְעוּ כִּי אִם-מִמָּתִים אַתֶּם אֲתִי בִיָּדָם נָקִי אַתֶּם נְתָנִים – ἀλλ' ἢ γνόντες γνώσεσθε ὅτι, εἰ ἀναιρεῖτέ με, αἶμα ἁθῶν δίδοτε ἐφ' ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ

2:6 וְלֹא אָמְרוּ אֵיהּ יְהוָה הַמַּעֲלָה אֶתְנוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם הַמּוֹלִיד אֶתְנוּ בְּמִדְבָּר 6 בְּאֶרֶץ עֲרָבָה וְשׁוּחָה בְּאֶרֶץ צִיָּה וְצִלְמוֹת בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא-עֵבֶר בָּהּ אִישׁ וְלֹא-יִשְׁבַּ שָׁם – καὶ οὐκ εἶπαν τοῦ ἐστὶ κύριος ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ καθοδηγήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν γῇ ἀπειρῶ καὶ ἀβάτῳ, ἐν γῇ ἀνύδρῳ καὶ ἀκάρπῳ, ἐν γῇ, ἐν ᾗ οὐ διώδευσεν ἐν αὐτῇ οὐθὲν καὶ οὐ κατώκησεν ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖ

36(29):5 בְּנוּ בְתִים וְשִׁבוּ וְנִטְעוּ גִּנּוֹת וְאָכְלוּ אֶת-פְּרִיָן 5 – Οἰκοδομήσατε οἴκους καὶ κατοικήσατε καὶ φυτεύσατε παραδείσους καὶ φάγετε τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῶν

The examples 11:9 and 33(26):15 are translations of participles, both functioning as indirect objects in the construct state. These represent the majority of cases of this equivalence, and they generally denote the inhabitants of different locales, mostly Judah and Jerusalem, but also inhabitants of other nations and cities. The expression

<sup>714</sup> Jer LXX 1:14; 4:3-4, 29; 6:12; 8:1, 16; 9:26; 10:17-18; 11:2, 9, 12, 23; 12:4; 13:13(2x); 17:25; 18:11; 19:3, 12; 20:6; 21:6, 13; 22:23; 23:14; 24:8; 25:2, 9; 26:8, 19(2x); 27:3, 21, 34-35, 45; 28:1, 12, 24, 35(2x), 62; 29:2(2x), 9, 21; 31:28; 33:9, 15; 39:32; 41:22; 42:13, 17; 43:31; 45:2; 49:18; 51:1. Jer 27(50):45 likely attests a variant Hebrew reading in comparison to the MT (אֶרֶץ) that is also supported by several Hebrew Mss (BHS). Likewise, 11:23 attests a different reading than the MT (אֲנִשִּׁי), which might simply be a translation error due to the similar ending of יוֹשְׁבֵי. Jer LXX 4:3 contains a rendering of יֹשֵׁב though the MT does not attest the word. The translator most likely added the equivalent accidentally, assuming that the frequent phrase אִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם occurs here in full.

<sup>715</sup> Jer LXX 2:6; 17:6; 25:5; 27:39(2x), 40; 28:43; 36:5, 28; 42:9; 47:9; 50:4. In two verses (1:1 and 51[28]:27) the translator has rendered אֶשֶׁר with κατοικέω, as if he was rendering יֹשֵׁב. It is more likely that these are cases of free rendering than a different *Vorlage*, as the Greek translation is a natural interpretation of the Hebrew phrase. Streane (1896, 27) concludes as much by suggesting that this is "an interpretive (midrashic) insertion."

מַאִין יוֹשֵׁב is also rendered a few times with κατοικέω (26[46]:19, 33[26]:9 and 41[34]:22).<sup>716</sup>

The final two examples (2:6 and 36[29]:5) represent renderings of יֹשֵׁב when it occurs as a verb form other than a participle. These are mainly finite verbs, but a few imperatives and infinitives are also rendered by κατοικέω. The imperatives express YHWH's will for the people to remain in the exile (36[29]:5 and 28) or Gedaliah's will for the Judean refugees to remain in Judah instead of fleeing to Egypt (47[40]:9). The other instances mostly refer to YHWH's threats and judgement to empty the land due to transgression.

The distribution of κατοικέω as the equivalent of יֹשֵׁב is not even between the two parts of Jer LXX. There are 49 cases in Jer a' and 20 cases in Jer b'. This difference is most acute with regard to the renderings of participles. In Jer a', 43 out of 61<sup>717</sup> cases of יֹשֵׁב ptc. are rendered by κατοικέω (70%), while in Jer b', only 15 out of 34 cases are rendered by κατοικέω (44%). The equivalent καθήμαι is equally as common in Jer b' (15x). This may not be explained by the contextual meaning of יֹשֵׁב since only three cases rendered by καθήμαι denote 'to sit' and twelve cases denote 'to dwell'.<sup>718</sup>

Κατοικέομαι is used on ten occasions to render the verb יֹשֵׁב in Jer LXX. In each case, the verb refers to an uninhabitable land or city, the state of which is caused either by destruction or by a harsh environment.

9:11(10) וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַם לְגִלְלִים מְעֹן תַנִּים וְאֶת־עָרֵי יְהוּדָה אֶתֵּן שְׁמָמָה  
מִבְּלִי יוֹשֵׁב – καὶ δώσω τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς μετοικίαν καὶ εἰς  
κατοικητήριον δρακόντων καὶ τὰς πόλεις Ἰουδα εἰς ἀφανισμόν θήσομαι  
παρὰ τὸ μὴ κατοικεῖσθαι

17:6 וְהָיָה כְּעָרֶךָר בְּעָרְבָה וְלֹא יִרְאָה כִּי־יְבֹא טוֹב וְשָׁכֵן חֲרָרִים בְּמִדְבָּר אֶרֶץ  
תִּשָׁב – καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἀγριομυρία ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὐκ ὄψεται

<sup>716</sup> For an analysis of the renderings of the word מַאִין in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 5.9.

<sup>717</sup> These include the cases in 4:3, 11:23 and 27(50):45 that lack the equivalent יֹשֵׁב in the MT. Cf. n. 712 for a discussion of these cases.

<sup>718</sup> For the use of the equivalent καθήμαι, cf. above.

ὅταν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, καὶ κατασκηνώσει ἐν ἀλίμοις, ἐν ἐρήμῳ, ἐν γῇ  
 ἁλμυρᾷ ἣτις οὐ κατοικεῖται

כִּי־כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה עַל־בֵּית מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה גָּלַעַד אֶתְּהָ לִי רֹאשׁ הַלְבָּנוֹן 22:6  
 אִם־לֹא אֲשִׁיטָהּ מִדְּבַר עָרִים לֹא נִוְשְׁבָה – ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος κατὰ τοῦ  
 οἴκου βασιλέως Ιουδα Γαλααδ σύ μοι, ἀρχὴ τοῦ Λιβάνου· ἐὰν μὴ θῶ σε  
 εἰς ἔρημον, πόλεις μὴ κατοικηθησομένας

וְהָיְתָה בְּבֶל לְגִלְיָם מְעוֹן־תַּנְיָן שְׁמָהּ וְיִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב 28(51):37 – καὶ ἔσται  
 Βαβυλῶν εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ οὐ κατοικηθήσεται

The middle / passive κατοικέομαι is used to render יֹשֵׁב when it occurs in four types of grammatical form. The two forms in examples 9:11(10) and 28(51):37 are near identical in meaning, מְבִלִי יוֹשֵׁב in 9:11(10) and מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב<sup>719</sup> in 28(51):37. The former expression is rendered by κατοικέομαι twice (2:15 and 9:11[10]) and the latter three times (4:7, 28[51]:29 and 37). In each of these cases the expression is meant to describe the result of YHWH's wrath against Israel, Judah or Babylon, i.e. desolation resulting in uninhabitable land.

A third form rendered by κατοικέομαι is לֹא תֹשֵׁב, as in example 17:6. This equivalence occurs three times (17:6, 27[50]:13 and 39), and again each case describes a desolate land that is uninhabited. Tov describes these as passive in meaning, although they are active in form.<sup>720</sup> The fourth form of יֹשֵׁב rendered by κατοικέομαι is the *niph'al* form. This equivalence is found twice in Jer LXX (6:8 and 22:6). Both of these occur in the context of YHWH's threat against Judah or Jerusalem, that they will be made into a desolate land without inhabitants.

Each case of κατοικέομαι occurs in Jer a'. Only the instances that render מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב and לֹא תֹשֵׁב have comparable renderings in Jer b', since מְבִלִי יוֹשֵׁב and *niph'al* forms of יֹשֵׁב do not occur in Jer b'. The phrase מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב has an equivalent three times in Jer b', and it is twice rendered by ἀπὸ κατοικούντων (33[26]:9 and 34[41]:22) and once by πόθεν ἔνοικος (31[48]:9). Similarly to their counterparts in Jer a', these contexts describe the desolation of Jerusalem and Moab. The renderings of the negated imperfect

<sup>719</sup> For an analysis of the renderings of the word מֵאֵין in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 5.9.

<sup>720</sup> Tov 1976, 61, esp. n. 78.



forms also occur in the context of desolation. **לֹא יִשָּׁב** in 49(42):13 and **לֹא יִשָּׁב** in 29:19(49:18) and 30:11(49:33) are rendered by subjunctive forms of  $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\zeta\omega$ .

The Greek equivalent  $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\zeta\omega$  renders  $\text{יֹשֵׁב}$  twenty times in Jer LXX. In two cases (39[32]:5 and 49[42]:10 1°)<sup>721</sup> the corresponding Hebrew text is different, but it seems most likely that the translator assumed to be rendering  $\text{יֹשֵׁב}$ . In most cases,  $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\zeta\omega$  renders  $\text{יֹשֵׁב}$  when it is used to denote habitation, but there are several cases in which the meaning is “to sit.”

3:2 – אִיפֹה לֹא שִׁגְלָתָ עַל-דִּרְכִּים יִשְׁבֶּתָּ לָהֶם כַּעֲרָבִי בַמִּדְבָּר – ποῦ οὐκ ἔξεφύρθης; ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκάθισας αὐτοῖς ὥσπει κορώνη ἐρημουμένη

31(48):18 יִשְׁבֵּת בַּת־דִּיבּוֹן בְּצִמָּא יִשְׁבִּי מִכְבוֹד רְדִי – κατάβηθι ἀπὸ δόξης  
καὶ κάθισον ἐν ὑγρασίᾳ, καθήμενὴ ἐκτρίβεται

39(32):37 הִנְנִי מִקְבָּצִים מִכָּל־הָאֲרָצוֹת אֲשֶׁר הִדְחִיתִים שָׁם בְּאֶפְי וּבִחְמִיתִי וּבְחֶטְאֵיכֶם לְבָרְכָם – Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ συνάγω αὐτοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς γῆς, οὗ διέσπειρα αὐτοὺς ἔχει ἐν ὄργῃ μου καὶ θυμῷ μου καὶ παροξυσμῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ἐπιστρέψω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καὶ καθιῶ αὐτοὺς πεποιθότας

45(38):28 יִשָּׁב יִרְמְיָהוּ בְּחֶצֶר הַמָּטָרָה עַד־יוֹם אֲשֶׁר־נִלְכְּדָה יְרוּשָׁלַם – καὶ ἐκάθισεν Ἰερεμίας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς φυλακῆς ἕως χρόνου οὗ συνελήμφθη Ἰερουσαλημ

וְאִם-אֲמַרְיִם אַתֶּם לֹא תֵשֵׁב בְּאֶרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְבִלְתִּי שְׂמֹעַ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה 49(42):13  
 – καὶ εἰ λέγετε ὑμεῖς Οὐ μὴ καθίσωμεν ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸ  
 μὴ ἀκοῦσαι φωνῆς κυρίου

<sup>721</sup> In 49(42):10, the translator clearly understood the infinitive absolute שׁוּב to derive from יָשׁוּב. It is possible that his *Vorlage* lacked the medial vowel letter ו. The textual differences in 39(32):5 are more complex. The LXX equivalent ἀθιεύει stands in the place of the Hebrew יְהִיֶּה. The MT attests a plus after this equivalency that continues to the following verse עֲד־פָּקְדֵי אֹתוֹ נֶאֱמָר יְהוָה כִּי תִלְחֲמוּ אֶת־הַכְּשָׁדִים. A homoioteleuton in the *Vorlage* of the LXX (from יהיו\*) would result in an incomplete sentence at the end of verse 5: וּבָבֶל יִלְדֹּד אֶת־עֲצָקֵיהֶוּ וְשָׁם. This would, in turn, give occasion to complete the sentence with a word like יָשׁוּב or מוֹת, the latter of which is attested by translation in several Greek witnesses (A-106' C'-239-613 and Arab).

Thirteen cases denote habitation,<sup>722</sup> represented by examples 45(38):28 and 49(42):13 and expressed in Hebrew either as *yiqtol* or *wayiqtol* forms, with the exceptions of 39(32):5 and 49(42):10 1° mentioned above. Most of these describe Jeremiah residing in the pit, in the house of the guard or among the refugees. Καθίζω translates ישב with the meaning “to sit,” either literally or figuratively, on six occasions,<sup>723</sup> manifested either by past tense forms or by imperatives, as in examples 3:2 and 31(48):18.<sup>724</sup> The final instance of this equivalence is 39(32):37 in which the *Hiph'il* form וְהִשְׁבַּתְיִם ‘to cause to dwell’ is rendered by the future form καθιῶ, which may be said to represent the causal meaning of the Hebrew term adequately.

Καθίζω occurs three times in Jer a’ and 17 times in Jer b’, each time as a rendering of ישב. Six of these cases render ישב when its meaning is ‘to sit,’ three of which occur in Jer a’ (3:2, 13:18 and 15:17) and three in Jer b’ (31[48]:18, 33[26]:10 and 46[39]:3). The other cases, all in Jer b’, refer to ‘dwelling’ or ‘residing.’ This use of the Greek equivalent does not occur in Jer a’, as Hebrew forms of ישב that mean ‘to dwell’ or ‘to reside’ are rendered either by κατοικέω, κατοικέομαι or καθήμαι.

The equivalent καθήμαι occurs as the rendering of ישב on 24 occasions in various contexts.<sup>725</sup>

21:9 בְּעִיר הַיִּשָּׁב בְּעִיר הַזֹּאת יָמוּת בַּחֶרֶב וּבָרָעַב וּבַדָּבָר – ὁ καθήμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἀποθανεῖται ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ

22:2 וְאַמְרַתְּ שְׁמַע דְּבַר־יְהוָה מִלִּפְּי יְהוָה הַיֹּשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד – καὶ ἐρεῖς Ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου, βασιλεῦ Ἰουδα ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου Δαυιδ

28(51):30 בְּחַדְלוֹ גְבוּרֵי בָבֶל לְהִלָּחֵם יֵשְׁבוּ בְּמִצְדֹת – ἐξέλιπε μαχητῆς Βαβυλῶνος τοῦ πολεμεῖν, καθήσονται ἐκεῖ ἐν περιοχῇ

<sup>722</sup> Jer LXX 29:19; 30:11; 39:5; 44:16; 44:21; 45:13, 28; 46:14; 47:6; 48:17; 49:10(2x) and 13.

<sup>723</sup> Jer LXX 3:2; 13:18; 15:17; 31:18; 33:10 and 46:3.

<sup>724</sup> The form יִשְׁבִּי in 31(48):18 is interpreted by the LXX as the imperative preceded by a conjunction וְשָׁבִי.

<sup>725</sup> Jer LXX 8:14; 13:13; 15:17; 17:25; 21:9; 22:2, 4, 30; 28:30; 30:8-9; 31:18-19, 43; 32:15-16; 43:12, 22, 30; 47:10; 51:1, 13, 15 and 26.

31(48):43 מִאֲבָב יוֹשֵׁב עַל־דָּךְ פֶּחַד וְפֶחַח וְפָחַד – παγὶς καὶ φόβος  
καὶ βόθυνος ἐπὶ σοί, καθήμενος Μωαβ

43(36):22 הַמֶּלֶךְ יוֹשֵׁב בֵּית הַחֶרֶף בַּחֲדָשׁ הִתְשִׁיעַ וְאֶת־הָאֶחָד לִפְנָיו  
מִבְּעֶרֶת – καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάθητο ἐν οἴκῳ χειμερινῷ, καὶ ἐσχάρα πυρὸς  
κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ

*Καθήμεναι* is the rendering of finite verbs only twice (15:17 and 28[51]:30), and the meaning of the verbs is either 'to dwell,' as in example 28(51):30, or 'to sit' (15:17). In all other instances, *καθήμεναι* renders participle forms of **יָשַׁב** that function in three types of grammatical contexts. The first of these types is when the participle stands as the main verb of a clause, as in example 43(36):22. Such types are rendered four times by *καθήμεναι* (8:14; 43[36]:12, 22 and 47[40]:10), and they all denote sitting. The second type, when the participle is in the construct state as in example 31(48):43, is rendered six times by *καθήμεναι*,<sup>726</sup> and each case signifies dwelling. The third type that is rendered by *καθήμεναι* also consists of nominal forms of the participle that function either as the subject or object of a verb (example 21:9) or as a qualifying noun (example 22:2). The meaning of these cases is also divided between 'to sit' and 'to dwell,' and this equivalence is used twelve times in Jer.<sup>727</sup>

*Καθήμεναι* renders **יָשַׁב** nine times in Jer a' and 15 times in Jer b', and it is not used otherwise in the translation. In Jer a', it is employed mostly when **יָשַׁב** denotes 'to sit' (7x), while in Jer b' it is mostly used to render the meaning 'to dwell' (11x). The cases in Jer b' that render **יָשַׁב** in the meaning 'to dwell' are similar to cases in Jer a' that are rendered by *κατοικέω*, and the use of *καθήμεναι* to render such cases in Jer b' should be seen as directly affecting the decreased use of *κατοικέω* as an equivalent in Jer b'.

The use of *καθήμεναι* and *καθίζω* as renderings of **יָשַׁב** expose a significant difference in the translation characters of Jer a' and Jer b'. Where Jer a' is near perfect in distinguishing between cases of **יָשַׁב** that denote 'to sit' and 'to dwell' by employing *καθήμεναι* to render the first and *κατοικέω* to render the second, Jer b' uses *καθήμεναι* and

<sup>726</sup> Jer 30(49):8; 31(48):18, 19, 43; 32:15 and 16(25:29 and 30).

<sup>727</sup> With the meaning 'to sit': 13:13; 17:25; 22:2, 4, 30 and 43(36):30; with the meaning 'to dwell': 21:9; 30:9(49:31); 51(44):1, 13, 15 and 26.

καθίζω to a much greater degree to render cases that denote 'to dwell.' Jer a' attest only two cases in which the meaning 'to dwell' is rendered by καθήμαι or καθίζω. These are Jer 21:9 and 28(51):30 in the above examples. Jer b', on the other hand, employs καθήμαι or καθίζω to render יָשַׁב with the denotation 'to dwell' on 25 occasions.<sup>728</sup> Jer a' is much more meticulous than Jer b' on this matter, and it is debatable whether Jer b' misunderstood his text or whether he intentionally attempts to employ a standard rendering for יָשַׁב. This is discussed further below.

Jer LXX preserves 13 other renderings for יָשַׁב.<sup>729</sup> The meaning of יָשַׁב in these cases is 'to dwell' except for 16:8, where the meaning 'to sit' is rendered by συγκαθίζω, and 45(38):7, where the exceptional rendering (εἰμί) is used: **וְהַמֶּלֶךְ יוֹשֵׁב בְּשַׁעַר** **מִן** **בְּנֵי־מִן** – καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐν τῇ πύλῃ Βενιαμιν. The other eleven cases are variously rendered by the equivalents κατοικίζω (17:25), ἐνοικέω (30[49]:1, 34:9[27:11] and 38[31]:24), οἰκέω (42[35]:7 and 47[40]:10), ἐνοικος (31[48]:9 and 51[44]:2), καθεζομαι (37[30]:18) and κάθισις (29:9[49:8] and 30:8[49:30]). Only one of these is located in Jer a' (17:25).

The renderings of יָשַׁב are distributed between the two halves of Jer LXX as shown in table 21.:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
κατοικέω	49	21	70
κατοικέομαι	10	–	10
καθίζω	3	17	20
καθήμαι	9	15	24
others	2	11	13
Total	73	64	137

Table 21. Renderings of יָשַׁב in Jer LXX.

<sup>728</sup> Καθήμαι in Jer LXX 30:8 and 9(49:30 and 31); 31(48):18, 19, 43; 32:15 and 16(25:29 and 30); 51(44):1, 13, 15 and 26; καθίζω in Jer LXX 29:19; 30:11; 39:5, 37; 44:16; 44:21; 45:13, 28; 46:14; 47:6; 48:17; 49:10(2x) and 13.

<sup>729</sup> In 9:5 and 23:8 the translation understands the Vorlage as יוֹשֵׁב instead of יָשַׁב. These are not counted in the statistics.

The equivalent *κατοικέω* is the most common equivalent in both halves of the translation, but its use is more predominant in Jer a' in which it renders 67% of cases in comparison to just 33% in Jer b'. Other equivalents are used more often in Jer b' than they are in Jer a', especially *καθίζω* and *καθήμαι*. The use of *κατοικέομαι* as the equivalent also presents an acute difference between Jer a' and Jer b'. The expressions rendered by *κατοικέομαι* in Jer a', *יָשַׁב מֵאִן* and negated imperfect forms of *יָשַׁב*, are rendered by other equivalents in Jer b'.

Certain distinctions in the use of the different equivalents arise when different forms of the Hebrew verb are viewed separately. For example, the increased use of *καθήμαι* in Jer b' takes place among the participial forms of *יָשַׁב*. In Jer a', *καθήμαι* is mainly used to render *יָשַׁב* ptc. when it denotes 'to sit' (7 times). In Jer b', however, *καθήμαι* more often renders uses of the participle that denote 'to dwell' (11 times) than those that denote 'to sit' (4 times). In doing so, the reviser applied *καθήμαι* to render forms of *יָשַׁב* that are almost solely rendered by forms of *κατοικέω* in Jer a' (43 out of 49 cases = 88%).<sup>730</sup>

The use of *καθίζω* to render other forms of the verb *יָשַׁב* besides participles increases in Jer b'. In Jer a', each of the three cases in this grammatical category rendered by *καθίζω* mean 'to sit,' but in Jer b' this equivalent is assigned to render nearly half of the cases that mean 'to dwell' (14 out of 31),<sup>731</sup> again a use of the verb that is mainly rendered by *κατοικέω* and *κατοικέομαι* in Jer a'.

The predominant use of *κατοικέω* to render *יָשַׁב* in Jer LXX is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Hebrew verb denotes 'to dwell' in nearly 90% of its occurrences. This is portrayed in the following tables, which present how the different denotations of the verb *יָשַׁב* are rendered. Uses denoting 'to dwell' are presented in table 22., and uses denoting 'to sit' are presented in table 23.:

<sup>730</sup> *Κατοικέω* (43x) and *κατοικέομαι* (6x) are the only equivalents used in Jer a' to render *יָשַׁב* ptc. with the meaning 'to dwell.'

<sup>731</sup> In Jer b, each of the six cases of *יָשַׁב* that is rendered by *κατοικέω* and each of the eight cases rendered by other words all denote the meaning 'to dwell.'

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
κατοικέω	49	21	70
κατοικέομαι	10	–	10
καθίζω	–	14	14
καθήμαι	2	11	13
others	1	10	11
Total	62	56	118

Table 22. Renderings of ישב that denote 'to dwell' in Jer LXX.<sup>732</sup>

The main difference that is evident between Jer a' and Jer b' with regard to uses of ישב that denote 'to dwell' is that the equivalent κατοικέω and its passive form κατοικέομαι are largely replaced by καθίζω, καθήμαι and by other equivalents in Jer b'. Κατοικέω and κατοικέομαι stand as the equivalent in 95% of all cases in Jer a', but only in 38% of cases in Jer b'.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
κατοικέω	–	–	–
κατοικέομαι	–	–	–
καθίζω	3	3	6
καθήμαι	7	4	11
others	1	1	2
Total	11	8	19

Table 23. Renderings of ישב that denote 'to sit' in Jer LXX.

The uses of ישב in the meaning 'to sit' are very similarly rendered in both Jer a' and in Jer b'.

<sup>732</sup> The differences between the expected value and the actual value of the number of occurrences in each half is significantly high for the renderings of ישב that denote 'to dwell,' particularly in Jer b. In Jer b, the expected value for the occurrences of κατοικέω and κατοικέομαι are 38, which is 17 more than the actual value. The expected value of καθίζω and καθήμαι in Jer b, on the other hand is 13, which is amounts to 12 cases less than is the actual value. These statistics indicate that the difference between Jer a and Jer b is very unlikely to have occurred by accident.

The differences between the renderings of **יָשָׁב** in Jer a' and Jer b' constitute a clear change in the translation character of the two sections. This characterization is mainly based on the use of *κατοικέω* and *κατοικέομαι* in Jer a' in contrast to the use of *καθίζω* and *καθήμαι* in Jer b' when **יָשָׁב** is used in the meaning 'to dwell.' The use of *κατοικέω* and *κατοικέομαι* decreases significantly in Jer b'.

In Jer a', *καθήμαι* is used as the main equivalent to render **יָשָׁב** when it means 'to sit,' particularly in rendering the phrase **יָשָׁב עַל כִּסֵּא** 'to sit on (the) throne' (13:13, 17:25, 22:2, 4 and 30). *Καθήμαι* is used only twice in Jer a' when **יָשָׁב** denotes 'to dwell.' In Jer b', on the other hand, *καθήμαι* continues to be used when **יָשָׁב** denotes 'to sit,' but its use has also expanded to cases that mean 'to dwell' (30:8[49:30], 30:9[49:31], 31[48]:18, 19, and 43, 32:15[25:29], 32:16[25:30], 51[44]:1, 13, 15 and 26).

There are two other notable differences. The first, mentioned by Tov,<sup>733</sup> is the lack of the use of *κατοικέομαι* in Jer b' in comparison to ten cases in Jer a'. The second is the use of the equivalent *καθίζω* in Jer b'. It is used to render **יָשָׁב** when it denotes 'to sit' three times in both Jer a' and Jer b'. The difference, however, is that it renders verbal forms of **יָשָׁב** denoting 'to dwell' fourteen times in Jer b' and never in Jer a'. The cases in Jer b' have parallels in Jer a' (e.g. 17:6 and 27[50]:13), but these are rendered by other Greek verbs.

This difference in translation character may well be explained by assuming that it reflects the work of a reviser. Jer a' displays an accurate attempt to differentiate between the different connotations of **יָשָׁב**, rendering the instances denoting 'to dwell' with *κατοικέω* and *κατοικέομαι* and instances denoting 'to sit' with *καθήμαι*. This pattern is broken only in 21:9 and 28(51):30, where *καθήμαι* renders the verb when it signifies 'to dwell.' Jer b' prefers the equivalents *καθίζω* and *καθήμαι* as renderings of **יָשָׁב** regardless of which connotation it assumes. Cases that denote 'to dwell' are rendered 25 times by *καθίζω* or *καθήμαι* compared to 21 cases rendered by *κατοικέω*. It seems unlikely that the reviser simply did not recognize the use of **יָשָׁב** when it denotes 'to

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<sup>733</sup> Tov 1976, 61.

dwel’ since all 21 cases of κατοικέω in Jer b’ do actually render the word as such. It is more likely that the reviser attempts to marginalize the use of κατοικέω in favor of καθίζω or καθήμαι as the standard rendering of בִּישׁ.

### 6.13. לָכַד

Tov appeals to the renderings of לָכַד to argue for a revision in Jer b’.<sup>734</sup> He mentions ἀλίσκομαι as the rendering in Jer a’, with two cases of συλλαμβάνω. The verbs λαμβάνω and συλλαμβάνω are the equivalents used in Jer b’. Tov states that each of the three equivalents are common elsewhere in the LXX. He includes this example in his list of synonymous renditions. The OG translator preferred the equivalent ἀλίσκομαι, and the reviser preferred λαμβάνω. The equivalent συλλαμβάνω, a compound form of λαμβάνω, occurs in both halves.

The Hebrew verb לָכַד is not very multifaceted. It means ‘to catch,’ ‘to seize,’ ‘to capture’ or ‘to ensnare,’ generally referring to the subject using force on the object.<sup>735</sup> It has three different renderings in Jer LXX: ἀλίσκομαι, λαμβάνω and συλλαμβάνω. Ἀλίσκομαι is passive in meaning in comparison to לָכַד, denoting ‘to be captured,’ ‘to be taken’ or ‘to be caught.’ Λαμβάνω is a frequently occurring word whose general meaning is ‘to take,’ but it is used in several different senses. The most common use is physical, meaning ‘to take hold of,’ ‘to seize,’ or ‘to receive,’ but the verb is also used with reference to the emotions, passions and reason. Συλλαμβάνω is used to mean ‘gather together,’ ‘lay on hands’ or ‘seize,’ but it also has more particular uses denoting conception and assistance. In Jer LXX, renderings of the verb לָכַד occur 22 times. It is rendered by ἀλίσκομαι seven times, by λαμβάνω five times, by συλλαμβάνω nine times and by the noun σύλληψις once.

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<sup>734</sup> Tov 1976, 98.

<sup>735</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. לָכַד.



ʿAlīskoмай is the most common of these renderings in Jer aʿ, where it renders seven<sup>736</sup> of the ten occurrences of לָכַד. It occurs only once elsewhere in Jer, in 2:26 as a rendering of מִצָּא.

8:9 הַבִּישׁוּ חֲכָמִים חָתוּ וַיִּלְכְּדוּ הִנֵּה בְּדִבְרֵי־הוָה מֵאֶסּוּ וְחֲכַמְתִּמָּה לָהֶם –  
 ῃσχύνθησαν σοφοὶ καὶ ἐπτοήθησαν καὶ ἔάλωσαν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον κυρίου  
 ἀπεδοκίμασαν· σοφία τίς ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς

28(51):41 אִידִּי נִלְכְּדָה שְׁשִׁי וַתִּתְּפֹשׂ תְּהִלַּת כָּל־הָאָרֶץ אִידִּי הִיתָה לְשִׁמָּה בְּבָל –  
 ῃגוֹיִם – πῶς ἔάλω καὶ ἐθηρεύθη τὸ αὐχμημα πάσης τῆς γῆς· πῶς ἐγένετο  
 Βαβυλῶν εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν

The equivalence לָכַד - ἄλίσκομαι is used six times in the oracle against Babylon (27–28[50–51]). The verb לָכַד is in the *niph'al* form in each of these cases, and the subject is either Babylon itself or its soldiers. The other occurrence is in 8:9, also a *niph'al* form, and the subject is “the wise ones.” ʿAlīskoмай does not occur in Jer bʿ.

The equivalent συλλαμβάνω is a slightly more common rendering of לָכַד than ἄλίσκομαι in Jer as a whole (9 times).<sup>737</sup> This rendering is used in both Jer aʿ and Jer bʿ.

5:26 כִּי־נִמְצְאוּ בְּעַמִּי רְשָׁעִים יִשׁוּר כָּשָׁף יְקוֹשִׁים הִצִּיבוּ מִשְׁחִית אֲנָשִׁים –  
 וַיִּלְכְּדוּ – ὅτι εὐρέθησαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ μου ἄσεβεῖς, καὶ παγίδας ἔστησαν  
 διαφθεῖραι ἄνδρας καὶ συλλαμβάνουσιν

45(38):28 וַיֵּשֶׁב יִרְמְיָהוּ בְּהֶצֶר הַמִּטְרָה עַד־יּוֹם אֲשֶׁר־נִלְכְּדָה יְרוּשָׁלַם – καὶ  
 ἐκάθισεν Ἰερεμίας ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς φυλακῆς ἕως χρόνου οὗ συνελήμφθη  
 Ἰερουσαλημ

39(32):24 הִנֵּה הַסְלָלוֹת בָּאוּ הָעִיר לְלִכְדָּהּ וְהָעִיר נִתְּנָה בְּיַד הַכַּשְׂדִּים –  
 הָעָרִי הַנִּלְכָּדִים – ἰδοὺ ὄχλος ἥκει εἰς τὴν πόλιν συλλαβεῖν αὐτήν, καὶ ἡ  
 πόλις ἐδόθη εἰς χεῖρας Χαλδαίων τῶν πολεμούντων αὐτήν

Συλλαμβάνω is used to render three different forms in which לָכַד appears. The first is the active *qal* form, as in example 5:26. There are three such cases (44[37]:8 and 45[38]:3), and each refers to the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. The second

<sup>736</sup> Jer 8:9; 27(50):2, 9, 24; 28(51):31, 41 and 56.

<sup>737</sup> Jer 5:26; 6:11; 31(48):7, 44; 39(32):24; 44(37):8; 45(38):3 and 28. Jer 41(34):2, discussed below, is also considered among these.

type of form is the passive *niph'al*, of which there are four cases, each of which is rendered by passive forms of συλλαμβάνω. Two of these occur in the oracle against Moab (31[48]:7 and 44) and two refer to the capture of Jerusalem (6:11 and 45[38]:28). The final form of לָכַד that is rendered by συλλαμβάνω is the infinitive, as in example 39(32):24. A further case of συλλαμβάνω occurs in 41(34):2, where the MT lacks an equivalent for the Greek καὶ συλλήμψεται αὐτήν. The same phrase occurs in 45(38):3, where its Hebrew counterpart is וּלְכַדָּהּ, and it is likely that the translation also renders this term in its *Vorlage* in 41(34):2. Two cases of the rendering συλλαμβάνω are in Jer a' (5:26 and 6:11) and seven are in Jer b'.

The equivalent λαμβάνω is the third rendering of לָכַד that is used in Jer LXX. This equivalence does not occur in Jer a'. Λαμβάνω is mainly used to render לָקַח in Jer LXX.

31(48):1 לְמוֹאָב כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא אֶל־נְבוֹ כִּי שִׁדְדָהּ – Τῇ Μωαβ. Οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Οὐαὶ ἐπὶ Ναβαυ, ὅτι ὤλετο· ἐλήμψθη Καριαθαιμ, ἡσχύνθη Αμασαγαβ καὶ Αταθ

39(32):28 לָכֵן כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנְנִי נֹתֵן אֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת בְּיַד הַכַּשְׂדִּים וּבְיַד נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל וּלְכַדָּהּ – διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Δοθεῖσα παραδοθήσεται ἡ πόλις αὕτη εἰς χεῖρας βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ λήμψεται αὐτήν

This equivalence also occurs both when לָכַד is in the *qal* and the *niph'al* forms. The *qal* forms are rendered three times by λαμβάνω (39[32]:3, 28 and 41[34]:22), and the *niph'al* forms are rendered twice (31[48]:1 and 41), both by passive forms of λαμβάνω. The *niph'al* forms both occur in Jer 31(48), the oracle against Moab, referring to the capture of Moab, and the *qal* forms all refer to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar.

The final rendering of לָכַד is the noun σύλληψις. The noun renders an infinitive form of לָכַד, and includes the preposition εἰς as the counterpart of the Hebrew prefix לְ.

18:22 תִּשְׁמַע וְעָקָה מִבְּתִיָּהֶם כִּי־תָבִיא עָלֵיהֶם גְּדוּד פְּתָאִם כִּי־כָרוּ שִׁיחָהּ – γενηθήτω κραυγὴ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις αὐτῶν, לְלַכְדָּנִי וּפָחִים טָמְנוּ לְרַגְלִי

ἐπάξεις ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ληστὰς ἄφνω, ὅτι ἐνεχείρησαν λόγον εἰς σύλλημψίν μου καὶ παγίδας ἔκρυψαν ἐπ’ ἐμέ

This is the only case in which לָכַל refers to the capture of an individual, Jeremiah in this verse, instead of a city or a nation. Σύλλημψις is very infrequent in the LXX and occurs three times in Jer LXX (20:17 and 41[34]:3), once in Hosea (9:11) and once in Job (18:10). It renders derivatives of לָכַל in Jer 18:22 and in Job, forms of הָרָה ‘pregnant’ in Jer 20:17 and Hosea, and שָׁפַת ‘to seize’ in Jer 41(34):3.

The distribution of the renderings of לָכַל are presented in table 24.

	Jer a’	Jer b’	Total
ἀλίσκομαι	7	-	7
συλλαμβάνω	2	7	9
λαμβάνω	-	5	5
σύλλημψις	1	-	1
Total	10	12	22

Table 24. Renderings of לָכַל in Jer LXX.<sup>738</sup>

The main difference between the two halves of the translation is the use of ἀλίσκομαι in Jer a’ and its absence in Jer b’ and the use of λαμβάνω in Jer b’ and its absence in Jer a’. The passive *niph’al* forms that ἀλίσκομαι renders in Jer a’ are all translated by passive forms of συλλαμβάνω (3 times) or by λαμβάνω (twice) in Jer b’. Συλλαμβάνω is only used once (6:11) in Jer a’ to render a *niph’al* form. Most of the *qal* forms of לָכַל occur in Jer b’ (6 out of 8), and they are rendered three times by συλλαμβάνω and three times by λαμβάνω. In Jer a’, the two renderings of the *qal* forms are συλλαμβάνω and σύλλημψις.

The characterization of the renderings of לָכַל between Jer a’ and Jer b’ is distinct. This difference can be narrowed down to the *niph’al* forms of the verb, which are rendered by ἀλίσκομαι in Jer a’ with only one exception, and by συλλαμβάνω or

<sup>738</sup> The expected value of occurrences of the equivalents based on the verb λαμβάνω in Jer b are 5,5, which is significantly lower than the actual occurrences of the equivalents, which is 12. The difference suggests that the difference between Jer a and Jer b is not by accident.

λαμβάνω in Jer b'. However, since there are so few cases of *qal* forms of לָבַד, especially in Jer a', the focus on *niph'al* forms is not as poignant. An overview of all the equivalents of the verb do, however, provide a very similar picture: ἀλίσκομαι is confined to Jer a', and the two equivalents of Jer b', συλλαμβάνω or λαμβάνω, are nearly exclusive to that half of the book. The only exceptions being the two occurrences of συλλαμβάνω in Jer a'.

This example befits the theory of revision in Jer b'. The variation in the OG between ἀλίσκομαι and συλλαμβάνω has been eliminated, and the only equivalents that are used in Jer b' are the related forms συλλαμβάνω or λαμβάνω.

## 6.14. אִבְיָ

The renderings of אִבְיָ are used by both Thackeray and Tov to argue for bisectioning Jer LXX.<sup>739</sup> Thackeray notes that the equivalent προφήτης is used throughout Jer LXX, and that ψευδοπροφήτης is used several times in Jer b', but on one occasion in Jer a'. Tov proposes that the use of ψευδοπροφήτης in Jer b' reflects an exegetical endeavor on the part of the reviser to distinguish, "however inconsistently," between true and false prophets in the text.

Pietersma and Saunders refer to Thackeray and Tov's arguments concerning ψευδοπροφήτης. They propose that the use of ψευδοπροφήτης in Jer b' is well explained by the different orientation of the two halves of Jer LXX, that is, the nature of the contents in Jer LXX 1–32 and 33–52 is different to such an extent that the translator wanted to express this difference through his renderings. They suggest that the translator's guiding principle regarding the choice of equivalent for אִבְיָ is based on Jer 34(28):9, which is similar to Deut 18:22, i.e. that the prophet is a false prophet if the word that he has spoken in YHWH's name has not come to pass. Pietersma and Saunders argue that, from the view point of the book's content, such a judgement can only be made after Jer LXX 33, the point from which the major prose section of the book begins, and from which "the tale of the book" begins anew, since only from this point on may judgement be made on the prophecies of the preceding chapters.<sup>740</sup> In a

<sup>739</sup> Thackeray 1903, 251; Tov 1976, 71–72.

<sup>740</sup> Pietersma and Saunders 2009, 877. For a brief presentation of Pietersma's theory on the duology

later article, Pietersma questions whether *ψευδοπροφήτης* should rather be understood as a translational choice instead of a revisional change since it occurs already in Jer a'. He also argues that the use of *ψευδοπροφήτης* does not increase translational consistency in Jer b' since it is a very rare word in general.<sup>741</sup>

The word *נביא* refers to a 'prophet,' and most often a prophet of YHWH. Prophets of other deities, such as Asherah and Baal, are also denoted by this word as are 'false' prophets who prophecy in the name of YHWH, without any appellation of falsehood.<sup>742</sup> The noun occurs a total of 95 times in Jer.<sup>743</sup>

In the LXX, *προφήτης* 'prophet' is the usual rendering of *נביא* throughout. The equivalent *ψευδοπροφήτης* 'false prophet', the only other rendering of the word in the LXX, found only in Jer and in Zech 13:2, is not used in classical Greek.<sup>744</sup> It appears in Greek literature only after the LXX, and in the works of Philo and Josephus, who are probably dependent on the LXX for this word. It is possibly a neologism created by the translator. The term 'prophet' often occurs in Jer MT without a representation in Jer LXX. Such is the case for 39 instances in the MT.<sup>745</sup> These are most likely the result of later additions in the MT.<sup>746</sup>

The equivalent *προφήτης* occurs 47 times as the rendering of *נביא* in Jer LXX.<sup>747</sup> In one case (23:32), the MT lacks an equivalent for *προφήτης*. There are a few distinct contexts in which this equivalence occurs:

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behind Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.4.3.

<sup>741</sup> Pietersma 2010b, 382–383.

<sup>742</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. *נביא*.

<sup>743</sup> Jer MT 1:5; 2:8, 26, 30; 4:9; 5:13, 31; 6:13; 7:25; 8:1, 10; 13:13; 14:13-15(2x), 18; 18:18; 20:2; 23:9, 11, 13-15(2x), 16, 21, 25-26(2x), 28, 30-31, 33-34, 37; 25:2, 4; 26:5, 7-8, 11, 16; 27:9, 14-16, 18; 28:1, 5(2x)-6, 8-9(3x), 10(2x)-12(2x), 15(2x), 17; 29:1(2x), 8, 15, 19, 29; 32:2, 32; 34:6; 35:15; 36:8, 26; 37:2-3, 6, 13, 19; 38:9-10, 14; 42:2, 4; 43:6; 44:4; 45:1; 46:1, 13; 47:1; 49:34; 50:1 and 51:59.

<sup>744</sup> LSJ s.v. *προφήτης* and *ψευδοπροφήτης*.

<sup>745</sup> Jer MT 8:10; 20:2; 23:9, 15 1°, 37; 25:2; 27:14; 28:5(2x), 6, 9 2°, 10(2x), 11, 12(2x), 15(2x), 17; 29:1 1°, 19, 29; 32:2; 34:6; 36:8, 26; 37:2, 3, 6, 13; 38:9, 10, 14; 42:4; 46:1, 13; 47:1; 49:34 and 50:1.

<sup>746</sup> Tov 1985, 228 and 1997, 161.

<sup>747</sup> Jer LXX 1:5; 2:8, 26, 30; 4:9; 5:13, 31; 7:25; 8:1; 13:13; 14:13-15, 18; 18:18; 23:11, 13-16, 21, 25-26, 28, 30-34; 25:4; 28:59; 33:5; 34:12-13, 15; 35:8-9; 36:15; 39:32; 42:15; 44:19; 49:2; 50:6; 51:4 and 31.

בְּטָרִם אֶצְוֶה בְּבִטֹן יְדַעְתִּי וּבְטָרִם תִּצָּא מִרְחֹם הַקִּדְשִׁיךָ נְבִיא לְגוֹיִם 1:5  
 תִּתֵּן – Πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἐπίσταμαί σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε  
 ἐξελεθεῖν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγίακά σε, προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη τέθεικά σε

51:31(45:1) בְּנִגְרִיהָ אֶל־בָּרוּךְ בְּנִגְרִיהָ הַנְּבִיאַ – Ὁ λόγος,  
 δὲν ἐλάλησεν Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης πρὸς Βαρουχ υἱὸν Νηρίου

35(28):8 וְלִפְנֵי וְלִפְנֵי מִן־הָעוֹלָם – Οἱ προφῆται οἱ  
 γεγονότες πρότεροί μου καὶ πρότεροι ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος

7:25 וְאֶשְׁלַח אֲלֵיכֶם אֶת־פְּלִעְבָּדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים יוֹם הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשִׁלַּח – καὶ  
 ἐξαπέστειλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντας τοὺς δούλους μου τοὺς προφήτας ἡμέρας  
 καὶ ὄρθρου καὶ ἀπέστειλα

23:11 כִּי־גַם־נְבִיאַ גַּם־כָּהֵן חָנְפוּ גַם־בְּבִיתִי מִצָּאתַי רָעַתָּם נְאֻם־יְהוָה – ὅτι  
 ἱερεὺς καὶ προφήτης ἐμολύνθησαν, καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου εἶδον πονηρίας  
 αὐτῶν

In Jeremiah's call narrative, YHWH directly calls Jeremiah a prophet (1:5), and on four occasions he is termed "the prophet" in narrative contexts (28[51]:59, 49[42]:2, 50[43]:6 and 51:31[45:1]).<sup>748</sup> A third context refers to former prophets (35[28]:8 and 9[2x]), which is closely related to the deuteronomistic phrase עבדי הנביאים "my servants the prophets"<sup>749</sup> that is also rendered by προφήτης (7:25, 25:4, 33[26]:5, 42[35]:15 and 51[44]:4). Finally, προφήτης renders נביא when the term clearly denotes prophets that Jeremiah is opposing, as in example 23:11. This use accounts for 34 cases of the equivalence.<sup>750</sup>

The equivalence προφήτης for נביא occurs 32 times in Jer a'. Of these, 28 refer to prophets that oppose Jeremiah, one refers to Jeremiah by the title "the prophet" (28[51]:59), two refer to former prophets (7:25 and 25:4) and one is the case in which YHWH calls Jeremiah a prophet (1:5). In Jer b' there are 15 cases of this equivalence. Six of these refer to prophets who oppose Jeremiah, three refer to Jeremiah by the title

<sup>748</sup> Jer MT attests Jeremiah's title "the prophet" a total of 27 times (Tov 1985, 228). The difference in its use is especially acute in chapters 35–36(28–29). Cf. also Giesebrecht 1907, xxvii; and Tov 1997, 161.

<sup>749</sup> Bright 1951, 32; Stulman 1986, 33 and 91.

<sup>750</sup> Jer LXX 2:8, 26, 30; 4:9; 5:13, 31; 8:1; 13:13; 14:13-15(2x), 18; 18:18; 23:11, 13-16, 21, 25-26, 28, 30-34; 34:12-13, 15; 36:15; 39:32; 44:19. All cases of נביא in the HB that refer to false prophets are listed in BDB s.v. נביא.

“the prophet” (49[42]:2, 50[43]:6 and 51:31[45:1]) and six refer to former prophets (35[28]:8, 9[2x]; 33[26]:5, 42[35]:15 and 51[44]:4).

In Jer LXX, the equivalent ψευδοπροφήτης is found mainly in Jer b’, where it occurs eight times. It is used only once in Jer a’.<sup>751</sup>

6:13 כִּי מִקְטָנִם וְעַד־גְּדֹלָם כֻּלּוֹ בּוֹצֵעַ בָּצַע וּמִנְבִּיאַ וְעַד־כֹּהֵן כֻּלּוֹ עֹשֶׂה שָׁקֶר –  
 ὅτι ἀπὸ μικροῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἕως μεγάλου πάντες συνετελέσαντο ἄνομα,  
 ἀπὸ ἱερέως καὶ ἕως ψευδοπροφήτου πάντες ἐποίησαν ψευδῆ

33(26):11 וַיֹּאמְרוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַנְּבִיאִים אֶל־הַשָּׂרִים וְאֶל־כָּל־הָעָם – καὶ εἶπαν οἱ  
 ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ ψευδοπροφήται πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ

35(28):1 וַיְהִי בַשָּׁנָה הַהִיא בְּרֹאשִׁית מַמְלַכָת צִדְקִיָּה מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה בַּשָּׁנָה  
 אֶל־הַנְּבִיאַ בְּרַבְעִית בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַחֲמִישִׁי אָמַר אֵלִי הַנָּנְיָה בֶן־עֶזְרָא הַנְּבִיאַ – Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν  
 τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει Σεδεκία βασιλέως Ἰουδα ἐν μηνὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ εἶπέ μοι  
 Ἀνανίας υἱὸς Ἀζωρ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης

In each occurrence the term refers to prophets that Jeremiah opposes. The translation adds an element of exegesis, since the Hebrew text does not explicitly call these prophets ‘false.’ Ψευδοπροφήτης is used both as a designation of these prophets (e.g. 6:13 and 33[26]:11) and as a title (35[28]:1). One of these cases, 34:7(27:9), has the variant reading προφήτης in multiple manuscripts, and προφήτης is attested as a hexaplaric reading for four of these (33[26]:7, 8, 11 and 35[28]:1).

The two equivalents are distributed throughout Jer LXX in the following manner:

	Jer a’	Jer b’	Total
προφήτης	32	15	47
ψευδοπροφήτης	1	8	9
Total	33	23	56

Table 25. Renderings of נְבִיא in Jer LXX.

The use of ψευδοπροφήτης as the equivalent for נְבִיא increases significantly in Jer b’.

This cannot be accounted for by the context of the word, since נְבִיא in reference to prophets that Jeremiah opposes is rendered in similar contexts by προφήτης 28 times in

<sup>751</sup> Jer a 6:13; Jer b 33(26):7, 8, 11, 16; 34:7(27:9); 35(28):1, 36(29):1 and 8.

Jer a', particularly in capters 14 and 23. Προφήτης is the rendering in only six similar cases in Jer b'. The renderings in Jer a' may be described as following the Hebrew and not reflecting judgement on the prophets through the translation of the term נְבִיא.

However, the one case that is rendered ψευδοπροφήτης in Jer a' (6:13) was possibly too straightforward for the translator: וּמִנְבִּיאִים וְעַד-כֹּהֵן כָּל־עָשָׂה שֶׁקֶר "and from prophet to priest, everyone deals falsely." Designating a character as a prophet who is explicitly said to act wrongfully might have been too problematic for the translator, leading him to employ the term ψευδοπροφήτης. This might even derive from the translation of שקר at the end of the verse: ἀπὸ ἱερέως καὶ ἕως ψευδοπροφήτου πάντες ἐποίησαν ψευδῆ.

The character of Jer b' is different from Jer a'. Eight of 14 cases of נְבִיא that refer to opponents of Jeremiah are rendered by ψευδοπροφήτης. The use of this equivalent in Jer b' was possibly cued from the rendering in 6:13. Undoubtedly, there is a tendency to designate the false prophets more markedly in Jer b', but not as efficiently as the design described by Pietersma. If the translator intentionally waited until the narrative sections in the latter half of the book to use this equivalent because "pseudo-prophets should not be shown to exist until chapter 33," one ought to expect the equivalent to be applied in every possible case. Six occurrences of נְבִיא that refer to Jeremiah's opponent, however, are rendered by προφήτης (Jer LXX 34:12-13, 15; 36:15; 39:32; 44:19). Particularly in chapters 34 and 36, where the same prophets are already designated as ψευδοπροφήτης, the variation between the two equivalents does not display the intentionality expressed by Pietersma's proposal. Designating the turning point at Jer LXX 33 is also superficial with regard to the renderings of נְבִיא since the term does not occur in the earlier chapters of Jer b'.

The OG translator follows the general convention in the LXX to render the word נְבִיא by the simple equivalent προφήτης, but the reviser wanted to clearly express which prophet is in question. The rare occurrence of the word ψευδοπροφήτης in the LXX alone would be enough to argue for different characterizations of Jer a' and Jer b', but the exegetical distinction that its use creates within Jer b' supports this characterization as well. The distinct use of ψευδοπροφήτης in chapters 33–36 as a clear differentiator between the prophet Jeremiah and his opponents is a lucid attempt to distinguish between the different contexts in which the term נְבִיא occurs in the Hebrew



text. Consistency cannot be included in this characterization of the revision, as would be expected from an early revision, and again the reviser's choice of equivalent does not match the equivalent preferred by the later translators as attested in the hexaplaric readings.

## 6.15. נוה

The translations of נוה in Jer LXX are referred to by both Thackeray and Tov.<sup>752</sup>

Thackeray lists the difference as νομή in Jer a' and τόπος, κατάλυμα and κατάλυσις in Jer b'. Tov analyses the renderings in more detail, proposing that, in addition to using different equivalents, the reviser of Jer b' differentiated between different uses of the word נוה. The equivalent τόπος is used when נוה means 'habitation,' and κατάλυμα and κατάλυσις are used when נוה means 'abode' or 'pasture.' Soderlund agrees with Tov and Thackeray that the distribution of the renderings of נוה are best explained by the involvement of different hands in the text, but cautions that the amount of data does not allow to differentiate between two translators or a reviser.<sup>753</sup>

Pietersma<sup>754</sup> considers the variation between the equivalents in the two halves of the book to be caused by interpretive contextual variation which differentiates between the different notions of the word נוה. In particular, he mentions the notions of "feeding," "respite" and "location." He proposes that these renderings display inconsistency not only between the two halves of the book but also within each half.<sup>755</sup>

The noun נוה can have two different meanings which are reflected as different vocalizations. נוֹה refers to a 'pasture' or 'meadow,' while נוּה means 'abode' or

<sup>752</sup> Thackeray, 1903, 249; Tov 1976, 73–74.

<sup>753</sup> Soderlund 1985, 178–179.

<sup>754</sup> Pietersma 2009a, 6.

<sup>755</sup> Pietersma appeals to the occurrence of τόπος that is attested in the majority of Mss in 27(50):44. This reading, however, is not adopted by Ziegler in his critical text since it is not attested in B–S–106' C'–613 Bo Aeth. Furthermore, Ziegler suggests that it is a harmonization with the translation in 29:20(49:19). Ziegler's conclusion is adopted here (cf. n. 758).

'habitation.' The two words are not so common in the HB, and there are a few cases in which the meaning of each has been confused with the other.<sup>756</sup>

There are a few different Greek equivalents of נֹוה in Jer LXX. These are νομή, meaning 'pasture,' 'feeding' or 'grazing,' τόπος, meaning 'place,' and the word pair κατάλυσις and κατάλυμα, which mean a 'lodging place' for either humans or animals. The noun τρίβος occurs once as the rendering as well, and it means 'track' or 'path.'<sup>757</sup> In Jer LXX, the equivalent νομή is confined to Jer a', together with the one case of τρίβος. The other equivalents are all in Jer b'.<sup>758</sup>

The equivalent νομή is used six times in Jer LXX, and each case is located in Jer a'.

10:25 שְׂפָךְ חֶמֶתְךָ עַל־הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדְעוּךָ וְעַל מִשְׁפַּחֹת אֲשֶׁר בְּשִׁמְךָ לֹא  
קָרְאוּ בִּי־אֲכָלוּ אֶת־יַעֲקֹב וְאֲכָלוּ וַיִּכְלְהוּ וְאֶת־נֹוהוּ הַשָּׂמוּ  
θυμόν σου ἐπὶ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα σε καὶ ἐπὶ γενεὰς αἱ τὸ ὄνομά σου οὐκ  
ἐπεκατέσταντο, ὅτι κατέφαγον τὸν Ἰακωβ καὶ ἐξανάλωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν  
νομήν αὐτοῦ ἠρήμωσαν

23:10 בִּי מְנַאֲפִים מְלֵאָה הָאָרֶץ בִּי־מִפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵהָ אֲבָלָהּ הָאָרֶץ יִבְשׁוּ נְאוֹתַי  
מִדְבָּר – ὅτι ἀπὸ προσώπου τούτων ἐπένθησεν ἡ γῆ, ἐξηράνθησεν αἱ νομαὶ  
τῆς ἐρήμου

27(50):19 וַיִּשְׁבְּבֵתִי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־נֹוהוּ וְרָעָה הַכֶּרְמֶל וְהַבָּשָׂן וּבְהֵר אֶפְרַיִם  
וַיִּשְׁוּ וַיִּהְיֶה עַד תִּשְׁבַּע נֶפֶשׁ – καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω τὸν Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὴν νομήν  
αὐτοῦ, καὶ νεμήσεται ἐν τῷ Καρμήλῳ καὶ ἐν ὄρει Εφραιμ καὶ ἐν τῷ  
Γαλααδ, καὶ πλησθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ

Five of these cases (10:25, 23:3, 27[50]:7, 19 and 45) have been vocalized as deriving from נֹוה 'abode' or 'habitation.' In three of them (23:3, 27[50]:19 and 45), however, the context would seem to allow the interpretation of the terms as deriving from נֹוה 'pasture' / 'meadow' instead, since the metaphor of a nation, either Israel or Babylon, as a flock of sheep is evoked in these three passages. Jer 27(50):19 in particular describes

<sup>756</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. נֹוה I and נֹוה I.

<sup>757</sup> LSJ s.v. νομή, τόπος, κατάλυσις, κατάλυμα and τρίβος.

<sup>758</sup> The majority text attests one case of τόπος in Jer a in verse 27(50):44. This reading is not adopted here, since Ziegler convincingly shows that this reading is likely a later harmonization with 29:20(49:19). The witnesses that do not attest τόπος are B-S-106' C'-613 Bo and Aeth.

Israel as 'feeding' on Carmel immediately after using the word נֹה. The one case of 23:10 explicitly indicates that a pasture is in question, as it refers to the pastures (נְאוֹת) of the wilderness. The translations of these six occurrences of נֹה do not make any distinction between the meanings of the words, and they suggest that the translator understood them all as deriving from נֹה 'pasture' / 'meadow'.

The equivalent τόπος is used only twice in the translation. This is a very rare equivalence in the LXX, occurring elsewhere only once in the Ps 78(79):7, which happens to be almost identical to the case of נֹה in 10:25.

29:20(49:19) הִנֵּה בְּאַרְיֵה יַעֲלֶה מִגֵּאוֹן הַיַּרְדֵּן אֶל־נֹה אֵיתָן בִּי־אַרְגִּיעָה – ἰδοὺ ὥσπερ λέων ἀναβήσεται ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς τόπον Αἰθαμ, ὅτι ταχὺ ἐκδιώξω αὐτοὺς ἀπ' αὐτῆς

32:16(25:30) וְאַתָּה תִּנְבֵּא אֲלֵיהֶם אֵת כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְאַמְרַתְּ אֲלֵיהֶם יְהוָה מִמָּרוֹם יִשְׁאָג וּמִמַּעוֹן קִדְשׁוֹ יִתֵּן קוֹל׃ שָׁאֵג יְשָׁאֵג עַל־נֹהוּ הַיַּרְדֵּן בְּדַרְכִּים יִהְיֶה הָאָרֶץ – καὶ σὺ προφητεύσεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους τούτους καὶ ἐρεῖς Κύριος ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ χρηματιεῖ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ· λόγον χρηματιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ αἰδαδ ὥσπερ τρυγῶντες ἀποκριθήσονται· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καθήμενους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν

The meaning in 29:20(49:19) refers to a pasture, but the translator has not understood the phrase נֹה אֵיתָן “perennial pasture.” He has transliterated the second word and rendered נֹה as τόπος. This verse has a parallel passage in Jer 27(50):44, but Ziegler has chosen to leave τόπος out of the main text based on the reading found in the B text against the majority reading τοπον.<sup>759</sup> This is a reasonable solution as there seems to be no easy explanation for its omission from the text. Also, the addition of the rare equivalent τόπος strongly suggests harmonization with the parallel passage 29:20(49:19).

Curiously, the second use of this equivalence also occurs in conjunction with a transliteration. In this case it is the term הִידָד 'shout,' rendered as αἰδαδ. These two cases suggest that the use of the rare equivalent has been triggered by the translator's difficulty in interpreting the Hebrew text. He understood אֵיתָן and הִידָד to be toponyms,

<sup>759</sup> Om τοπον B-S-106' C'-613 Bo Aeth. For further discussion on this case, cf. n. 756.

and naturally being unfamiliar place names, he could not be sure if they were pastures or not, so he settled with calling them τόπος.

The equivalents κατάλυσις and κατάλυμα occur a total of three times as renderings of נוה.

29:21(49:20) לְכֹן שָׁמְעוּ עֲצַת־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר יָעַץ אֶל־אֲדָם וּמַחֲשָׁבוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר יָשָׁב אֶל־יִשְׁבִּי תִימֹן אֶם־לֹא יִסְתָּבֹם צָעִירִי הַצֹּאן אֶם־לֹא יִשִּׁים עָלֶיהֶם נוֹהִם – διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσατε βουλὴν κυρίου, ἣν ἐβουλεύσατο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν, καὶ λογισμὸν αὐτοῦ, ὃν ἐλογίσατο ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Θαιμαν Ἐὰν μὴ συμψησθῶσι τὰ ἐλάχιστα τῶν προβάτων, ἐὰν μὴ ἀβατωθῇ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν κατάλυσις αὐτῶν

32:23(25:37) וַיְנַדְמוּ נְאֻתַת הַשָּׁלוֹם מִפְּנֵי חֲרוֹן אַף־יְהוָה – καὶ παύσεται τὰ καταλύματα τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ προσώπου ὀργῆς θυμοῦ μου

40(33):12 כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עוֹד יִהְיֶה בְּמִקְוֵים הָזֶה הַחֶרֶב מֵאִין־אָדָם זָן כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עוֹד יִהְיֶה בְּמִקְוֵים הָזֶה הַחֶרֶב מֵאִין־אָדָם זָן נוֹה רָעִים מְרִבְצִים זָן – οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ἐτι ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ τῷ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτοῦ καταλύματα ποιμένων κοιταζόντων πρόβατα

The context of each of these three cases suggests that the meaning of נוה could very well be 'pasture,' since sheep and shepherds are mentioned in near proximity in each case.<sup>760</sup> However, the rendering implies that the translator understands these words to mean 'abode' or 'habitation,' which should be considered as the meaning of the Hebrew in these passages.

The two remaining equivalents of נוה are ἐπί (38[31]:23) and τρίβος (9:10[9]), both of which are unusual as renderings of נוה. Both are likely the result of the translator's difficulty in understanding the meaning of נוה.<sup>761</sup>

The distribution of the various renderings of נוה in Jer LXX are presented in table 26.

<sup>760</sup> Regarding 32:23(25:37), the words 'sheep' and 'pasture' occur in the previous verse.

<sup>761</sup> Streane (1896, 116) asserts that the other renderings of the term also convey the difficulty of the translator in comprehending its meaning. The translator does, however, clearly understand that one use of the word means 'abode' or 'habitation.'

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
νομή	6	-	6
τόπος	-	2	2
κατάλυσις and κατάλυμα	-	3	3
others	1	1	2

Table 26. Renderings of נוה in Jer LXX.

Jer a' and Jer b' employ different equivalents to render the Hebrew term נוה. In Jer a', the rendering is mainly νομή. In Jer b', it is τόπος and κατάλυσις or κατάλυμα. The equivalents of each section only appear in their respective halves. In Jer a', the equivalent νομή is used to render both the meanings 'abode' and 'pasture,' the first occurring five times and the latter occurring only once. In Jer b', the two uses of the equivalent τόπος derive from the translator's difficulty in understanding the text, which is reflected in the transliteration of the subsequent terms. The three cases of κατάλυσις and κατάλυμα denote 'abode' or 'habitation,' and are clearly distinguished from the use of νομή in a similar context in Jer a'. Κατάλυμα is likewise used as the equivalent of נוה in Ex 15:13, which might have been an exemplar for the use of the same equivalent in Jer b'.

The character of the renderings of נוה in Jer a' and Jer b' are to be considered different. The two cases that are rendered by τόπος display difficulties that the translator experienced with the Hebrew text and are therefore valuable for the characterization of Jer b'. It is impossible to determine, however, whether the outcome of these difficulties are the product of the OG translator or of the later reviser since there are so few comparable cases. The distinction between νομή on the one hand and κατάλυσις and κατάλυμα on the other forms the essence of the difference. The two halves interpret the Hebrew נוה in two different ways, even though the contexts in both halves would allow the second interpretation as well. Jer a' renders each case with νομή, as if each case signified 'pasture,' though most cases rather indicate the meaning 'habitation,' and Jer b' renders each case with κατάλυσις or κατάλυμα, as if they signified 'lodging place.'

## 6.16. נחנ

Thackeray cites the translations of the *niph'al* form of נחנ among his evidence for two translators in Jer LXX.<sup>762</sup> He presents μετανοέω as the rendering in Jer a' and παύομαι and ἀναπαύομαι as the renderings in Jer b'. Martin suggests that the translator of Jer b' uses παύομαι and ἀναπαύομαι to avoid anthropomorphism in relation to God, in this case by not ascribing repentance to God.<sup>763</sup> Tov cites נחנ and its translations in support of his reviser theory as well, but does not specify any particular form of the verb.<sup>764</sup> He does suggest that the reviser mistook the verb for נחנ, which is elsewhere rendered by παύομαι or ἀναπαύομαι. Tov also proposes that παύομαι and ἀναπαύομαι are “Lieblingswörter” of the reviser, as they render a number of other Hebrew words in Jer b'. Jer a' attests παύομαι only once 28(51):63.<sup>765</sup>

The Hebrew verb נחנ occurs both in the *niph'al* and the *pi'el* stems, and both forms appear quite evenly within the HB as a whole (52 cases in *pi'el* and 47 cases in *niph'al*). Jer, on the other hand, attests more cases of the *niph'al* stem (12) than of the *pi'el* stem (2).<sup>766</sup> נחנ carries the meaning ‘to comfort.’ The active meaning is expressed in *pi'el* and the passive meaning by *niph'al*. The *pi'el* forms found in the HB predominantly maintain this meaning, and seldom are used otherwise, but the *niph'al* forms attest to other uses as well. These consist of (1) to ‘regret,’ ‘repent (of)’ and ‘relent;’ (2) ‘have compassion’ and (3) ‘to gain satisfaction.’<sup>767</sup>

There are six different Greek equivalents of נחנ in Jer LXX. These are, in order of frequency, μετανοέω (5 times), παύομαι (4 times), and μεταμέλομαι, ἀναπαύομαι, ἀνίημι and παράκλησις (once each). There is a significant disparity between the

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<sup>762</sup> Thackeray 1903, 251.

<sup>763</sup> Martin 1957, 176–177.

<sup>764</sup> Tov 1976, 51.

<sup>765</sup> Tov 1976, 51 n. 42.

<sup>766</sup> *Niph'al* forms in 4:28; 8:6; 15:6; 18:8, 10; 20:16; 33(26):3, 13, 19; 38(31):15, 19, and 49(42):10. *Pi'el* forms in 16:7 and 38(31):13.

<sup>767</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. נחנ.

meanings of the two main equivalents, and this disparity is amplified by the fact that they are divided along the lines of Jer a' and Jer b'. The meaning of μετανοέω centers around the notion of post perception, that is, to discern the significance of an event only after it occurs. In simple terms, this results in a change of mind or purpose, and therefore should be understood as 'regret' or 'repent.' The etymology and meaning of μεταμέλομαι is similar. Παύομαι, on the other hand, signifies pausation, meaning 'to cease,' 'to stop' or even the causal 'to make an end.' The related ἀναπαύομαι seems to have an even stronger sense of causation to it. Ἀνίημι means 'to let loose' or 'to allow,' and παράκλησις signifies a 'summons,' an 'exhortation' or 'consolation,' and is related to another common rendering of כַּנַּח in the LXX, which is the verb παρακαλέω.<sup>768</sup>

For some of the translators of the LXX, and especially for its later revisers, the question whether YHWH can be said to regret his actions and decisions posed a theological problem. Aejmelaeus has aptly described this problem and notes that the translators of the Pentateuch and later revisers in the *kaige* tradition show a more acute sensitivity towards this issue than the translators of the later books of the LXX.<sup>769</sup> In the flood story in Gen 6 and in the episode of the Golden Calf, in Ex 32, the renderings of כַּנַּח *niph'al* are construed so as to avoid the notion that God regrets his decisions. The renderings in Gen 6:6 and 7 are ἐνθυμέομαι 'to think / ponder' and θυμόω 'to be angry,' and the renderings in Ex 32:12 and 14 are ἱλεως 'merciful' and ἰλάσκομαι 'to be merciful.' These renderings reflect emotions instead of regret. Likewise the *Nahal Hever* MP scroll clearly indicates that the revisers of the LXX changed the OG equivalent μετανοέω to παρακαλέομαι 'to be comforted,'<sup>770</sup> therefore also avoiding the notion of YHWH's regret.

In Jer 18, the question of YHWH's regret comes to the fore, as the narrative elucidates that when a nation or a people change their conduct, YHWH can also change his judgement concerning them, whether for better or for worse. As is the case in the

<sup>768</sup> LSJ s.v. μετανοέω, παύομαι, μεταμέλομαι, ἀναπαύομαι, ἀνίημι and παράκλησις.

<sup>769</sup> Aejmelaeus 2017a, 43–53.

<sup>770</sup> Though LSJ includes 'to relent' and 'to regret' as a meaning of παρακαλέομαι, all the references are to the LXX, and therefore should not be considered a valid reference for the use of this term with this meaning. Greek equivalents do not assume the meaning of their Hebrew counterparts. Παρακαλέομαι is not used with the meaning 'to regret' in other Greek literature.

translations of later books of the LXX, Jer a' uses μετανοέω as the general rendering of נחם (four times). Additional renderings are μεταμέλομαι 'repent' / 'regret', ἀνίημι 'forgive' / 'leave' and παράκλησις once each.<sup>771</sup> In Jer b', the renderings are παύομαι four times, ἀναπαύομαι once and μετανοέω once.<sup>772</sup>

The *niph'al* forms of the verb all occur in two different contexts. The first and most common is when YHWH is the subject of the verb (9 cases).<sup>773</sup> Here are some examples:

4:28 על־זאת תֵּאָבֵל הָאָרֶץ וְקִדְרוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם מִמֶּעַל עַל כִּי־דִבַּרְתִּי וְמַתִּי וְלֹא  
נחםתי וְלֹא־אָשׁוּב מִמְּנָה – ἐπὶ τούτοις πενθείτω ἡ γῆ, καὶ συσκοτασάτω ὁ  
οὐρανὸς ἄνωθεν, διότι ἐλάλησα καὶ οὐ μετανόησω, ὥρμησα καὶ οὐκ  
ἀποστρέψω ἀπ' αὐτῆς

15:6 אֲתָ נִשְׁתַּתְּ אֶתִּי נְאֻם־יְהוָה אַחֲזֹר אֶחָד תִּלְכִּי וְאַט אֶת־יָדִי עָלֶיךָ וְאַחֲחִיתִךָ  
נחםתי הַנִּחֲמִי – σὺ ἀπεστράφης με, λέγει κύριος, ὅπισω πορεύσῃ, καὶ  
ἐκτενῶ τὴν χεῖρά μου καὶ διαφθερῶ σε, καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνήσω αὐτούς

33(26):3 אוֹלִי יִשְׁמְעוּ וַיָּשׁוּבוּ אִישׁ מִדְּרָכּוֹ הָרָעָה וְנִחֲמִי אֶל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר  
הֵם מַעֲלִיָּהֶם – ἴσως ἀκούσονται καὶ  
ἀποστραφήσονται ἕκαστος ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, καὶ παύσομαι  
ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ λογιζομαι τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἕνεκεν τῶν  
πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτῶν

49(42):10 אִם־שׁוֹב תֵּשְׁבוּ בָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וּבְנִיתִי אֶתְכֶם וְלֹא אֶהְרֵם וְנִשְׁתַּתְּי  
אִם־נחםתי וְלֹא אֶתְּוֹשׁ כִּי נחםתי אֶל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי לָכֶם – Ἐὰν καθίσαντες  
καθίσητε ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, οἰκοδομήσω ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐ μὴ καθελῶ καὶ  
φυτεύσω ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκτίλω· ὅτι ἀναπέπαυμαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς, οἷς  
ἐποίησα ὑμῖν

In this context, נחם is used to mean 'relent' or 'to change (one's) mind,' with reference to YHWH relenting from punishment or changing his mind regarding his interaction with human beings. These cases of נחם are rendered by five different verbs throughout Jer LXX. The most common is μετανοέω (3x), which renders נחם both in a negated

<sup>771</sup> Μετανοέω in Jer 4:28; 8:6; 18:8 and 10; μεταμέλομαι in 20:16; ἀνίημι in 15:6; and παράκλησις in 16:7.

<sup>772</sup> Παύομαι in 33(26):3, 13, 19; and 38(31):15; ἀναπαύομαι in 49(42):10; and μετανοέω in 38(31):19.

<sup>773</sup> Jer a 4:28; 15:6; 18:8, 10; 20:16; Jer b 33(26):3, 13, 19; and 49(42):10.



indicative clause (4:28 above) and in conditional clauses (18:8 and 10). The equivalent *μεταμέλομαι* is used similarly in a negated indicative clause (20:16). The equivalent *ἀνιήμι* (15:6) is unusual, and it might derive from a different vocalization of the Hebrew, such as **הִנָּחֵם** or **הִנָּחֵם**,<sup>774</sup> *hiph'il* forms of the verb **נָחַם**. Though this is a possible solution, this should also be considered a possible example of avoiding the theological problem or YHWH's regret, as **נָלְאִיתִי הִנָּחֵם** "I have ceased to regret" implies that YHWH has regretted in the past.

The equivalent *παύομαι* is used three times, to translate both indicative (33[26]:19) and conditional clauses (33[26]:3 and 13), and *ἀναπαύομαι* is used once (49[42]:10). The last verb, *ἀναπαύομαι*, occasionally renders **נוח** elsewhere in the LXX, which has led to Tov's suggestion, in concurrence with Giesebrecht, that the forms of **נָחַם** in Jer b' have been interpreted to derive from **נוח** instead of **נָחַם**.<sup>775</sup> However, two of these cases include pronominal suffixes (33[26]:3, 49[42]:10), which are more unlikely to be confused with forms of **נוח**. In either case, whether they represent misunderstandings or whether they represent an avoidance of the theological problem, the difference between the treatment of these cases of **נָחַם** in Jer a' and Jer b' is stark, as each case in Jer a' is rendered by either *μετανοέω* or by *ἀνιήμι*, while each case in Jer b' is rendered by *παύομαι* or by *ἀναπαύομαι*.

The second context in which the *niph'al* forms of the verb **נָחַם** occur are when the subject of the verb is someone other than YHWH, i.e. human beings. There are three such cases:

8:6 **הַקְשַׁבְתִּי וְאָשָׁמָע לֹא־כֵן יִדְבְּרוּ אֵין אִישׁ נָחַם** **עַל־רָעָתוֹ לֵאמֹר מָה עָשִׂיתִי** – ἐνωτίσασθε δὴ καὶ ἀκούσατε· οὐχ οὕτως λαλήσουσιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος **μετανοῶν** ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας αὐτοῦ λέγων τί ἐποίησα

38(31):19 **נָחַמְתִּי שׁוּבִי כִּי־אַתָּה שׁוּבִי** – ὅτι ὕστερον αἰχμαλωσίας μου **μετενόησα**

38(31):15 **קוֹל בְּרָמָה נִשְׁמָע נָהִי בְּכִי תַמְרוּרִים רָחַל מִבְּכָה עַל־בְּנֶיהָ מֵאַנָּה** **לְהַנָּחֵם עַל־בְּנֶיהָ כִּי אֵינָנּוּ** – Φωνὴ ἐν Παμα ἡκούσθη θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦ

<sup>774</sup> Cf. e.g. BHS apparatus; Tov 1976, 51.

<sup>775</sup> Tov 1976, 51, esp. note 43.

καὶ ὁδυρμοῦ· Παχλ ἀποκλειομένη οὐκ ἤθελε παύσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν

In Jer 8:6, as well as 38(31):19, the meaning of **נחנח** is 'to repent,' in the context of changing one's course of action from that which the text deems punishable. **נחנח** in Jer 38(31):15, on the other hand, signifies 'to be comforted,' and is the only such use of this meaning of the *niph'al* form in Jer. The first two cases are rendered by *μετανοέω* in Jer LXX, and the last case by *παύομαι*. The renderings in the first two cases are semantically equivalent, but in the last case the rendering is not a semantic equivalent, though the sense of the phrase **נחנח מִנְחָה** 'refuse to be comforted' is partially conveyed by the Greek οὐκ ἤθελε παύσασθαι 'did not want to cease.' This could be understood as an example of an exegetical rendering gone too far. The reviser wanted to avoid the notion of YHWH's regret by using the equivalent *παύομαι*, but ended up using it for this case of **נחנח** as well, though its meaning is 'to be comforted.'

The equivalent in 38(31):15 is in accord with the other renderings of **נחנח** in Jer b', but the rendering in 38(31):19 is the only case of *μετανοέω* in Jer b'. However, it is a notable exception with regard to its content. The speaker in question is Ephraim, whose lament is quoted in verses 18–19. Where the equivalent *μετανοέω* might present a theological problem for revisers at the other occurrences of **נחנח** in Jer b', such is not the case in 38(31):19, since the subject is human.

The verb **נחנח** occurs only twice as a *pi'el* form in Jer, and is rendered in Jer LXX only once:<sup>776</sup>

16:7 וְלֹא־יִפְרֹסוּ לָהֶם עַל־אַבְלִי לְנַחֲמוֹ עַל־מַת וְלֹא־יִשְׁקוּ אִוְתָם בֹּס תַּנְחוּמִּים 16:7  
וְלֹא־יִפְרֹסוּ לָהֶם עַל־אַבְלִי לְנַחֲמוֹ עַל־מַת – καὶ οὐ μὴ κλασθῇ ἄρτος ἐν πένθει αὐτῶν εἰς  
παράκλησιν ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι, οὐ ποτιοῦσιν αὐτὸν ποτήριον εἰς παράκλησιν  
ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἐπὶ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ.

As a rendering of the verb **נחנח**, *παράκλησις* is exceptional. It occurs 16 times in the LXX, and it chiefly renders nominal forms of **נחנח**, such as **נַחֲמִים** (Is 57:8), **מְנַחֲמִים**

<sup>776</sup> The MT plus **מְנַחֲמִים** in 31:13(LXX 38:13) is most likely a later addition.

(Nah 3:7) and מְנַחֵם later in Jer 16:7. This case and נִחַם *niph'al* in 38(31):15 are the only translated cases in Jer LXX that carry the meaning 'to comfort.'

The main difference between the renderings of נִחַם in Jer a' and Jer b' is the use of μετανοέω and the related μεταμέλομαι in Jer a' and the use of παύομαι and ἀναπαύομαι in Jer b' to render the *niph'al* forms of the verb.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
μετανοέω	4	1	5
μεταμέλομαι	1	—	1
ἀνίημι	1	—	1
παύομαι	—	4	4
ἀναπαύομαι	—	1	1

Table 27. Renderings of נִחַם *niph'al* in Jer LXX.

Jer a' employs μετανοέω and μεταμέλομαι five times to render נִחַם, both when the subject of the verb is YHWH and when it is a human being. Jer b', on the other hand, uses μετανοέω in the one case where repentance by a human being is meant. Otherwise, when the subject is YHWH or when the meaning 'to be comforted' is used, Jer b' employs the verbs παύομαι and ἀναπαύομαι. The contexts in which נִחַם *niph'al* are employed in Jer a' and Jer b' are very similar to each other.

The translation character of the two halves in this regard is clearly different. Jer b' stands in the tradition of the Pentateuch translators and of the revisers in the *kaige* tradition in its resolve to avoid the notion of YHWH's regret. This is emphasized by the fact that in the one case where regret is ascribed to human characters (38[31]:19) the rendering is the semantic equivalent μετανοέω. The use of παύομαι in 38(31):15 to express Rachel's unwillingness to be comforted, possibly an exacerbation of the attempt to avoid expressing YHWH's regret, also validates the characterization of Jer b' as preferring the equivalent παύομαι to render נִחַם. The use of this evidence in support of bisectioning Jer LXX is justified.

## 6.17. עבד

Tov argues that the renderings of the verb עבד in Jer b', specifically in the meaning 'to serve someone,' reflect the revision of Jer-R. The equivalent in Jer b' is mostly ἐργάζομαι, which, as Tov mentions, is not used in Greek literature to mean 'to serve [someone],' but rather 'to do work.' He surmises that, through this equivalent, the reviser is attempting to represent both meanings of the verb עבד, i.e. 'to do work' and 'to serve [someone].'<sup>777</sup> The other equivalent, used mainly in Jer a', is δουλεύω 'to serve.'

Aejmelaeus adds support to Tov's argument for revision in her discussion of Jer 34:5(27:6). She interprets the change from δουλεύω to ἐργάζομαι as the reviser's attempt to be more consistent in his choice of rendering, and this change is particularly evident in Jer 34:5(27:6). The dative case in the phrase ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτῷ "to serve him" is normally connected with the verb δουλεύω, not with ἐργάζεσθαι,<sup>778</sup> which is a strong indication that the original equivalent was actually δουλεύω instead of ἐργάζεσθαι. This can be understood to indicate that the reviser was mainly focused on lexical items, and syntax was not of much concern to him.

Pietersma criticizes Tov's argumentation by proposing that a single translator has varied his renderings based on the context in which each instance of the verb עבד is used. The equivalent δουλεύω is predominantly used in the first half to render עבד, but the meaning is mostly 'to serve' a deity, whether that be YHWH or other gods. In Jer b', Pietersma points out, the verb mostly signifies service to Nebuchadnezzar, and he claims that the translator did not want the reader to think that the service of the Judean exiles to the king of Babylon was similar to service that the ancestors of the Judeans rendered to false gods or to YHWH before the exile. Therefore the translator used the equivalent ἐργάζεσθαι when the object is Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>779</sup>

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<sup>777</sup> Tov 1976, 50–51.

<sup>778</sup> Aejmelaeus 2005a, 15.

<sup>779</sup> Pietersma 2008, 354–371.

The Hebrew verb עבד in its *qal* form has a range of possible meanings. First, it signifies the performance of work or labor. Second, it may refer to service or subservience to a higher authority, i.e. work for the benefit of another. The verb is used for similar purposes in a religious context. It may denote the performance of service in a cultic act or servitude to a particular deity.<sup>780</sup> Together with the preposition בְּ, the verb can express enslavement, i.e. 'work by means of another' or 'use of another [person] as a slave'.<sup>781</sup> As a participle it can mean 'laborer,' 'servant' or 'worshipper,' depending on the context.

The main equivalents of the verb עבד *qal* in Jer LXX are δουλεύω and ἐργάζομαι, which are not synonymous with one another in classical Greek. Δουλεύω means 'to be a slave' or 'to serve.' Subservience to another, and work for the benefit of that other, are inherent in the meaning of δουλεύω. The verb is also used in religious contexts in the meaning of service to a deity. 'Εργάζομαι, on the other hand, refers to the act of working, the performance itself, and it is found in contexts ranging from farming and husbandry to cultic and legal activities.<sup>782</sup>

The verb עבד is translated in Jer LXX a total of 26 times. The Hebrew counterparts in the MT of two of these are actually not verbal forms of עבד. In 34:5(27:6), the infinitive δουλεύειν stands for the Hebrew noun עֲבָדִי, and in 41(34):18 the infinitive ἐργάζεσθαι stands for a verb form of the root עבר. In both cases the translator thought the Hebrew verb was עבד, whether by mistake or by a variant in the *Vorlage*. עבד is rendered 14 times by δουλεύω and twelve times by ἐργάζομαι.<sup>783</sup>

34:5(27:6) וְעָתָה אֲנֹכִי נִתְחִי אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרְצוֹת הָאֵלֶּה בְּיַד נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר  
 וְגַם אֶת־חַיֵּי הַשָּׂדֶה נִתְחִי לוֹ לְעֶבֶד – ἔδωκα τὴν γῆν τῷ

<sup>780</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. עבד I.

<sup>781</sup> Harris *et. al.* 1980, s.v. עבד.

<sup>782</sup> LSJ s.v. δουλεύω and ἐργάζομαι.

<sup>783</sup> Δουλεύω in Jer 2:20; 5:19(2x); 8:2; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11, 13; 22:9; 25:6, 11; 34:5(27:6); 41(34):9 and 42(35):15; ἐργάζομαι in Jer 22:13; 34:5(26:6), 7(9), 9(11)(2x), 10(12); 35(28):14; 37(30):8, 9; 41(34):14, 18 and 47(40):9.

Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλώνης δουλεύειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ θηρία τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐργάζεσθαι αὐτῷ

וְנִתְּתִי אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים הָעֹבְדִים אֶת־בְּרִתִּי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הִקִּימוּ אֶת־דְּבָרִי 18 (34):41 – וְהַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרְתוּ לִפְנֵי הָעָגֹל אֲשֶׁר כָּרְתוּ לְשָׁנִים וַיַּעֲבְרוּ בֵּין בְּתָרָיו וְדָוָשׁ תּוֹשֵׁם אַנְדְּרָאס תּוֹשֵׁם פֶּרֶלְהֻטֹתָא תְּהֵן דִּיאֲתְהָקְהֵן מוֹשֵׁם תּוֹשֵׁם מִלְּהֵן סִתְהֵן מוֹשֵׁם תְּהֵן דִּיאֲתְהָקְהֵן מוֹשֵׁם, הֵן עִפּוֹיִשָׁן כַּאֲתָּ פְרוֹשׁוֹפּוֹן מוֹשֵׁם, תּוֹן מוֹשֵׁחֹן דִּן עִפּוֹיִשָׁן עֵרְגָזְעִשׁתִּי אֲתָּ

In the first example (34:5[27:6]), the Greek δουλεύειν αὐτῷ reflects the reading לעבדו, which happens to occur again at the end of the verse. The LXX is most likely based on a *Vorlage* different from the MT. There is no consensus on how the variant reading came about, but a ו/י interchange seems to be the most likely cause.<sup>784</sup> The equivalent in 41(34):18, ἐργάζεσθαι representing וַיַּעֲבְרוּ, is obviously the result of an interchange between ר and ד, though the witnesses present other textual difficulties as well.<sup>785</sup>

The verb δουλεύω is used to translate עבד on 14 occasions in Jer LXX. In each of its occurrences, it signifies service to another, which is in line with its use in Greek literature. In eleven cases, δουλεύω renders עבד when the object is a deity, whether YHWH or other gods, and in three cases it renders עבד when the object is human.<sup>786</sup>

וְהָיָה כִּי תֵאמְרוּ תַּחַת מָה עֲשָׂה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לָנוּ אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה וְאָמַרְתָּ 19 וְהָיָה כִּי תֵאמְרוּ עֲזַבְתָּם אוֹתִי וַתַּעֲבְדוּ אֱלֹהֵי נֹכַר בְּאַרְצְכֶם כִּן תַּעֲבְדוּ זָרִים בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָכֶם – καὶ ἔσται ὅταν εἴπητε Τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐποίησε κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἡμῖν πάντα ταῦτα; καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτοῖς Ἄνθ' ὧν ἐδουλεύσατε θεοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ἐν γῇ γῆ ὑμῶν, οὕτως δουλεύετε ἄλλοτρίοις ἐν γῇ οὐχ ὑμῶν

<sup>784</sup> Lemke (1966, 48), Janzen (1967, 54–57), and Aejmelaeus (2005a, 15–16) suggest that the interchange occurred in the MT tradition in which case the original reading would be לעבדו, while Tov (1979, 83–84) argues that the change occurred during the transmission of the *Vorlage* of the LXX, and that the MT reading is the more original one.

<sup>785</sup> Janzen (1973, 104–105) suggests that the Greek reflects a damaged text, and that it reflects עשו לעבדו instead of וַיַּעֲבְרוּ לְשָׁנִים. McKane (1996, 873–874) proposes that the Greek ἐποίησαν 2° renders כָּרְתוּ 2° as if it had the same meaning as כָּרְתוּ 1°, which is also rendered by ἐποίησαν. The first כרת refers to making a covenant, and the second refers to the ritual of cutting the calf in half. Both Janzen and McKane regard the Greek text as secondary.

<sup>786</sup> With a divine object Jer LXX 2:20; 5:19(2x); 8:2; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11, 13; 22:09; 25:6 and 42(35):15; with a human object Jer LXX 25:11; 34:5(27:6) and 41(34):9.

41(34):9 וְאִישׁ אֶת־עַבְדּוֹ וְאִישׁ אֶת־שֹׁפְחָתוֹ הָעֶבְרִי וְהָעֶבְרִיָּה חֲפָשִׁים 9  
 לְבִלְתִּי עֲבָד־בָּם בְּיְהוּדִי אֲחִיהוּ אִישׁ – τοῦ ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἕκαστον τὸν παῖδα  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστον τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἑβραῖον καὶ τὴν Ἑβραίαν  
 ἐλευθέρους πρὸς τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἰουδα

Jer 5:19 exemplifies most of the cases in which the equivalence עבד - δουλεύω occurs, that is, with reference to serving a deity. Only in 2:20 is YHWH the deity. On ten occasions it is other gods, as in 5:19. The object in 25:11 is not clear in the LXX **עַבְדּוֹ** שְׁנָה בְּבָל שְׂבָעִים אֶת־מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל הָאֵלֹהִים הַגּוֹיִם – καὶ δουλεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐβδόμηκοντα ἔτη. The plus in the MT **אֶת־מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל** is likely a later gloss related to other MT additions in the text.<sup>787</sup> Earlier verses indicate that the LXX refers to the exile of the Judeans.<sup>788</sup> The passage mentions the service of other gods in v. 6, which might suggest the use of irony similar to that in 5:19. However, the closer proximity of 25:11 to the conquering enemy from the north (v. 9) would rather hint at this enemy being the object of servitude instead of a deity. There are two other cases of the equivalence עבד - δουλεύω in which the object of service is not a deity. These are Nebuchadrezzar in 34:5(27:6)<sup>789</sup> and the people of Jerusalem in 41(34):9.<sup>790</sup> The use of δουλεύω to render עבד in reference to serving humans is not without precedent in other books of the LXX. This use is found over a dozen times in Gen and multiple times in other books as well.<sup>791</sup> Its use does not intimate the meaning 'to worship,' as is the case with λατρεύω, which is used to render עבד with precisely this meaning throughout the Pentateuch.

<sup>787</sup> Aejmelaeus 2002, 475 and 2017c, 4.

<sup>788</sup> Similarly McKane 1986, 625–626.

<sup>789</sup> For a discussion on this case, cf. above.

<sup>790</sup> The slight textual discrepancy between the MT and the LXX in this verse (וְאִישׁ אֶת־עַבְדּוֹ בְּיְהוּדִי אֲחִיהוּ – πρὸς τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν ἄνδρα ἐξ Ἰουδα) does not essentially affect the meaning of the verb δουλεύειν. The object of service in both the MT and the LXX is the Judeans who are besieged in Jerusalem.

<sup>791</sup> E.g. Gen 14:4; 15:14; 25:23; 27:29, 40; 29:15, 18, 20, 25, 30; 30:26, 29; 31:6, 41; Ex 14:5, 12; 21:2, 6; Lev 25:39; Deut 15:12, 18; Jdg 3:8, 14; 9:28, 38; 1 Sam 4:9; 11:1; 17:9; 2 Sam 10:19; 16:19 and 22:44.

The other equivalent of עבד in Jer is ἐργάζομαι. This equivalence, according to the LXX, occurs twelve times in Jer, and it is used in two different contexts. First, it is used one time to signify work.<sup>792</sup>

22:13 הָיָה בְנֵה בֵיתוֹ בְּלֹא־צֶדֶק וְעֲלִיּוֹתָיו בְּלֹא מְשָׁפֵט בְּרָעָהוּ יַעֲבֹד חָנָם וּפְעָלוֹ לֹא יִתֶּן-לוֹ  
 ὁ οἰκοδομῶν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ οὐ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τὰ ὑπερῶα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐν κρίματι, παρὰ τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐργάζεται δωρεὰν καὶ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ

Pietersma correctly opines that δουλεύω would not suit this context well together with δωρεὰν 'freely'.<sup>793</sup> However, one should not assume, as Pietersma does,<sup>794</sup> that since the translator employs καταδουλεύω 'to enslave' in 15:14 to render הָעֶבְדִּיתָ, that he would have known to make a similar choice here as well. Jer 15:14 does not use the syntactical construction ב + עבד that is used in 22:13. The idiom ב + עבד is not very frequent in Jer, and the translator does not seem to recognize its meaning, as each case is rendered either by ἐργάζομαι or by δουλεύω (22:13, 30[37]:8 and 34[41]:9). The idiom means 'to enslave', and a good semantic match would be καταδουλεύω that is used to render the *hiph'il* form of עבד in 15:14. The Hebrew text reprimands a master who forces his neighbor to work for free. However, since the Greek text reverses the roles of the master and the slave in this verse, as Aejmelaeus points out,<sup>795</sup> signifying that it is the slave who works for free for his master, it is reasonable to assume that the translator did not understand the Hebrew text. Nonetheless, the fact that the translator employs a different equivalent here than in the previous instances of עבד indicates his awareness that the verb here refers to 'work' rather than to 'service,' which is the meaning in the other contexts.<sup>796</sup>

<sup>792</sup> Contra Tov 1976, 51 n. 38.

<sup>793</sup> Pietersma (2008, 359) appeals to the translator's logic, suggesting that since the verse makes explicit reference to wages (μισθὸν), the use of δουλεύω would not make sense, since slaves generally did not receive wages. A similar case in Gen 29:15, where δουλεύω does render עבד even though the end of the verse explicitly refers to wages (μισθός), may not, however, be explained in such a way. One ought not assume that the logic of a later age, especially related to specific terms, should apply to the translators of the LXX.

<sup>794</sup> Pietersma 2008, 360 n. 23.

<sup>795</sup> Aejmelaeus 2005a, 15.

<sup>796</sup> Pietersma's criticism of Tov regarding this equivalent (2008, 359) is beside the point. He assumes that,



Secondly, the equivalence עבד - ἐργάζομαι is used in Jer where the Hebrew text signifies servitude to another, comparable to the cases rendered by δουλεύω described above. This equivalence occurs eleven times in Jer LXX, twice signifying service to a deity, and nine times signifying service to humans.<sup>797</sup>

34:9(27:11) וְהָגִיז אֶשֶׁר יָבִיא אֶת-צִוְאָרוֹ בְּעַל מִלְחָמָבָבֵל וְעַבְדּוֹ וְהִנְחִיתִיו 34:10(28:1) וְיָשֹׁב בָּהּ – καὶ τὸ ἔθνος, ὃ ἐὰν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τὸν ζυγὸν βασιλείως Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἐργάσῃται αὐτῶ, καὶ καταλείψῃ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐργάται αὐτῶ καὶ ἐνοικήσει ἐν αὐτῇ

37(30):9 וְעַבְדּוֹ אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְאֵת יְיָ מֶלֶכָם אֶשֶׁר אָקִים לָהֶם 37(30):10 וְיָכִיר אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם – καὶ ἐργῶνται τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν Δαυὶδ βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀναστήσῃ αὐτοῖς

The first example (34:9[27:11]) exemplifies how this use of the equivalence is manifested in the majority of cases. The object of service is Nebuchadrezzar. The second occurrence of ἐργάζομαι in this verse reflects a different understanding of the Hebrew text than the MT. The feminine suffix attached to the Hebrew noun refers to working the land, while the Greek masculine pronoun clearly refers to serving Nebuchadrezzar, as is the case with the first occurrence of the verb. The second example (37[30]:9) portrays ἐργάζομαι when it is used to refer to service towards a deity, in this case YHWH.

The two equivalents of עבד are distributed unevenly throughout Jer LXX. Δουλεύω is used mostly in Jer a' and ἐργάζομαι in Jer b', and they are not used to render any other words in Jer. The distribution of the equivalents is as follows:

based on Tov's argument for a revision in Jer b, one should expect the equivalents in Jer a to also consistently manifest the rendering  $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ . Tov's characterization of the OG translation, however, allows for variation, whether based on context or not.

<sup>797</sup> Service to a deity is meant in Jer 37(30):9 and 41(34):18 (This verse attests עֶבֶד in the MT, but the translation clearly witnesses the variant reading עֶבֶד). Service to a human entity is meant in Jer 34:5(27:6), 34:7(27:9), 34:9(27:11) (2x), 34:10(27:12), 35(28):14, 37(30):8, 41(34):14 and 47(40):9.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
δουλεύω	11	3	14
ἐργάζομαι	1	11	12

Table 28. Renderings of עבד in Jer LXX.

The contexts in which עבד and its Greek renderings appear in Jer are mostly distributed along the same lines as the bisection, that is, the cases that express servitude to deities are mostly found in Jer a', and the cases that express servitude to humans are found in Jer b'. The following two tables help visualize this difference.

Table 29. displays the renderings of עבד when it denotes service to a deity.<sup>798</sup>

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
δουλεύω	10	1	11
ἐργάζομαι	—	2 <sup>799</sup>	2

Table 29. Renderings of עבד in the sense of service to deities

Table 30. displays the renderings of עבד when it denotes service to humans:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
δουλεύω	1	2	3
ἐργάζομαι	—	9	9

Table 30. Renderings of עבד in the sense of service to humans.

The translation character in Jer a' is very straightforward regarding the renderings of עבד. When the verb means 'to serve' someone, whether it be a deity or not, it is translated by δουλεύω. When it means the performance of work, it is rendered by ἐργάζομαι (22:13). The character of Jer b', on the other hand, is not so straightforward. Ἐργάζομαι is the most common equivalent, and it is used to render עבד when servitude to both deities and humans is denoted. Δουλεύω is also employed in these two contexts, though it only occurs three times.

<sup>798</sup> The one case of ἐργάζομαι in Jer a (22:13) does not appear in tables 29. and 30. because the meaning of its *Vorlage* עבד is 'to work,' not 'to serve.'

<sup>799</sup> Ἐργάζομαι in 41(34):18 is understood to be a rendering of עבד instead of עבר, which stands in the MT.

Pietersma argues that *ἐργάζομαι* is used when service to Nebuchadrezzar is indicated, and that this lexical choice is motivated by the exegetical intention to avoid the notion that the people will be made to serve Nebuchadrezzar in exile “as a replacement for the gods of Israel’s idolatrous past” or in a similar manner as they are encouraged to serve YHWH,<sup>800</sup> that is ‘to worship.’ This argument relies on the different contexts in which *δουλεύω* and *ἐργάζομαι* are used as renderings of עבד, particularly the fact that *δουλεύω* is used to indicate service to deities. Pietersma’s proposal, however, does not hold in all cases. *Δουλεύω* is used as the equivalent where service to Nebuchadrezzar is explicitly indicated in 34:5(27:6) and implicitly in 25:11. Furthermore, the suggestion that *ἐργάζομαι* is used to differentiate service to Nebuchadrezzar from service to deities is abated by the instances in which the equivalent is used when service to YHWH (37[30]:9) or to an idol (41[34]:18) is intended. The renderings in Jer LXX do not present a coherent character in this regard, as both *δουλεύω* and *ἐργάζομαι* are employed to render עבד regardless of who is to be served. Furthermore, an avoidance of *δουλεύω* to render עבד when service to humans is indicated is not evident elsewhere in the LXX, which detracts from the likelihood that such is the case in Jer LXX.

The stark contrast between the equivalents in Jer a’ and Jer b’ remains. Though the contexts of the cases in the two halves are mostly different from each other, the use of *ἐργάζομαι* in Jer b’ does cross these boundaries. It is used both when service to humans and service to deities is denoted. Whether the use of *ἐργάζομαι* in Jer b’ constitutes an enlargement of its semantic domain, as suggested by Tov,<sup>801</sup> or whether it be deemed as common Greek usage, as Pietersma argues,<sup>802</sup> does not detract from the different characterization of Jer b’, since the only other text in the LXX to employ *ἐργάζομαι* in a similar manner seems to be the book of Baruch.<sup>803</sup> Moreover, the use of *ἐργάζομαι* to

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<sup>800</sup> Pietersma 2008, 371.

<sup>801</sup> Tov 1976, 51 n. 39.

<sup>802</sup> Pietersma 2008, 358.

<sup>803</sup> Muraoka (2009, s.v. *ἐργάζομαι*) indicates that *ἐργάζομαι* is used in the LXX with the meaning “to serve, work for sbd (dat.),” but it should be noted that each of his references for this meaning are from Jer or a source in close connection to Jer (i.e. Bar). Also, a survey of the occurrences of *ἐργάζομαι* in Hatch and Redpath (1875) reveals similar results. One should be more cautious than Muraoka in this regard. The fact that a Greek equivalent is used to render a certain Hebrew word does not mean that the Greek

render עָבַד in the meaning 'to serve' hints at an attempt toward consistent equivalents for Hebrew words, that is, concordant translation. If such is the case, it is obvious that δουλεύω would not suit the task, since its range of use and meanings completely exclude the notion of 'to work.' Ἐργάζομαι, on the other hand, is used to translate עָבַד with the meaning 'to serve' even in the Pentateuch,<sup>804</sup> and embodies a better choice for a concordant translation principle.

The distribution of the two equivalents of עָבַד in Jer LXX contribute to the differing characterization of the translations in Jer a' and Jer b'. Δουλεύω is the preferred rendering in Jer a', and Ἐργάζομαι is the preferred rendering in Jer b'. Jer a' uses Ἐργάζομαι once when עָבַד signifies the performance of work (22:13), and Jer b' uses δουλεύω three times in similar contexts as Ἐργάζομαι.

To apply Tov's theory of a revision in Jer b' would be to claim that Jer OG employed δουλεύω as the rendering of עָבַד throughout Jer, except for 22:13, and that the reviser found this rendering unsuitable and changed it to Ἐργάζομαι. The three cases of δουλεύω in Jer b' should be considered a residue of the OG that witness to the inconsistency of the revision. The use of Ἐργάζομαι as the equivalent of עָבַד is helpful for a further description of the revision. The few hexaplaric variants that have survived mostly attest to the use of δουλεύω, as do the readings of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus in Jer b'.<sup>805</sup> Jer b' is also dissimilar to the *kaige* tradition regarding this equivalent, as *kaige* prefers the rendering δουλεύω.<sup>806</sup> The nature of the revision in Jer b' should, therefore, be understood as different in character from the *kaige* tradition and the later hexaplaric revision.

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equivalent assumes the meaning of the Hebrew word. The classical use and meaning of Ἐργάζομαι is 'to work.'

<sup>804</sup> E.g. Gen 29:27; Num 3:7; 8:11, 15, 19 and 26.

<sup>805</sup> These hexaplaric variants and readings of the later translators are attested in Jer 34:5(27:6), 10(12); 3; 37(30):8 and 9. Δουλεύω is also attested as the equivalent in the hexaplaric additions to the LXX that correspond to Jer MT 17:4; 25:14; 27:7, 8, 13, 14, 17; 28:14 and 34:10. The hexaplaric addition corresponding to Jer MT 44:3 attests λατρεύω.

<sup>806</sup> McLay1998, 133.

## 6.18. עֲבָד

Thackeray mentions the renderings of the expression עֲבָדִי “my servants (the prophets)” as part of his evidence for bisectioning Jer LXX.<sup>807</sup> He notes that this expression is rendered three times in Jer a’ by δοῦλοί μου, and four times in Jer b’ by παῖδές μου. Tov refers to the renderings of the noun עֲבָד in general, suggesting that the reviser has eliminated the variation between the equivalents παῖς and δοῦλος in Jer a’ and replaced it with a consistent use of παῖς. He adds that, whether or not the translator of Jer a’ intended a distinction between παῖς and δοῦλος, the reviser wanted to use the equivalent παῖς alone.<sup>808</sup>

The term עֲבָד is frequent in the HB and denotes a ‘slave’ or a ‘servant.’ The authority under which one serves varies. עֲבָד can be a servant in a household or a personal slave, a forced laborer or the servant of royalty, or a servant of divine beings. It may also be used in a more abstract meaning, generally referring to people in a subordinate position, and it can be used as an etiquette in polite address.<sup>809</sup>

The Greek equivalents of עֲבָד in Jer LXX are παῖς, δοῦλος, δουλεία, and οἶκος. The semantic ranges of the two most common renderings, παῖς and δοῦλος, do overlap, but they can be used interchangeably only in certain contexts. Δοῦλος refers solely to ‘a slave,’ particularly ‘a bondman.’ Παῖς, on the other hand, is used in classical Greek to refer to ‘a child,’ both with regard to age and descent, but it also denotes ‘a slave’ or ‘a servant,’ whether male or female, regardless of age.<sup>810</sup> Some translated sections in the LXX differentiate between the meanings of עֲבָד in their use of the equivalents δοῦλος and παῖς.<sup>811</sup> In Jer LXX, both equivalents are used only in Jer a’. Jer b’ confines itself to using παῖς. The noun δουλεία means ‘slavery’ or ‘bondage,’ and οἶκος means ‘house.’

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<sup>807</sup> Thackeray 1903, 250.

<sup>808</sup> Tov 1976, 69.

<sup>809</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. עֲבָד I.

<sup>810</sup> LSJ s.v. δοῦλος and παῖς.

<sup>811</sup> cf. note in Tov 1976, 69 n. 106.

The equivalent *παῖς* is the most common rendering of עֶבֶד in Jer LXX. It is used 17 times.<sup>812</sup> In one instance (47[40]:9), the Hebrew text attests an infinitive construct, but the translator has understood the word as the noun. עֶבֶד is used in three different contexts in Jer when rendered by *παῖς*:

44(37):18 וְלַעֲבָדֶיךָ לְחָטְאֵתִי מָה צִדְקָתְךָ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ צִדְקָתְךָ אֶל־יְרֵמְיָהוּ וְאֶמְרָ יְרֵמְיָהוּ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ הַזֶּה – καὶ εἶπεν Ἰερεμίας τῷ βασιλεῖ Τί ἡδίκησά σε καὶ τοὺς παῖδάς σου καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, ὅτι σὺ δίδως με εἰς οἰκίαν τῆς φυλακῆς

41(34):10 וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ כָּל־הַשָּׂרִים וְכָל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר־בָּאוּ בְּבֵרִית לְשָׁלַח אִישׁ אֶת־עַבְדּוֹ וְאִישׁ אֶת־שִׁפְתּוֹ – καὶ ἐπεστράφησαν πάντες οἱ ἐγιστᾶνες καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς οἱ εἰσελθόντες ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ τοῦ ἀποστεῖλαι ἕκαστον τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστον τὴν παιδίσκην αὐτοῦ

26(46):28 אֶתְּהָ אֶל־יְהוָה כִּי אֶתְּהָ אֲנִי יַעֲקֹב עַבְדִּי יַעֲקֹב נְאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי אֶתְּהָ אֲנִי – μὴ φοβοῦ, παῖς μου Ἰακωβ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι

The first of these contexts, exemplified by 44(37):18, refers to servants of kings, which most likely denotes officials. These kings consist of Zedekiah (21:7, 44[37]:2 and 18), Jehoiakim (43[36]:24 and 31), Pharaoh (32:5[25:19]) and a future messianic king (22:4). The occurrence in Jer 47(40):9 is included in this group since the reference to servants of the Chaldeans should be understood to mean officials as well.<sup>813</sup> The second context is that of proper slaves. עֶבֶד occurs in this meaning five times in Jer 41(34).<sup>814</sup> In the third context, עֶבֶד refers to servants of YHWH. Such cases are rendered four times by *παῖς*, three times referring to prophets that YHWH has sent to the people (33[26]:5, 42[35]:15 and 51[44]:4), and once as part of the term of endearment 'My servant Jacob' (example 26[46]:28).

Only three cases of עֶבֶד rendered as *παῖς* occur in Jer a'. The occurrences in 21:7 and 22:4 refer to servants of the king, and 26(46):28 refers to servants of YHWH. In Jer

<sup>812</sup> Jer LXX 21:7; 22:4; 26:28; 32:5; 33:5; 41:9-11, 16(2x); 42:15; 43:24, 31; 44:2, 18; 47:9; 51:4.

<sup>813</sup> The LXX reading coincides with MT 2 Kgs 25:24, and it is most likely that the text in 2 Kgs contains the more original reading עַבְדִּי. For further discussion, cf. McKane 1996, 995.

<sup>814</sup> Jer 41(34):9, 10, 11 and 16(2x).

b', this equivalency occurs 14 times. It refers to servants of kings six times, to slaves five times, and to servants of YHWH three times.<sup>815</sup>

The equivalent δούλος is used four times to render עֶבֶד. All of these occur in Jer a'. This equivalence occurs in two different contexts:

2:14 יִשְׂרָאֵל אִם-יָלִיד בֵּית הוּא מְדוּעַ הִיָּה לְבֹז – Mή δούλος ἐστὶν Ἰσραηλ, ἢ οἰκογενής ἐστι; διὰ τί εἰς προνομὴν ἐγένετο

7:25 וְאַשְׁלַח אֲלֵיכֶם אֶת-כָּל-עֲבָדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת וְשָׁלַח – καὶ ἐξάπεμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντας τοὺς δούλους μου τοὺς προφήτας ἡμέρας καὶ ὄρθρου καὶ ἀπέμψαι

26(46):27 וְאַתָּה אֶל-תִּירָא עֲבָדֵי יַעֲקֹב וְאֶל-תַּחַת יִשְׂרָאֵל – σὺ δὲ μὴ φοβηθῆς, δούλος μου Ἰακωβ, μὴ δὲ πτοηθῆς, Ἰσραηλ

Example 2:14 is the only case in which δούλος is used to refer to a proper slave. The second context is that of a servant of YHWH, twice referring to prophets sent by YHWH (7:25 and 25:4) and once as part of the name of endearment 'My servant Jacob' (26[46]:27). This last case is parallel to the phrase in the following verse (26[46]:28 example above) in which עֶבֶד is rendered by παῖς. It is possible that the translator wanted to vary the renderings since they are located so close to each other.<sup>816</sup>

In addition, עֶבֶד is rendered by three other equivalents one time each:

22:2 וְאַמְרַתְּ שְׁמֵעַ דְּבַר-יְהוָה מִלִּי יְהוּדָה הִישִׁב עַל-כִּסֵּא דָּוִד אַתָּה וְעַבְדֶּיךָ – καὶ ἐρεῖς Ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου, βασιλεῦ Ἰουδα ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου Δαυιδ, σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου καὶ ὁ λαός σου

34:5(27:6) וְעָתָה אֲנִי נֹתֵתִי אֶת-כָּל-הָאֲרָצוֹת הָאֵלֶּה בְּיַד נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר – ἔδωκα τὴν γῆν τῷ Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλωνος δουλεύειν αὐτῷ,

41(34):13 כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנִי כִרְתִּי בְרִית אֶת-אַבֹּתֵיכֶם בְּיוֹם הַיּוֹם – Οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ἐγὼ

<sup>815</sup> Servants of kings 32:5(25:19); 43(36):24, 31; 44(37):2, 18 and 47(40):9; slaves 41(34):9, 10, 11 and 16(2x); and servants of YHWH 33(26):5; 42(35):15 and 51(44):4.

<sup>816</sup> As suggested by Tov 1976, 69 n. 105.

διεθέμην διαθήκην πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἐξειλάμην  
αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας

The first example (22:2) is represented by the Greek οἶκος. This equivalency occurs nowhere else in the LXX. Streane suggests that the reading οἶκος is secondary by appealing to the variant reading παῖδες that is attested by a number of manuscripts.<sup>817</sup> The change from οἶκος to παῖς, however, is more easily explained as an attempt to correct a rendering that is perceived as false, and οἶκος might reflect a variant reading בית in the Vorlage or an expression of the notion that the king's servants constitute his 'house.' In the second example (34:5[27:6]), עֲבָדֵי is interpreted as an infinitive with the 3rd person suffix, for which reason it is not considered here as a rendering of the noun עֲבָדִים.<sup>818</sup> The third example (41[34]:13) is the only case in Jer in which the expression בית עבדים 'house of bondage' occurs, and the rendering is a good semantic match.

The distribution of the renderings of עֲבָדִים within Jer LXX is the following:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
παῖς	3	14	17
δοῦλος	4	—	4
οἶκος	1	—	1
δουλεία	—	1	1

Table 31. Renderings of עֲבָדִים in Jer LXX.

The character of the translations of עֲבָדִים in Jer a' may be described as mixed, though it is possible to detect a subtle attempt to distinguish between contexts of the word עֲבָדִים. Δοῦλος is the preferred equivalent when עֲבָדִים refers to servants of YHWH (3x), but παῖς occurs once as well in this context.<sup>819</sup> Only παῖς and οἶκος are used when עֲבָדִים refers to officials (21:7; 22:2 and 4), and only δοῦλος is used when עֲבָדִים refers to proper slaves (2:14).

<sup>817</sup> Streane 1896, 166.

<sup>818</sup> For discussion on this case, cf. sec. 6.17.

<sup>819</sup> Servants of YHWH as παῖς in 26(46):28 and as δοῦλος in 7:25, 25:4 and 26(46):27.



In Jer b', on the other hand, the choice of equivalent is very consistent. Each use of עֲבָד, whether referring to servants of YHWH, slaves or officials, is rendered by παῖς. Only the single expression בֵּית עֲבָדִים is rendered by δουλεία. The consistency in Jer b' and the mixed use of equivalents in Jer a' form a clear distinction between the translation characters of these two sections. This distinction is best described as Tov puts it, as a representation of "the Hebrew in a more consistent way"<sup>820</sup> in Jer b'. The number of occurrences of עֲבָד in Jer is not large enough for its renderings to be used as a major argument for a revision, but the distinct nature of the renderings in the two halves does support the revisional proposition.

It is notable that in three instances the equivalent παῖς has the variant reading δοῦλος (33[26]:5, 42[35]:15 and 51[44]:4), and in four cases the hexaplaric marginal notes attest the reading δοῦλος (22:4, 33[26]:5, 43[36]:31 and 44[37]:18).<sup>821</sup> In addition, the hexaplaric readings that correspond to MT plusses attest the use of δοῦλος in six instances (Jer MT 25:9, 29:19, 33:21, 22, 26; 43:10 and 46:26). Δοῦλος is also the equivalent of עֲבָד that is preferred by the *kaige* tradition<sup>822</sup> and by Aquila.<sup>823</sup> Accordingly, the character of the revision in Jer b' should not be characterized as the *kaige* tradition and the principles of the later translations.

## 6.19. עַת

Both Thackeray and Tov cite the renderings of עַת 'time' as evidence for bisectioning Jer LXX.<sup>824</sup> Thackeray notes that καιρός is the rendering in Jer a', a total of 27 times, and that χρόνος is the rendering in Jer b', a total of three times. Tov identifies καιρός in 25 instances in Jer a' and χρόνος in three instances in Jer b', and he notes that χρόνος is a rendering found nowhere else in the LXX. He proposes the reason for a revision in Jer

<sup>820</sup> Tov 1976, 69.

<sup>821</sup> The mss also attest the variant reading δοῦλος, together with hexaplaric attestation, for the instance in which עֲבָדִי is interpreted as a verb by the translator (34:5[27:6]).

<sup>822</sup> McLay1998, 133.

<sup>823</sup> Reider and Turner 1966, 61 and 182.

<sup>824</sup> Thackeray 1903, 249; Tov 1976, 51–52.

b's renderings of תַּע to be that *καιρός* is ambiguous as a representation of תַּע since it denotes both 'time' and 'the right moment.' Critics of Thackeray and Tov have not referred to this example.

The noun תַּע refers to time in various aspects. Most often it refers to recurring periods in time, such as different times in a day and different seasons. It also refers to habitual times when certain actions or deeds are performed, e.g. drawing water or offering sacrifice. It is also used to refer to specific events or occasions and to the appropriate or suitable time for something to occur. Less frequently employed meanings include reference to a situation or circumstance, opportunity, a phase in one's life, or an age or era in history.<sup>825</sup>

*Καιρός* and *χρόνος* are near synonyms, but they have slight differences. *Καιρός* denotes a measure or proportion in classical Greek, and it mainly refers to time. The emphasis of *καιρός* is on a specific time or period, referring to a season, opportunity or a critical time or period. *Χρόνος*, in turn, is more abstract and is used in a philosophical sense. It is, however, also used to refer to definite times, such as dates or years, and it occurs in a few idiomatic phrases.<sup>826</sup> In the LXX as a whole, *καιρός* is by far the most common equivalent of תַּע. *Χρόνος* is used as an equivalent only three times, all in Jer b'. Elsewhere it is usually used in translations of expressions with ימים or עולם.

The noun תַּע has a representation in Jer LXX 29 times, and these always translate the word in the construct state. Twenty five cases are rendered by *καιρός*,<sup>827</sup> each of which occurs in Jer a'. A majority of these cases (18) are prefixed with the preposition בְּ, all but one of which are rendered by the Greek noun *καιρός*. This one case is in 38(31):1, the only case in Jer b', and it is rendered by *χρόνος*.<sup>828</sup>

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<sup>825</sup> Clines 2011, s.v. תַּע.

<sup>826</sup> LSJ s.v. *καιρός* and *χρόνος*. For criticism of correlating the words *καιρός* and *χρόνος* with the notions of realistic time and chronological time respectively, cf. Barr 1962, 20–46.

<sup>827</sup> Jer 2:27–28; 3:17; 4:11; 5:24; 6:15; 8:1, 7, 15; 10:15; 11:12, 14; 14:8, 19; 15:11 (2x); 18:23; 26(46):21; 27(50):4, 16, 20, 27, 31; 28(51):6 and 18.

<sup>828</sup> The rendering of the phrase בְּעֵת צֶהְרִים 'at noon' (*μεσημβρίας*) in 20:16 is not included in this number since it does not have a representation for the noun תַּע. Though the rendering of the verse admits a few aspects of free translation, such as the rendering of the Hebrew *weqatal* ושמע with the imperative ἀκούσατω and the rendering of the prepositional phrase בְּבֹקֶר as τὸ πρωῒ, the lack of a formal equivalent 316

2:27 – כִּי־פָנוּ אֵלַי עֲרָף וְלֹא פָנִים וּבָעַת רָעָתָם יֹאמְרוּ קוֹמָה וְהוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ *καὶ ἔστρεψαν ἐπ’ ἐμὲ νῶτα καὶ οὐ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν ἐροῦσιν Ἀνάστα καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς*

5:24 הַנֹּתֵן גֶּשֶׁם יְיָהּ וּמִלְקוֹשׁ בָּעֵתוֹ *τὸν διδόντα ἡμῖν ὑετὸν πρόιμον καὶ ὄψιμον κατὰ καιρὸν*

10:15 הַבֵּל הַמָּה מַעֲשֵׂה תַעֲתָעִים בָּעֵת פְּקֻדָּתָם יֹאבְדוּ *μάταιά ἐστιν, ἔργα ἐμπεπαιγμένα, ἐν καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτῶν ἀπολοῦνται*

38(31):1 בָּעֵת הַהִיא נֹאמְ-יְהוָה אֶהְיֶה לְאֱלֹהִים לְכָל מְשַׁפְּחוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָמָּה *בָּעֵת הַהִיא נֹאמְ-יְהוָה אֶהְיֶה לְאֱלֹהִים לְכָל מְשַׁפְּחוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָמָּה*  
 יְהוֹיָכָן לְעֵם – Ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκεῖνῳ, εἶπε κύριος, ἔσομαι εἰς θεὸν τῷ γένει  
 Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι εἰς λαόν

Most of these cases occur in either of three expressions: *בָּעֵת הַהִיא*, *בָּעֵת רָעָה* or *בָּעֵת פְּקֻדָּה*.<sup>829</sup> Other expressions also occur, but in lesser number, such as *בָּעֵת צָרָה*, *בָּעֵת קָרָאֵם*, *בָּעֵת אֶפְדָּ*, *בָּעֵת קָצִיר* and *בָּעֵתוֹ*. These occurrences generally signify predictions or supplications concerning coming distress or times of peace. An exception to this is the epithet associated with YHWH *וּמִלְקוֹשׁ בָּעֵתוֹ* (Jer 5:24) “the one who gives the rain in its seasons, the autumn rain and the spring rain.”

*Καιρός* is twice used to render *עַת* when it is prefixed with the preposition *לְ*.

14:19 מְדוּעַ הַכִּיתָנוּ וְאִין לָנוּ מִרְפָּא קוּהַ לְשָׁלוֹם וְאִין טוֹב וּלְעַת מִרְפָּא וְהִנֵּה *בָּעֵתָה* – ἵνα τί ἔπαισας ἡμᾶς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἰασις; ὑπεμείναμεν εἰς εἰρήνην, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀγαθὰ· εἰς καιρὸν ἰάσεως, καὶ ἰδοὺ ταραχή

The two cases of *לְעַת* in Jer (8:15 and 14:19) are identical, both expressing that the people hope for peace and healing, but in vain.

*עַת* occurs in constructions without a preposition on eight occasions. In such cases *καιρός* is the equivalent five times (8:7 and 26[46]:21, 27[50]:27, 31 and 28[51]:6),

for *בָּעֵת* rather implies that it was lacking in the translator's *Vorlage*. Elsewhere the word *μεσημβρία* represents only the word *צַהֲרַיִם*, and Jer 20:16 is the only passage in which *μεσημβρία* stands for the two words *צַהֲרַיִם בָּעֵת*. The variant reading *εν καιρω μεσημβριας* is attested only in hexaplaric readings.

<sup>829</sup> *בָּעֵת הַהִיא* in 3:17; 4:11; 8:1; 27(50):4, 20 and 38(31):1; *בָּעֵת רָעָה* in 2:27, 28; 11:12 and 15:11; and *בָּעֵת פְּקֻדָּה* in 6:15; 10:15 and 28(51):18.

χρόνος is the equivalent twice (29:9[49:8] and 37[30]:7), and ὥριμος is the equivalent once (28[51]:33).

8:7 בְּאֶנְהָ אֶת־שָׁמְרוּ וְעִגְרוּ וְסוֹס וְתָר מוֹעֲדֶיהָ יָדְעָה בְּשָׁמַיִם יְדָעָה מוֹעֲדֶיהָ וְתָר וְסוֹס וְעִגְרוּ וְעִגְרוּ אֶת־מִשְׁפַּט יְהוָה  
καὶ ἡ ἀσιδα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔγνω τὸν  
καιρὸν αὐτῆς, τρυγῶν καὶ χελιδῶν, ἀγοῦρ [στρουθία] ἐφύλαξαν καιροὺς  
εἰσόδων αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ λαὸς μου οὐκ ἔγνω τὰ κρίματα κυρίου

28(51):33 עַתְּ הַדְרִיכָה בְּתִבְבֶּל כְּגֶרֶן עַתְּ הַדְרִיכָה – Οἱκοὶ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος ὡς  
ἄλλων ὥριμος ἀλοηθήσονται

37(30):7 הוּא כִּי גִדּוֹל הַיּוֹם הַהוּא מֵאִין כְּמֹהוּ וְעַתְּ צָרָה הִיא לְיַעֲקֹב וּמִמָּנָה  
עֲשֵׂי – ὅτι μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τοιαύτη, καὶ χρόνος  
στενός ἐστι τῷ Ιακωβ

When עַתְּ is not prefixed with a preposition, it is similar in context to those cases in which כִּי is prefixed to it, that is, it expresses a coming time of distress or of peace. The grammatical function of these cases is, however, different from the prepositional phrases, as these rather function as predicate nominatives (e.g. 37[30]:7), direct objects (e.g. 8:7) or as appositional phrases (26[46]:21). Such cases (6x) are mostly located in the OAN. Only 8:7 is contextually different in its comparison of the people of Judah with various birds. The birds are said to know and to adhere to their times of migration, but the people of YHWH do not know the judgements of YHWH.

The one case of ὥριμος (28[51]:33) likens Babylon to a threshing at the time when it is to be trodden עַתְּ הַדְרִיכָה בְּתִבְבֶּל כְּגֶרֶן – Οἱκοὶ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος ὡς ἄλλων ὥριμος ἀλοηθήσονται. When χρόνος is used as the rendering, עַתְּ functions as part of a predicate nominative וְעַתְּ צָרָה הִיא לְיַעֲקֹב וּמִמָּנָה עֲשֵׂי – καὶ χρόνος στενός ἐστι τῷ Ιακωβ, (8) καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτου σωθήσεται in the context of a salvation oracle (37[30]:7), or as an appositional phrase עַתְּ פְּקָדֵינוּ עָלֵינוּ הַבְּאֵתִי עֲשֵׂי – ὅτι δύσκολα ἐποίησεν ἡγαγον ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐν χρόνῳ, ᾧ ἐπεσκεψάμην ἐπ’ αὐτόν (29[49]:9). The last case attests some differences between the Greek and Hebrew texts, but the equivalence of עַתְּ and χρόνος is clear. Eight of these cases occur in Jer a’, all rendered by either καιρός or ὥριμος, and two cases occur in Jer b’, both rendered by χρόνος.

The Greek renderings of עַתְּ display a clear difference between Jer a’ and Jer b’:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
καιρός	25	–	25
ῥιμος	1	–	1
χρόνος	–	3	3

Table 32. Renderings of תַּע in Jer LXX.

The equivalent *καιρός* is used in all cases in Jer a' save for one, which is rendered by *ῥιμος*. These cases include those with the prefixed prepositions *בְּ* and *לְ* and those without a preposition that function either as predicate nominatives, as direct objects or appositional phrases. The equivalent *χρόνος* is used in Jer b' in similar contexts: once it renders תַּע with the preposition *בְּ*, and twice it renders תַּע without a preposition, once each in the functions of a predicate nominative and of an appositional phrase. The difference in equivalents used regardless of the similarities in content and syntax between Jer a' and Jer b' allow a different characterization of the translations in Jer a' and Jer b'.

The evidence derived from the renderings of תַּע for a revision in Jer b' is clear cut, as the equivalents *καιρός* and *χρόνος* do not overlap each other in the respective halves of the translation and yet are used to render similar and identical expressions. The low number of occurrences in Jer b', however, might be seen as detrimental to a revisional theory, but this objection is fettered by the fact that nowhere else in the LXX is *χρόνος* used as a rendering of תַּע, defining these renderings as unique.

## 6.20. צוה

Thackeray mentions the renderings of צוה among his evidence for two translators in Jer LXX and notes that *ἐντέλλομαι* is the equivalent in both parts of the book and that *συντάσσω* is used eight times in Jer b'.<sup>830</sup> Tov also mentions this data, and concludes that *συντάσσω* is the revised equivalent and that *ἐντέλλομαι* in Jer b' is a "remnant of the OG."<sup>831</sup> Pietersma and Saunders critique Tov's argument by claiming that the books

<sup>830</sup> Thackeray 1903, 250.

<sup>831</sup> Tov 1976, 102.

of the Pentateuch employ similar variation between the two equivalents and that the variation is not formal but semantic, that is, based on the context in which it is used. They make a distinction between ἐντέλλομαι being used to express authoritative and official commands or commissions, and συντάσσω being used for mundane instructions.<sup>832</sup>

The verb צוה means 'to command,' 'to give an order' or 'to instruct.' In the LXX, this verb is rendered mainly by ἐντέλλομαι or by compound forms of the verb τάσσω, such as συντάσσω and προστάσσω. Ἐντέλλομαι, which is the most common of the renderings, is an obvious semantic match to צוה, meaning simply 'to command.' Συντάσσω and προστάσσω are more infrequent, but also do not correspond to the meaning of צוה as directly as does ἐντέλλομαι. Προστάσσω has a specific function with the meaning 'to command' or 'to order,' but it is equally used to signify 'to place,' 'to attach to' or 'to appoint.' Συντάσσω, on the other hand, in Greek literature, generally refers to the ordering of military troops for battle, and by extension is used in other contexts as well to denote arranging or composing. In certain instances it is used to mean 'to order' or 'to command,' but not very often. In Jer LXX, ἐντέλλομαι is the common rendering of צוה. Συντάσσω occurs as an alternative in Jer b' on eight occasions.

Ἐντέλλομαι is used 27 times as the rendering of צוה.<sup>833</sup> In 17 cases, the subject is YHWH, and in 10 cases the subject is human.

7:23 כִּי אֲסִי־אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה צִוִּיתִי אֹתָם לֵאמֹר שְׁמְעוּ בְּקוֹלִי יְהִי־יִתִּי לָכֶם  
 לְאֱלֹהִים וְאַתֶּם תְּהִי־וֹלִי לְעַם וְהִלַּכְתֶּם בְּכָל־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר אֶצְוֶה אֶתְכֶם לַמַּעַן  
 לָכֶם – ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἐνετειλάμην αὐτοῖς λέγων Ἀκούσατε τῆς  
 φωνῆς μου, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῖν εἰς θεόν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς λαόν· καὶ  
 πορεύεσθε ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου, αἷς ἂν ἐντείλωμαι ὑμῖν, ὅπως ἂν εὖ ᾗ  
 ὑμῖν

<sup>832</sup> Pietersma and Saunders 2009, 878.

<sup>833</sup> Jer LXX Jer 1:7, 17; 7:22, 23(2x), 31; 11:4(2x); 13:5-6; 14:14; 17:22; 19:5; 23:32; 27:21; 28:59; 29:7; 39:23; 42:6, 10, 14, 18; 43:5, 8, 26; 45:10 and 27.

29(47):7 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ – πῶς ἡσυχάσει; καὶ κύριος ἐνετείλατο αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσκαλῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς παραθαλασσίους, ἐπὶ τὰς καταλοίπους, ἐπεγεροθῆναι

42(35):14 הִוָּהוּ אֶת־דָּבָרִי יְהוָה בְּיָדָם בְּיָדָם אֶת־רֹכֶב אֶת־רֹכֶב אֶת־רֹכֶב – ἔστησαν ῥῆμα υἱοὶ Ἰωνάδαβ υἱοῦ Ρηχαβ, ὃ ἐνετείλατο τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μὴ πιεῖν οἶνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐπίοσαν

43(36):5 יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ – καὶ ἐνετείλατο Ἰερεμίας τῷ Βαρουχ λέγων Ἐγὼ φυλάσσομαι, οὐ μὴ δύνωμαι εἰσελθεῖν εἰς οἶκον κυρίου

When YHWH is the subject of the verb, the grammatical form is mainly that of the first person (example 7:23).<sup>834</sup> The verb is in the third person twice (13:5 and 29[47]:7) and in the second person once (39[32]:23). When humans are the subject, the grammatical form is always in the third person (examples 42[35]:14 and 43[36]:5).<sup>835</sup> This equivalence occurs 16 times in Jer a'. In 15 of these cases, YHWH is the subject and only once is Jeremiah the subject. There are eleven cases in Jer b'. YHWH is the subject only twice, and humans are the subject in nine cases.

The rendering συντάσσω occurs eight times,<sup>836</sup> each of which is found in Jer b'.

33(26):8 יְהוָה כָּבֹדֹת יְרֵמְיָהוּ אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּהוּ יְהוָה לְדָבָר – καὶ ἐγένετο Ἰερεμίου παυσασμένου λαλοῦντος πάντα, ἃ συνέταξεν αὐτῷ κύριος λαλῆσαι παντὶ τῷ λαῷ,

39(32):35 וַיְבָנוּ אֶת־בָּמֹת הַבַּעַל אֲשֶׁר בָּגֵי־אֱלֹהִים לְהַעֲבִיר אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם – καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν τοὺς βωμοὺς τῆς Βααλ τοὺς ἐν φάραγγι υἱοῦ Ἐννομ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἃ οὐ συνέταξα αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ καρδίαν μου

44(37):21 וַיִּצְוֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ צִדְקִיָּהוּ וַיִּפְקְדוּ אֶת־יְרֵמְיָהוּ בְּהִצָּר הַמִּצָּר – καὶ συνέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐνεβάλοσαν αὐτὸν εἰς αὐλὴν τῆς φυλακῆς

<sup>834</sup> Jer LXX Jer 1:7, 17; 7:22, 23(2x), 31; 11:4(2x); 13:5-6; 14:14; 17:22; 19:5; 23:32 and 27:21.

<sup>835</sup> Jer LXX 28:59; 42:6, 10, 14, 18; 43:5, 8, 26; 45:10 and 27.

<sup>836</sup> Jer LXX 33:2, 8; 34:3; 36:23; 39:13, 35; 41:22 and 44:21.

In five of the eight cases, YHWH is the subject of the verb, mostly in the grammatical form of the first person (33[26]:2, 36[29]:23, 39[32]:35 and 41[34]:22 [a participle]), but also in the form of the third person (33[26]:8). Only on three occasions is the subject someone other than YHWH. In these cases it is Jeremiah in 39(32):13 and 34:3(27:4) and king Zedekiah in 44(37):21. The variant reading *ἐντέλλομαι* is attested only in 39(32):35 by *L'*, but the hexaplaric material attests *ἐντέλλομαι* for 39(32):13, 41(34):22 and 44(37):21.<sup>837</sup>

The distribution of the two renderings of צוה in Jer LXX is displayed in table 33.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
<i>ἐντέλλομαι</i>	16	11	27
<i>συντάσσω</i>	-	8	8
Total	16	19	35

Table 33. Renderings of צוה in Jer LXX.

The most obvious difference between the two halves of the book is the use of *συντάσσω* in Jer b' and its complete absence in Jer a'. This equivalent is used in Jer b' most often when YHWH is the subject, which may very well be the catalyst for using it. In Jer a', similar cases are all rendered by *ἐντέλλομαι*, as table 34. indicates. The stark contrast between the use of *ἐντέλλομαι* in Jer a' to render all cases of צוה and the incorporation of *συντάσσω* in nearly half the cases in Jer b' contributes to the different characterization of the two halves.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
<i>ἐντέλλομαι</i>	15	2	17
<i>συντάσσω</i>	-	5	5
Total	15	7	22

Table 34. Renderings of צוה in Jer LXX in cases where YHWH is the subject .

A further characteristic of Jer b' is that it mainly employs *ἐντέλλομαι* to render cases in which human beings are the subject of the verb צוה. This accounts for nine out of

<sup>837</sup> In addition, the Hexaplaric additions in cases where the LXX lacks a representation of the Hebrew all attest *ἐντέλλομαι*: Jer MT 11:8; 35:8, 16 and 39:11.



twelve cases in Jer b', and **וַיֹּה** is rendered by *συντάσσω* the other three times that its subject is human.<sup>838</sup> Jer b' prefers the equivalent *συντάσσω* when the subject of the verb is YHWH (in 5 out of 7 cases) and prefers *ἐντέλλομαι* in other cases of the verb. This is a significant difference in comparison to Jer a', and may be considered evidence for a revision of the translation. The reviser intends to distinguish between the agent of the commands through his choice of equivalents, a character that is not present in Jer a'.

A particular distinction between Jer a' and Jer b' can be seen in the renderings of **וַיֹּה** that denote YHWH's accusation that the people have performed actions which he did not command them, and which have angered him. These are all rendered by *ἐντέλλομαι* in Jer a' (7:31; 14:14; 19:5; 23:32 and 7:22, which is only grammatically similar) and by *συντάσσω* in Jer b' (33[26]:2, 8; 36[29]:23; 39[32]:35 and 41[34]:22). There is also a degree of similarity in Jer b' between the contexts in which **וַיֹּה** is rendered by *ἐντέλλομαι* and the contexts in which it is rendered by *συντάσσω*. When Jeremiah is the subject of the verb, both equivalents are used when he commands Baruch to perform an action (*συντάσσω* in 39[32]:13 and *ἐντέλλομαι* in 43[36]:5). These two features, the distinction between Jer a' and Jer b' regarding the subject of the verb and the similarity within Jer b' regarding Jeremiah as the subject, speak against the notion that a single translator is making a distinction based on the context in which the word is used.

## 6.21. נָפַח

Thackeray and Tov both refer to the translations of **נָפַח** in their arguments for bisectioning the translation.<sup>839</sup> Thackeray mentions that *ἰάομαι* is the equivalent in Jer a', and that it occurs seven times. *ἰατρεύω* is the rendering in Jer b', and it occurs a total of four times in Jer LXX, three of which are in Jer b' and one in Jer a'. Tov's figures are in agreement with Thackeray's, but Tov adds that the rendering in Jer b' is more rare in the LXX as a whole than the rendering in Jer a'.

<sup>838</sup> When the subject of **וַיֹּה** is human in Jer b', *Ἐντέλλομαι* is employed in 42(35):6, 10, 14, 18; 43(36):5, 8, 26; 45(38):10 and 27, and *συντάσσω* is used in 39(32):13; 34:3(27:4) and 44(37):21.

<sup>839</sup> Thackeray 1903, 248; Tov 1976, 99.

רפא means 'to heal.' In Jer LXX, this verb is rendered by two different Greek verbs and one noun, which are *ἰάομαι*, *ἰατρεύω* and *ἰατρός*. The first of these, *ἰάομαι*, means 'to cure' or 'to heal,' but it can also refer to the process, 'to treat,' or the attempt to heal. *Ἰατρεύω* is similar, but with a stronger emphasis on the practice of medicine as part of the treatment. The noun denotes a physician.

*Ἰάομαι* is the main rendering of רפא in Jer a', occurring eight times, and it does not occur in Jer b'. This rendering is used in two different contexts.

6:14 וְאִין שְׁלוֹם וְאִין שְׁלוֹם לְאֹמֵר עַל־נִקְלָה לְאֹמֵר אֶת־שִׁבְרִי עָמִי עַל־נִקְלָה לְאֹמֵר אֶת־שִׁבְרִי עָמִי – καὶ ἰῶντο τὸ σύντριμμα τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἐξουθενοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες Εἰρήνην εἰρήνην· καὶ ποῦ ἐστὶν εἰρήνη

17:14 וְהָיָה יְהוָה וְאֶרְפָּא הוֹשִׁיעֲנִי וְאֶנְשֶׁעָה כִּי תִהְיֶה לִּי אֶתָּה – Ἰασαί με, κύριε, καὶ ἰαθήσομαι· σῶσόν με, καὶ σωθήσομαι· ὅτι καύχημά μου σὺ εἶ

19:11 וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת בְּכָה אֲשֶׁבֶר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְאֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת כַּאֲשֶׁר יִשְׁבֵּר אֶת־כָּלִי הַיּוֹצֵר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִכָּל לְהַרְפָּה עוֹד – καὶ ἐρεῖς Τάδε λέγει κύριος Οὕτως συντρίψω τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, καθὼς συντρίβεται ἄγλος ὁστράκινον, ὃ οὐ δυνήσεται ἰαθῆναι ἔτι

*Ἰάομαι* is used three times to render *qal* forms of רפא. These are in 3:22, 6:14 and 17:14. These cases denote the treatment rather than the result. Jer 6:14 especially references the wrong type of treatment applied by the prophets and priests of Jerusalem. Jer 3:22, however, is more of a promise of healing, which also hints at the result.

The other five cases render *niph'al* forms of רפא and refer to the result of the healing treatment. In only one case (17:14) does the word refer to the positive outcome of treatment. In three cases the notion is that the subject has not been healed (15:18, 19:11 and 28[51]:9), and once the outcome is left open to possibility (28[51]:8), though the following verse indicates that the attempt was not successful.

The equivalent *ἰατρεύω* is used on four occasions.<sup>840</sup> One is in Jer a', and three are in Jer b'. This word is rare in the Septuagint, and only occurs four times outside of Jer (twice in 4 Rgns and twice in 2 Chron).

<sup>840</sup> Jer 28(51):9; 37(30):13, 17 and 40(33):6.

28(51):9 נִרְפְּתָהּ וְלֹא אֶת־בָּבֶל רָפְאֵנוּ – ἰατρεύσαμεν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ οὐκ ἰάθη

37(30):13 אֵין־דִּין דִּינָךְ לְמִזֹּר רַפְאוֹת תַּעֲלֶה אֵין לָךְ – οὐκ ἔστι κρίνων κρίσιν σου, εἰς ἀλγήρὸν ἰατρεύθης, ὠφέλεια οὐκ ἔστι σοι

40(33):6 הִנְנִי מַעֲלֶה־לָּהּ אֲרֻכָּה וּמִרְפָּא וּרְפָאוֹתַי וְגַלִּיתִי לָהֶם עֲתָרַת שְׁלוֹם – Ἴδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀνάγω αὐτῇ συνούλωσιν καὶ ἴαμα καὶ φανερώσω αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰατρεύσω αὐτήν καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ πίστιν

Example 28(51):9 contains both the equivalents ἰατρεύω and ἰάομαι. In this case the distinction may be intentional, since the first verb (*pi'el*) describes the treatment, rendered by ἰατρεύω, and the second describes the result (*niph'al*), rendered by ἰάομαι. In the other three cases, such a distinction is not so clear. Jer 37(30):17 and 40(33):6 contain similar wording, and the verb is active in both cases, possibly signifying the treatment process. In 37(30):13, the rendering ἰατρεύθης represents an understanding of רַפְאוֹת as a verb form instead of the noun attested by MT. The vowel letter ו is possibly missing from the *Vorlage*. The rendering is in the passive voice, which suggests that the meaning is rather the result than the treatment.

The noun ἰατρός 'physician' renders the verb רַפָּא on one occasion in Jer LXX.

8:22 הַצִּירִי אֵין בְּגִלְעָד אֶס־רַפָּא אֵין שָׁם כִּי מְדוּעַ לֹא עָלְתָה אֲרֻכָּת בַּת־עַמִּי – μὴ ῥητίνῃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Γαλααδ, ἢ ἰατρός οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ; διὰ τί οὐκ ἀνέβη ἱασις θυγατρὸς λαοῦ μου

The passage contains a lament for the lack of treatment for the ailments of the land. The verb is in the participle form, signifying the agent of healing, and therefore the rendering is suitable to the context.

The distribution of these renderings within Jer LXX is as follows:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ἰάομαι	8	-	8
ἰατρεύω	1	3	4
ἰατρός	1	-	1
Total	10	3	13

Table 35. Renderings of רַפָּא in Jer LXX.

The cases translated in Jer a' and Jer b' consist of both active *qal* forms and passive *niph'al* forms, and there seems to be no distinction between cases that signify the treatment of an ailment and those that signify the result of treatment. Though there are only three instances of אפך in the *Vorlage* of Jer b', the absence of *ιάομαι*, the usual equivalent in the LXX, is noteworthy. In addition to this, the use of the rare equivalent *ιατρεύω* serves to set Jer b' apart from other sections of the LXX, including Jer a', with regard to its translation character.

## 6.22. טַשׁ and תַּשׁ

The translations of the verb טַשׁ and the noun תַּשׁ are included in both Thackeray and Tov's<sup>841</sup> lists of strong evidence for bisectioning Jer LXX. The verb occurs more often than the noun and is therefore given more weight by both scholars. Thackeray identifies *ταλαιπωρέω* as the verb equivalent used in Jer a' and *ἄλλυμι* as the equivalent in Jer b'. He notes that shared equivalents between the two halves are the related verbs *ὀλεθρεύω* and *ἐξολεθρεύω*, which occur five times. Tov adds that the root *ταλαιπωρ-* and its derivatives do not match the meaning of טַשׁ, which is the reason for the equivalent to be subject to revision.

Pietersma briefly addresses this item of vocabulary,<sup>842</sup> and posits that the equivalents do not support bisectioning. He admits that this example “shows slightly more discontinuity between the [...] two halves” than some of Tov's other examples, but goes on to suggest that it also attests to discontinuity within each half of Jer LXX.

טַשׁ is not multifaceted in meaning and signifies 'to destroy' or 'to devastate.' In Jer LXX, it has been rendered by several different equivalents. These are *ταλαιπωρέω*, *ἄλλυμι*, *ἀπόλλυμι*, and *(ἐξ)ολεθρεύω*. The nominal forms of the verb are also rendered by different means in Jer LXX. The equivalents of תַּשׁ are *ταλαιπωρία* and *ὄλεθρος*, as are also the equivalents of the participle טַשֵּׁ. The semantic field of *ταλαιπωρέω* is not exactly the same as טַשׁ. It rather refers to enduring hardship or distress, or to doing

<sup>841</sup> Thackeray 1903, 249; Tov 1976, 47–48. Soderlund (1985, 170–171) also discusses טַשׁ and its renderings. He concurs that the evidence supports bisectioning, but is indecisive whether the evidence points toward two translators or to a reviser.

<sup>842</sup> Pietersma 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ieremias-excursus.pdf> (2.3.2018).

hard work. The noun *ταλαιπωρία* is similar in meaning: 'hardship,' 'pain' or 'hard labor.' 'Εξολεθρεύω and the noun derived from it, *ὄλεθρος*, are more closer in meaning to *דָּדַשׁ*. The verb denotes 'to destroy,' while the noun denotes 'destruction' and 'ruin.' 'Ολλυμι and ἀπόλλυμι are similarly good semantic matches of *דָּדַשׁ*, as they too refer to destroying.

The noun *דָּדַשׁ* occurs three times in Jer and has an equivalent each time in the LXX (6:7, 20:8 and 31[48]:3). The cases in the first half of the book are part of the word pair *דָּדַשׁ וְהַמָּסָה* "violence and destruction," and are objects of the verbs *יִשְׁמַע* and *אֶקְרָא*. The noun *דָּדַשׁ* is rendered by *ταλαιπωρία* in both cases. In Jer b', the one occurrence of *דָּדַשׁ* is translated by *ὄλεθρος*: *לֹדֶיךָ וְשִׁבְרֶךָ דָּדַשׁ מִחֲרוֹנִים קוֹל צִעָקָה – ὅτι φωνὴν κεκραγόντων ἐξ Ὠρωναιμ, ὄλεθρον καὶ σύντριμμα μέγα.*

The verb *דָּדַשׁ* mainly occurs in two forms in Jer, one being the *qal* active participle *דָּדִישׁ* and the other the *pu'al* perfect *דָּדַשׁ*. It occurs in other forms only a few times. The *pu'al* form occurs a total of ten times. Five of these have equivalents in Jer a' and five in Jer b'.<sup>843</sup>

4:20 *שִׁבְרֶךָ עַל-שִׁבְרֶךָ נִקְרָא בִּי שִׁדְדָה כָּל-הָאָרֶץ פְּתָא דְּדָדִישׁ אֶהְיֶה רָגַע*  
*יְרִיעָתִי – καὶ ταλαιπωρία συντριμμόν ἐπικαλεῖται, ὅτι τεταλαιπώρηκε*  
*πᾶσα ἡ γῆ· ἄφνω τεταλαιπώρηκεν ἡ σκηνή, διεσπάρσθησαν αἱ δέρρεις μου*

10:20 *וְכָל-מִיתָרֵי נִתְקוּ וְשִׁדְדָה אֶהְיֶה – ἡ σκηνή μου ἐταλαιπώρησε, καὶ πᾶσαι*  
*αἱ δέρρεις μου διεσπάρσθησαν*

29:11(49:10) *כִּי-אֲנִי הָשַׁפְתִּי אֶת-עַשְׂו גְּלִיתִי אֶת-מִסְתָּרָיו וְנִחַבָּה לֹא יוֹכֵל*  
*וְאִינִי וְאִינִי וְאִינִי וְאִינִי – ὅτι ἐγὼ κατέσुरα τὸν Ησαυ, ἀνεκάλυψα*  
*τὰ κρυπτὰ αὐτῶν, κρυβῆναι οὐ μὴ δύνωνται· ὥλοντο ἐπίχειρα ἀδελφοῦ*  
*αὐτοῦ καὶ γείτονος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν*

30(49):3 *בִּי שִׁדְדָה-עַיִן בִּי הִשְׁבֹּן בִּי הִלִּילִי – ἀλάλαξον, Εσεβων, ὅτι ὥλετο Γαι*

Each of these cases occurs in the context of an oracle of doom, either addressed to Judah or to the nations. They occur mostly in *בִּי* clauses (e.g. 4:20 and 30[49]:3), but a few are in other clauses (e.g. 10:20 and 29:11[49:10]). The renderings of these forms are divided

<sup>843</sup> Jer a 4:13, 4:20(2x); 9:19(18); 10:20; Jer b 29:11(49:10); 30(49):3; 31(48):1, 15 and 20.

evenly between the two halves of Jer LXX, and each renders similar constructions in the Hebrew text. The equivalent is *ταλαιπωρέω* five times in Jer a' and *ὄλλυμι* five times in Jer b'.

The participle forms of **דַּדְּ** are mostly used as agent nouns (*nomen agentis*),<sup>844</sup> but occur three times as the verb in the phrase **בִּי־שִׁדְּ יְהוָה**, whose object, expressed with the particle **אֵל**, is either Babylon (28[51]:55), the Philistines (29[47]:4) or a pasture (32:22[25:36]). In each of these three cases **דַּדְּ** is rendered by *ὄλεθρεύω* or *ἐξόλεθρεύω*. The agent nouns usually function as subjects and occur in the masculine singular form in all but two instances (12:12 and 28[51]:53).

6:26 **עֲלִינוּ הַשִּׁדְּ יְבֵא פְתָאם** – ὅτι ἐξαίφνης ἥξει *ταλαιπωρία* ἐφ' ἡμᾶς

15:8 **בְּצַהֲרִים שִׁדְּ בַחֹר אֵם עַל־אֵם לְהָאֲתִי לָהֶם** – ἐπήγαγον ἐπὶ μητέρα νεανίσκου *ταλαιπωρίαν* ἐν μεσημβρία

28(51):53 **בִּי־תַעֲלֶה בְּבֶל הַשָּׁמַיִם וְכִי תִבְצֹר מְרוֹם עִזָּה מֵאֲתִי יְבֵא שִׁדְּדִים** – ὅτι ἐὰν ἀναβῇ Βαβυλὼν ὡς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν ὀχυρώσῃ ὕψος ἰσχύος αὐτῆς, παρ' ἐμοῦ ἥξουσιν *ἐξόλεθρεύοντες* αὐτήν, λέγει κύριος

31(48):8 **יְבֵא שִׁדְּ אֶל־כָּל־עִיר** – καὶ ἥξει *ὄλεθρος* ἐπὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν

31(48):18 **בִּי־שִׁדְּ מִוָּאֵב עֲלָה בָּךְ שַׁחַת מִבְּצָרֶיךָ** – ὅτι ὤλετο Μωαβ, ἀνέβη εἰς σέλυμαινόμενος ὀχύρωμά σου

The singular forms of **דַּדְּ** are rendered homogenously within the two halves of Jer LXX: *ταλαιπωρία* in Jer a' (3x, e.g. 6:26 and 15:8) and *ὄλεθρος* in Jer b' (2x, e.g. 31[48]:8). The only exception to this is 31(48):18, which the translator has understood as **דַּדְּ** and rendered as *ὄλλυμι*, which is in accord with the other equivalents of **דַּדְּ** in Jer b'.<sup>845</sup> The two plural forms of **דַּדְּ** are rendered by participles, *ταλαιπωροῦντες* in 12:12 and *ἐξόλεθρεύοντες* in 28(51):53.

The final three occurrences of **דַּדְּ** are rendered by other means:

5:6 **יְשִׁדְּדִם עֲרֵבוֹת יִזְאֵב** – καὶ λύκος ἕως τῶν οἰκιῶν *ὠλέθρευεν* αὐτούς

<sup>844</sup> Jer 6:26; 12:12; 15:9; 28(51):53, 56; 31(48):8, 18 and 32.

<sup>845</sup> Cf. examples of renderings in Jer b' above.

29(47):4 םִי־תִשָּׁלֶכֶת־לְכָל־תָּא תִּי־שָׁלַח אֶבֶר םִי־הָלַח – ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐρχομένη  
 τοῦ ἀπολέσαι πάντας τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους

30:6(49:28) דַּרְקֵי־נִבְיָאֵתָא וְדַרְקֵי־לֵא יֵלֶכְמוּ קוֹמֵי הִוְהִי אִמְרָא כֹּה – Οὕτως  
 εἶπε κύριος Ἀνάστητε καὶ ἀνάβητε ἐπὶ Κηδαρ καὶ πληῖξατε τοὺς υἱοὺς  
 Κεδεμ

Πλήσσω, which means 'to strike' or 'to smite,' and ἀπόλλυμι 'lay waste' are unique renderings in Jer LXX. The other equivalent, ὀλεθρεύω, is used a few times throughout the translation.

A significant difference between Jer a' and Jer b' is evident in the renderings of the *pu'al* form תִּשָּׁלַח:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ταλαιπωρέω	5	–	5
ὄλλυμι	–	6	6

Table 36. Renderings of the *Pu'al* form תִּשָּׁלַח in Jer LXX.<sup>846</sup>

The equivalent ταλαιπωρέω is found in each case in Jer a', and ὄλλυμι is found in each case in Jer b'. A similar situation can be observed regarding the renderings of the participle form תִּשָּׁלַח when it functions as an agent noun:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ταλαιπωρία / ταλαιπωροῦντες	4	–	4
ἐξολεθρεύοντες	1	–	1
ὄλεθρος	–	2	2

Table 37. Renderings of the participle תִּשָּׁלַח when it functions as an agent noun in Jer LXX.<sup>847</sup>

The singular forms of the agent noun תִּשָּׁלַח are rendered by ταλαιπωρία in Jer a' and by ὄλεθρος in Jer b'. The two plural forms, both of which occur in Jer a', are rendered by ταλαιπωροῦντες and ἐξολεθρεύοντες. The use of the word pair ταλαιπωρέω and

<sup>846</sup> The case of תִּשָּׁלַח = ὄλλυμι in 31(48):18 is included in this chart, as the translation clearly reflects the reading תִּשָּׁלַח. For discussion on this case, cf. above.

<sup>847</sup> These totals do not include the case of תִּשָּׁלַח = ὄλλυμι in 31(48):18.

ταλαιπωρία in Jer a' is in clear contrast with the equivalents used in Jer b', ὄλλυμι and ὀλεθρος, which are employed in similar contexts. The use of this evidence by both Thackeray and Tov is warranted, as the translation character of the two halves differs with regard to their treatment of the verb טַוַּשׁ. Pietersma's position that the renderings evince discontinuity between the two halves only pertains to the renderings in Jer a', where the equivalents ὀλεθρεύω and ἐξὀλεθρεύω are twice used to render participle forms of טַוַּשׁ instead of the usual ταλαιπωρία. Jer b' consistently renders all cases of טַוַּשׁ *pu'al* with ὄλλυμι and cases of the participle טַוַּשׁ, either as an agent noun or as a predicate, with ὀλεθρος or ὀλεθρεύω. The two other forms of the verb טַוַּשׁ that occur in Jer b' (in 29[47]:4 and 30:6[49:28]) are rendered by ἀπόλλυμι and πλήσσω. The inconsistency in the OG might well have served as a motive for the reviser to apply his preferred equivalent with more consistency.

## 6.23. שָׁכַן

Both Thackeray and Tov list the translations of שָׁכַן among their evidence for bisectioning Jer LXX.<sup>848</sup> Thackeray identifies κατασκηνόω as the equivalent in Jer a' and καταλύω as the equivalent in Jer b', and Tov does the same. Tov adds that καταλύω is the rarer equivalent of the two in the LXX. Tov categorizes this difference in the category of synonymous renditions. In addition, Tov proposes that the root καταλυ- was “cherished” by the reviser since it is employed as a rendering of several Hebrew words in Jer b'.

Soderlund discusses this equivalence in his study<sup>849</sup> and notes that שָׁכַן is also rendered by the equivalents κατοικίζω in Jer a' and οἰκέω in Jer b'. Based on this, he criticizes Tov's claim that the unrevised equivalents in Jer b' must have been κατασκηνόω. He also presents cases in Jer a' in which the root καταλυ- is used, though as a rendering of other terms, to show that it is not a point of distinction between Jer a' and Jer b'. Soderlund's conclusion is that this equivalence cannot be used to make a distinction between a reviser and a second translator.

<sup>848</sup> Thackeray 1903, 249; Tov 1976, 94.

<sup>849</sup> Soderlund 1985, 177–179.



שכן is a verb that means, in the *qal* form, 'to settle' or 'to reside.' In other verbal stems, particularly *pi'el* and *hiph'il*, it acquires a causative sense. In Jer LXX, שכן is rendered by κατοικίζω, κατασκηνόω, οἰκέω and καταλύω. The first three equivalents are similar to one another as they all bear the meaning 'to settle.' Slight differences are to be found in their use, however. Κατοικίζω includes an emphasis on the initial phase of settlement, the establishing of such, and κατασκηνόω has a more specific use to signify the taking up quarters or encamping. Οἰκέω mainly means 'to inhabit' or 'to dwell.' Καταλύω, on the other hand, generally means 'to put down,' 'to bring to an end' or 'to destroy,' and is used in many different contexts to this end.<sup>850</sup> It is less frequently used in the sense of taking up quarters or lodging, which must be the meaning intended by the translators of the Pentateuch and the historical books where it is used to render the verb לִין 'to stay overnight.' In Jer LXX, Jer a' attests κατοικίζω and κατασκηνόω as equivalents of שכן, and Jer b' attests καταλύω and οἰκέω.

The rendering κατοικίζω is employed twice.

7:3 כְּהֵאמֹר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִטִּיבוּ דְרָכֵיכֶם וּמַעַלְלֵיכֶם וְאֶשְׁכְּנָהּ  
 הַזֶּה אַתְּכֶם בְּמִקּוֹם הַזֶּה – τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ Διορθώσατε τὰς  
 ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ὑμῶν, καὶ κατοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ  
 τούτῳ

7:7 וְשִׁכְנֹתִי אַתְּכֶם בְּמִקּוֹם הַזֶּה בְּאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְאַבֹּתֵיכֶם לְמִן־עוֹלָם  
 וְעַד־עוֹלָם – καὶ κατοικιῶ ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἣ ἔδωκα τοῖς  
 πατράσιν ὑμῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος καὶ ἔως αἰῶνος

Both instances of the equivalence signify the establishment of the people of Judah in Jerusalem and Judea. These are the only two cases in which κατοικίζω renders שכן in the LXX. Elsewhere in the LXX, the Greek verb generally renders ישב, as it does in Jer 12:15 and 17:25.<sup>851</sup> In 17:25, the meaning is "to be inhabited," but the other instances are causative with YHWH as the subject.

<sup>850</sup> LSJ *sv.* κατοικίζω, κατασκηνόω, οἰκέω and καταλύω.

<sup>851</sup> The equivalent in 12:15 corresponds to the MT reading וְשִׁבְתִּים. The confusion between ישב and שוב must have occurred during the translation process or already in the translator's *Vorlage*. For an analysis of the renderings of ישב in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 6.12.

Κατασκηνόω most often renders שכן in the LXX, and does so four times in Jer.

7:12 כִּי לְכוּנָא אֶל־מְקוֹמִי אֲשֶׁר בְּשִׁילוֹ אֲשֶׁר שְׁכַנְתִּי שָׁמָּה בְּרֹאשׁוֹנָה –  
ὅτι πορεύθητε εἰς τὸν τόπον μου τὸν ἐν Σηλω, οὗ κατασκηνώσα τὸ ὄνομά  
μου ἐκεῖ ἔμπροσθεν

23:6 בְּיָמָיו תִּנְשַׁע יְהוּדָה וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁכֹּן לְבָטַח וְזֶה־שְׁמוֹ אֲשֶׁר־יִקְרָאוּ יְהוָה –  
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ σωθήσεται Ἰουδας, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ  
κατασκηνώσει πεποιθώς, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὃ καλέσει αὐτὸν [κύριος]  
Ἰωσεδεκ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις

One of the four cases is causative with YHWH as the subject (7:12). This case differs from 7:3 and 7:7 (above) in that it is in the past tense instead of describing the future. The three other cases rendered by κατασκηνόω (17:6, 23:6 and 28[51]:13) signify “to inhabit” or “to dwell,” though the meaning “to encamp” is possible in 28(51):13.<sup>852</sup>

The equivalent καταλύω renders שכן three times in Jer LXX. The Greek verb occurs a total of eight times in Jer, and the other cases render the verbs גור *hitpolel* (5:7)<sup>853</sup>, שבת *hiph'il* (7:34 and 16:9), עבר *qal* (28[51]:43) and טבע *hoph'al* (45[38]:22).<sup>854</sup>

32:10(25:24) וְאַתָּה בְּלִמְלָכִי עָרַב וְאַתָּה בְּלִמְלָכִי הָעָרִב הַשְׁכָּנִים בְּמִדְבָּר – καὶ  
πάντας τοὺς συμμείκτους τοὺς καταλύοντας ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

30:9(49:31) קוּמוּ עָלוּ אֶל־גּוֹי שְׁלִיו יוֹשֵׁב לְבָטַח נֶאֱמַר־יְהוָה לֹא־דָלְתִים –  
ἀνάστηθι καὶ ἀνάβηθι ἐπ' ἔθνος εὐσταθοῦν  
καθήμενον εἰς ἀναψυχήν, οἷς οὐκ εἰσι θύραι, οὐ βάλανοι, [οὐ μοχλοί,  
μόνοι καταλύουσι

In all three cases (29:17[49:16] in addition to the above examples), the meaning of the verb is “to abide,” or possibly “to lodge.” In each case the subject of the verb is one of the nations in the OAN section (29:17[49:16] and 30:9[49]:31) or in the cup of wrath sequence (32:10[25:24]). Two of these instances have the hexaplaric variant κατασκηνόω, which is the usual rendering of the Hebrew verb in Jer a’.

<sup>852</sup> The LXX interprets this case according to the *Qere* reading שְׁכַנְתִּי.

<sup>853</sup> The LXX interprets the word as יתגררו instead of the MT יתגדרו.

<sup>854</sup> Ziegler proposes the conjecture καταδύσουσιν instead of the well attested καταλύσουσιν.

The only time that οἰκέω renders the verb שכן is also in the OAN section עֲזְבוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ וְשָׁכְנוּ בְּסֻלֵּעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִדְּבָרִים – κατέλιπον τὰς πόλεις καὶ ὄκησαν ἐν πέτραις οἱ κατοικοῦντες Μωαβ (31[48]:28). The translator possibly confused the Hebrew verb with ישב since οἰκέω renders ישב elsewhere in Jer LXX.

The renderings of שכן are distributed throughout Jer LXX as follows:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
κατοικίζω	2	-	2
κατασκηνόω	4	-	4
καταλύω	-	3	3
οἰκέω	-	1	1
Total	6	4	10

Table 38. Renderings of שכן in Jer LXX.

The Hebrew verb שכן is rendered by four different verbs in Jer LXX, two in each half of the book, and none of the renderings overlap into the other half. The three causative uses of שכן are in Jer a', and they are rendered by the two cases of κατοικίζω and once by κατασκηνόω. All the other uses of the verb denote habitation, dwelling or possibly lodging. In such cases, Jer a' employs κατασκηνόω each time (3) and Jer b' employs καταλύω three times and οἰκέω once.

With respect to the meaning 'to lodge / inhabit / dwell,' the equivalent in Jer a' is the usual one employed elsewhere in the LXX to render שכן. The equivalent of the use of this Hebrew term in Jer b', however, is found only a few times elsewhere in the LXX (Josh 2:1, Sir 14:25, 27 and 47:12), which sets it apart from the rest of the LXX. This difference allows for the different characterization of the renderings of שכן in Jer a' and Jer b'.

Soderlund is correct in noting that the root καταλυ- is not as unique to Jer b' as Tov presents it, and that based on the evidence it is difficult to determine whether this data supports Thackeray or Tov's theory over the other. Nevertheless, the distinction between the character of these renderings is clear, and may be used to support the bisectioning of the translation.

The hexaplaric variants that are attested for these cases in Jer b' are once more similar to the renderings in Jer a'. They attest the rendering *κατασκηνόω* two times when the text in Jer b' attests *καταλύω*. Presumably the later translators were dissatisfied with *καταλύω* in Jer b' and reverted the renderings to the same ones that are used in Jer a'.

## 6.24. יִשְׂשׁ and הִתְהַלֵּץ

The Hebrew words יִשְׂשׁ and הִתְהַלֵּץ 'joy' are referred to together by both Thackeray and Tov to support their cases for bisectioning Jer LXX.<sup>855</sup> Thackeray lists this data among the evidence that clearly marks the difference between Jer a' and Jer b'. The equivalents he refers to are *χαρά* in Jer a' and *χαρμοσύνη* (*χαρμονή*) in Jer b'. Tov presents the same evidence and adds that *χαρά* is a common equivalent of the two Hebrew terms elsewhere in the LXX, and that the equivalents in Jer b' are rarer.

יִשְׂשׁ and הִתְהַלֵּץ are synonymous and mean 'joy' or 'jubilation.' In Jer LXX, these words are rendered by three different equivalents, which are also synonymous to a certain degree. Nominal forms of the verbs *εὐφραίνω* and *χαίρω* are used, together with their cognate forms *εὐφροσύνη* and *χαρά*. Other equivalents are *χαρμονή* and *χαρμοσύνη*.

*Χαίρω* is a frequent word in Greek literature that has many uses. It most commonly signifies 'to rejoice' or 'to be glad,' and is often used in greetings and farewells. *Εὐφραίνω* is more limited in scope. It means simply 'to cheer' or 'to gladden.' *Χαρά* means 'joy' and 'delight,' and *εὐφροσύνη* means 'mirth' and 'merriment.' The meaning of *χαρμονή* and *χαρμοσύνη* is very similar. They both signify 'joy' or 'joyfulness' and 'delight.' Jer a' employs the four equivalents *εὐφραίνω*, *χαίρω*, *εὐφροσύνη* and *χαρά* to render the Hebrew words יִשְׂשׁ and הִתְהַלֵּץ. Jer b' uses *εὐφραίνω* and *εὐφροσύνη* in addition to *χαρμονή* and *χαρμοσύνη*, thus not employing *χαίρω* and *χαρά*.

An important aspect of the renderings of the two words יִשְׂשׁ and הִתְהַלֵּץ is the fact that in most cases (in five of the seven occurrences of each word) they occur parallel to

<sup>855</sup> Thackeray 1903, 249; Tov 1976, 95.

each another. This is mainly because they often occur as a pair in sayings, such as קול שִׂמְחָה וְקול שִׂשׂוֹן “the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness.” The translator’s task was to render these two words with fairly synonymous equivalents, and these are mainly forms derived from the word pair χαίρω and εὐφραίνω. The equivalents do not render their respective Hebrew counterparts consistently, however. In three cases of sayings (7:34, 15:16 and 40[33]:11) εὐφραίνω and εὐφροσύνη render שִׂשׂוֹן while χαίρω, χαρά and χαρμωσύνη render שִׂמְחָה. On the other hand, in the other two cases (16:9 and 25:10), χαρά renders שִׂשׂוֹן and εὐφροσύνη renders שִׂמְחָה.

The other two equivalents of שִׂשׂוֹן are likewise mixed, and both occur in Jer b’.

38(31):13 אֲזַתְשִׁמַּח בְּתוֹלָהּ בְּמַחֹל וּבַחֲרִים וּזְקֵנִים יַחֲדוּ וְהַפְכָּתִי אֲבָלָם לְשִׂשׂוֹן וְנַחֲמֵתִים וְשִׂמְחֵתִים מִיגוֹן – τότε χαρήσονται παρθένοι ἐν συναγωγῇ νεανίσκων, καὶ πρεσβῦται χαρήσονται, καὶ στρέψω τὸ πένθος αὐτῶν εἰς χαρμωσύνην καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς εὐφραϊνομένους

40(33):9 הָאֶרֶץ לְכָל גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ וְלִתְפָּאֶרֶת לְכָל גּוֹיֵי הָאָרֶץ – καὶ ἔσται εἰς εὐφροσύνην καὶ εἰς αἶνεσιν καὶ εἰς μεγαλειότητα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τῆς γῆς

In the first example (38[31]:13) the equivalent is χαρμωσύνη, and in the second (40[33]:9) it is εὐφροσύνη. The context in both cases is the redemption of Israel and Jerusalem after their judgement, which is the cause for joyfulness. In the first example, the close proximity of the verb שִׁמַּח may influence the choice of the parallel equivalents here as well. For the second example (40[33]:9), the saying קול שִׂשׂוֹן וְקול שִׂמְחָה occurs two verse later, where the rendering of שִׂשׂוֹן is εὐφροσύνη, and this might have affected the rendering in this verse.

The translations of the other two cases of שִׂמְחָה are likewise mixed, and both occur also in Jer b’.

31(48):33 וְנִאֲסָפָה שִׂמְחָהּ וְגִיל מִכְרָמָל וּמֵאֶרֶץ מוֹאָב – συνεψήσθη χαρμωσύνη καὶ εὐφροσύνη ἐκ τῆς Μωαβίτιδος

38(31):7 בֵּי-יָכָה אָמַר יְהוָה רְנוּ לִיעֲקֹב שִׂמְחָה וְצִהְלוּ בְּרֹאשׁ הַגּוֹיִם – ὅτι οὕτως εἶπε κύριος τῷ Ἰακωβ Εὐφράνθητε καὶ χρεμετίσατε ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ἐθνῶν

Here, the renderings of **שמחה** are **χαρμοσύνη** (31[48]:33) and **εὐφραίνω** (38[31]:7). In the first example, the translator has again used the synonymous terms **χαρμοσύνη** and **εὐφροσύνη**, but this time the rare noun **גִּיל** is in the Hebrew text. The verb **גִּיל** 'rejoice' is a common word in the HB, found especially in Is, MP and Ps, but this is the only occurrence of either the noun or the verb in Jer. The second example does not contain synonymous terms, and the closest occurrence of words of rejoicing are in 38(31):12 and 13, where **εὐφραίνω** renders the verbs **רָנַן** 'to rejoice / to exult' and **שמח**, **χαίρω** renders the verb **שמח**, and **χαρμονή** renders **שִׂשׁוֹן**.

The distribution of the renderings of **שִׂשׁוֹן** and **שמחה** are as follows.

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
<b>εὐφραίνω</b>	1	1	2
<b>εὐφροσύνη</b>	3	2	5
<b>χαίρω</b>	1	-	1
<b>χαρά</b>	3	-	3
<b>χαρμοσύνη</b> and <b>χαρμονή</b>	-	3	3
Total	8	6	14

Table 39. Renderings of **שִׂשׁוֹן** and **שמחה** in Jer LXX.

The main equivalent throughout Jer LXX is **εὐφροσύνη**, and it is used in both halves of the translation to render similar Hebrew cases. The difficulty in identifying any distinctive features between the two halves of the translation is that **שִׂשׁוֹן** and **שמחה** are generally used in parallel constructions and the renderings of the parallel terms seem to be used interchangeably. The main difference is that **χαρά** occurs as the parallel term in Jer a' and **χαρμοσύνη** in Jer b'. No distinction can be made based on the Hebrew words that these equivalents render because both equivalents are used to render both **שִׂשׁוֹן** and **שמחה**.

A distinction can be made based on the rarity of the equivalent found in Jer b'. **Χαρμοσύνη** and **χαρμονή** are very rare in the LXX. They occur elsewhere only a few times in Lev, 1 Sam, Job and Bar, where they render a variety of Hebrew words

(שׁוֹן, שְׁמָה, רִנָּן and שְׁחָק). The other equivalents that are used in Jer LXX, εὐφραίνω, εὐπροσύνη, χαίρω and χαρά, are quite common renderings of שׁוֹן and שְׁמָה throughout the LXX. The use of the rare equivalents in Jer b’ strengthens its characterization as different from Jer a’, while the attestation of χαρμονή in Aquila in Jer 31(48):33 serves to affiliate Jer b’ with a known revisional tendency.

## 6.25. The verb שָׁמַם and the Nouns שְׁמָה and שְׁמָמָה

The translations of the verb שָׁמַם and the nouns שְׁמָה and שְׁמָמָה are used by both Thackeray and Tov<sup>856</sup> as arguments for bisectioning the book. They are also the subject of one of Pietersma’s more extensive analyses in which he attempts to disprove their significance for bisectioning the book. Thackeray includes the equivalent as part of the phrase שְׁמָה שׁוֹם\שׁוֹם “to make desolate,” which is rendered τάσσειν εἰς ἀφανισμόν in Jer a’ and τιθέναι\διδόναι εἰς ἄβατον in Jer b’. He also notes that the word ἄβατος is used “almost” in an abstract sense in Jer b’ as opposed to the four concrete uses in Jer a’ where it refers to land (γῆ) or desert (ἐρημος). Tov proposes that ἄβατος was chosen as a revision of ἀφανισμός because the translator considered ἄβατος to better express the meaning of שְׁמָה and שְׁמָמָה. He further notes that, as a rendering of שְׁמָה and שְׁמָמָה, ἄβατος only occurs in Jer b’. He extends the evidence to include the renderings of the verb שָׁמַם in the meaning ‘to destroy / to be desolate,’ pointing out that it is translated three out of four times by ἀφανίζω in Jer a’, and that Jer b’ “innovates the corresponding verb ἀβατώ,” which is not used elsewhere in Greek literature.

Soderlund<sup>857</sup> agrees that there is a “marked division” between Jer a’ and Jer b’ regarding the use of ἀφανισμός and ἄβατος. He questions Tov’s conclusion on whether ἄβατος represents the Hebrew better than ἀφανισμός and appeals to Aquila as evidence that even a scrupulous minded reviser chose ἀφανισμός as the equivalent for שְׁמָה and שְׁמָמָה. Soderlund concludes that one cannot differentiate between the cause of the difference as deriving from a different translator or from a reviser.

<sup>856</sup> Thackeray 1903, 248; Tov 1976, 46–47.

<sup>857</sup> Soderlund 1985, 176–177.

Pietersma<sup>858</sup> argues that the use of ἄβατος as a rendering of שָׁמָּה and מִשְׁמָה is not sufficient grounds to call it a revision, and he specifically appeals to Stipp's critique of Tov's hypothesis, namely the mixed nature of Jer LXX 29 and the lack of a clear motive for such a revision. He does not agree with Tov that ἄβατος is more representative of שָׁמָּה and מִשְׁמָה than ἀφανισμός. He further posits that ἄβατος originates from the same translator that translated Jer a' and that this translator has derived the rendering ἄβατος from Lev 16:22, where it is used to render הָרָחֵק 'desolate (land).' Pietersma explains that the content of Lev 16 "accords well" with Jer LXX with regard to its theme of exile and "promise of post-exilic renewal," suggesting that Jer LXX sees a connection between the goat in Lev 16 carrying the iniquity of the Israelites into "the land of Azazel" and the exile of the Judeans described in Jer. In this scheme, the use of ἄβατος in Jer b' is used as a term to describe the contemporary state of the land of Judea as a desolation after the events of the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE.

The terms שָׁמָּה, שָׁמָּה and מִשְׁמָה are very similar to each other semantically. The verb שָׁמָּה means 'to be desolate,' 'uninhabited' or 'appalled.' The noun שָׁמָּה signifies a 'horrific' or 'atrocious event,' or can simply mean 'horror,' and מִשְׁמָה generally means 'waste' or 'devastation.' The greek equivalents of these words vary in Jer LXX. The noun ἀφανισμός means 'extermination' or 'destruction,' while the verb form ἀφανίζω can mean 'to destroy' and 'obliterate,' but also 'to hide' or 'to steal.' Ἀβατος refers to 'untrodden' or 'desolate' land. Less frequent renderings are ἔρημος and the verb ἐρημώω. The adjective signifies 'desolate,' 'solitary' or 'empty,' and the verb means 'to lay waste,' 'to abandon,' 'to leave alone' or 'to set free.' Finally, ἀπώλεια means 'destruction' or 'loss.' The noun ἀπώλεια is used a few times, and it means 'destruction.'

The verb שָׁמָּה is used in two different meanings in Jer LXX. The first, with the meaning 'to be appalled,' occurs five times,<sup>859</sup> all of which are located in Jer a'. These are rendered either by ἐξίστημι 'to shun' or by σκυθρωπάζω 'to look sullen.'

<sup>858</sup> Pietersma 2006a, 405–412.

<sup>859</sup> Jer 2:12, 4:9, 18:16, 19:8 and 27(50):13.



2:12 שָׁמוּ שְׁמִים עַל־זֹאת וְשָׁעֲרוּ חֲרָבוֹ מֵאֵד נְאֻם־יְהוָה – ἐξέστη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἔφριξεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον σφόδρα, λέγει κύριος

19:8 וַיִּשְׂרֹק יֵשׁוּעַ עָלֶיהָ וְלִשְׂרָקָהּ כָּל עִבְרַיִם וְלִשְׂמָהּ הַזֹּאת וְלִשְׂרָקָהּ כָּל עִבְרַיִם – καὶ κατατάξω τὴν πόλιν ταύτην εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ εἰς συριγμόν· πᾶς ὁ παραπορευόμενος ἐπ’ αὐτῆς σκυθρωπάσει καὶ συριεῖ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς πληγῆς αὐτῆς

In two cases the meaning of the verb ‘to be desolate’ and ‘waste’ is clearly used. In both cases the verb is in the *niph'al* form, but the two are rendered differently.

12:11 שָׁמָּה לְשִׁמְמָה אֲבָלָה עָלֶיהָ שְׁמָמָה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ כִּי אֵין אִישׁ שָׁם – ἐτέθη εἰς ἀφανισμόν ἀπωλείας, δι’ ἐμὲ ἀφανισμῷ ἡφανίσθη πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ τιθέμενος ἐν καρδίᾳ

40(33):10 עוֹד יִשְׁמַע בַּמִּקְוִים־הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם אֹמְרִים חֲרֵב הוּא מֵאִין אָדָם – Ἐτι ἀκουσθήσεται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ᾧ ὑμεῖς λέγετε Ἐρημός ἐστιν ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν, ἐν πόλεσιν Ἰουδα καὶ ἔξωθεν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ταῖς ἡρημωμέναις

The remaining three uses of the verb<sup>860</sup> that have equivalents in the LXX are similar to each other. In each of these instances the *hiph'il* form of the verb is used, each time with the object *נוֹה* ‘dwelling’ or ‘pasture.’ Each case is rendered by a different Greek verb, either ἐρημόω, ἀφανίζω or ἀβατόω. Here are two examples:

27(50):45 לָכֵן שְׁמַעוּ עֲצַת־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר יַעַן אֶל־בְּכֹל וּמַחֲשַׁבֹּתָיו אֲשֶׁר חָשָׁב – διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσατε τὴν βουλὴν κυρίου, ἣν βεβούλευται ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ λογισμοὺς αὐτοῦ, οὓς ἐλογίσατο ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Χαλδαίους· ἐὰν μὴ διαφθαρή τὰ ἀρνία τῶν προβάτων αὐτῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφανισθῇ νομὴ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν

10:25 כִּי־אָכְלוּ אֶת־עֵקֶב וְאָכְלָהּ וַיִּכְלְהוּ וְאֶת־נוֹהוּ הַשָּׂמוּ – ὅτι κατέφαγον τὸν Ἰακωβ καὶ ἐξανάλωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν νομὴν αὐτοῦ ἡρήμωσαν.

The phrase *שָׁמוּ שְׁמִים עַל־זֹאת* is shared by both 27(50):45 and 29:21(49:20), and the meaning of the verb in 27(50):45 is interpreted differently in various versions. The

<sup>860</sup> Jer 10:25, 27(59):45 and 29:21(49:20).

Vulgate, Targum and Peshitta all render it as an active plural, conveying the sense that pastures are laid waste, which is quite clearly the intended meaning in 10:25. Modern translations and commentaries prefer to understand the verb in the sense of shock instead of desolation, interpreting נָוָה as the subject and עֲלֵיהֶם as the object: “their pasture will be appalled at their fate.”<sup>861</sup> Confusion over the precise meaning of the verb here could be a cause of indicisiveness regarding its rendering. Significantly, the equivalent ἀβατώ is used only in Jer b’ in 29:21(49:20), and it occurs nowhere else in Greek literature.

The nouns שְׁמָה and שְׁמָמָה occur in fairly homogenous contexts that declare or predict that a certain land, city or people will be made into a desolation. שְׁמָה is usually prefixed with the preposition לְ, and שְׁמָמָה almost always occurs independently. The verbs that are modified by these terms are שִׁים, הִיה, שִׁית and גָּתַן. Such cases are rendered 14 times by ἀφανισμός, twice by ἄβατος, and three times by ἔρημος or ἐρήμωσις<sup>862</sup> in Jer a’. In Jer b’, such cases are rendered ten times by ἄβατος, twice by ἀπώλεια,<sup>863</sup> and once by ἔρημος in 41(34):22. In two instances the Hebrew term does not have an equivalent.<sup>864</sup>

2:15 עָלְיוּ יִשְׁאָגוּ כְּפָרִים נִתְּנוּ קוֹלָם וַיִּשְׁתּוּ אֶרְצוֹ לְשִׁמָּה עָרָיו נִצְתָּ מְבֹלֵי יָם  
 יֵשֶׁב – ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὠρύνοντο λέοντες καὶ ἔδωκαν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν, οἱ ἔταξαν  
 τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔρημον, καὶ αἱ πόλεις αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφησαν παρὰ τὸ μὴ  
 κατοικεῖσθαι

19:8 וְשִׁמְתִּי אֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת לְשִׁמָּה וְלִשְׂרָקָה כָּל עִבְרֵי עָלֶיהָ יִשָּׁם וַיִּשְׂרֹק  
 עַל־כָּל־מִכְתָּהָ – καὶ κατατάξω τὴν πόλιν ταύτην εἰς ἀφανισμόν καὶ εἰς

<sup>861</sup> E.g. McKane 1996, 1227–1228.

<sup>862</sup> Ἀφανισμός in Jer LXX 9:11; 10:22; 12:11; 18:16; 19:8; 25:9, 11; 26(46):19; 27(50):3, 13, 23; 28(51):29, 37 and 41; ἄβατος in 6:8 and 12:10; and ἔρημος or ἐρήμωσις 2:15; 4:7 and 27.

<sup>863</sup> Ἀβατος in Jer LXX 29:14(49:13), 18(17); 30:11(49:33); 31(48):9; 32:4(25:18), 24(38); 39(32):43; 51(44):6 and 22; ἀπώλεια in 30(49):2 and 51(44):12. Though the equivalents in 49(42):18 do not stand sequentially parallel to each other in this verse, I consider ἄβατος to be a rendering of לְשִׁמָּה, as it is very unlikely that ἄβατος would be used to render the term אֵלָה.

<sup>864</sup> Jer 28(51):43 and 29(36):18. In Jer 28(51):43, שְׁמָה does not seem to have an equivalent in the LXX, and the occurrence of ἄβατος rather represents the noun עֵרֶבָה.

συριγμόν· πᾶς ὁ παραπορευόμενος ἐπ' αὐτῆς σκυθρωπάσει καὶ συριεῖ  
ὕπερ πάσης τῆς πληγῆς αὐτῆς

26(46):19 בִּינֵי לְשֹׁמֵה תְהִיָּה וְנִצָּתָה מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב – ὅτι Μέμφις εἰς  
ἀφανισμόν ἔσται καὶ καυθήσεται διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπάρχειν κατοικοῦντας ἐν  
αὐτῇ

29:18(49:17) וְהָיְתָה אֶדוֹם לְשֹׁמֵה כָּל עִבְר עָלֶיהָ יֵשׁ וְיִשְׁרָק – καὶ ἔσται ἡ Ἰδουμαία εἰς ἄβατον, πᾶς ὁ παραπορευόμενος  
ἐπ' αὐτὴν συριεῖ

30:11(49:33) וְהָיְתָה חֲצוֹר לְמַעוֹן תַּנִּים שְׂמֵמָה עַד-עוֹלָם – καὶ ἔσται ἡ αὐλὴ  
διατριβῆς στρουθῶν καὶ ἄβατος ἕως αἰῶνος

51(44):22 וְתָהִי אֶרְצְכֶם לְחֶרֶב וְלִשְׂמָה וְלִקְלָלָהּ מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב כְּהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה –  
καὶ ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν εἰς ἐρήμωσιν καὶ εἰς ἄβατον καὶ εἰς ἀρὰν ὡς ἡ  
ἡμέρα αὕτη

The contexts in which these terms occur, and the local and national entities to which they refer, can be divided into three groups according to the literary sections in Jer LXX. The first group is located in Jer LXX chapters 1:1–25:13, which consists of oracles against Judah and Jerusalem. Within this group, שֹׁמֵה and שְׂמֵמָה refer to desolation that is predicted upon Judah and Jerusalem, and occasionally includes surrounding nations. שֹׁמֵה and שְׂמֵמָה are rendered by ἀφανισμός seven times in this group, and by ἔρημος, ἐρήμωσις or ἄβατος a total of five times. The use of ἀφανισμός becomes the consistent choice after verse 12:10, suggesting that the translator was initially indecisive regarding the proper equivalent.

The second group of occurrences of שֹׁמֵה and שְׂמֵמָה are located among the oracles against the nations, Jer LXX 25:14–32:24. Within this section, the renderings of שֹׁמֵה and שְׂמֵמָה mainly refer to desolation predicted against nations other than Judah, including Babylon (6x), Bozrah and Edom (2x), and Egypt, Ammon, Moab and Hazor once each. The cup of wrath sequence in Jer LXX 32 includes two renderings of these nouns, one that refers to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah and one that refers to all the lands listed in this section of text. In this section, שֹׁמֵה and שְׂמֵמָה are rendered seven times by ἀφανισμός, six times by ἄβατος and once by ἀπώλεια. The consistent choice of ἀφανισμός as the rendering (7x) continues from the previous section through the

oracle against Babylon in ch. 27 and 28. Beginning with the oracle against the Philistines in ch. 29, however, the consistent choice of equivalent becomes ἄβατος (6x), with only one alternative rendering (ἀπώλεια in 30[49]:2) used for the remainder of the section. The use of ἀπώλεια here might, however, be an attempt at using a variety of renderings, as ἄβατος is used to render the previous word תִּלְבָּשׁ 'rubbish heap.'

The third group of occurrences are located in the text following the oracles against the nations, chapters 33–52. There are only six cases in this section, each of which refers to Judah or Jerusalem, and all are rendered by ἄβατος except one case of ἔρημος in 41(34):22 and one case of ἀπώλεια in 51(44):12.

The noun שִׁמְמָה is used in a different context only twice in Jer LXX, and in these cases it is rendered by the equivalents ἑκστασις 'degeneracy' and ἀπορία 'distress.'

5:30 וְשִׁמְמָה וְנִהְיָה בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן – ἑκστασις καὶ φρικτὰ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

8:21 שִׁמְמָה הָיְתָה לִּי כִּדְרֹתַי הַשְּׁבָרִים בְּתַעֲבֹרַת עַל-שִׁבְרִי – ἐπὶ συντρίμματι θυγατρὸς λαοῦ μου ἐσκοτώθην· ἀπορία κατίσχυσέ με, ὠδῖνες ὡς τικτούσης

The noun שִׁמְמָה does not occur in other contexts.

There is a distinction between the renderings of the nouns שִׁמְמָה and מַמְמָה:

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ἀφανισμός	14	–	14
ἄβατος	2	10	12
ἔρημος or ἐρήμωσις	3	1	4
ἀπώλεια	–	2	2
others	2	–	2

Table 40. Renderings of the nouns שִׁמְמָה and מַמְמָה in Jer LXX.<sup>865</sup>

<sup>865</sup> The actual value of the occurrences of the rendering ἀφανισμός in Jer a and of ἄβατος in Jer b are significantly greater than their expected value. The expected value of the occurrences of the rendering ἀφανισμός in Jer a' is 9,2, which amounts to a difference of 4,8 in comparison to the actual value. The expected value of the occurrences of the rendering ἄβατος in Jer b' is 4,9 which amounts to a difference of 5,1 in comparison to the actual value.

The nouns are employed in near identical contexts throughout the book, and yet the renderings in the two halves are clearly different. A strong preference for the equivalent ἀφανισμός changes very abruptly to ἄβατος beginning in Jer LXX 29, in the middle of the oracles against the nations. The only difference between the first half of these oracles and the latter half is the nation to which each oracle is addressed. In ch. 26–28, the oracles are against Egypt and Babylon, while in ch. 29–32 they are against Edom, Ammon, Moab, Hazor, Jerusalem and Judah. In each case the oracle, and the context in which the terms שָׁמָּה and שָׁמָּה appear, refer to a future desolation. There seems to be no contextual or syntactical difference between the cases that are rendered by ἀφανισμός and those rendered by ἄβατος.

The same pertains to the cases rendered by ἀφανισμός in Jer LXX 1–25 and by ἄβατος in 33–52. As Pietersma argues, there are three cases of the equivalence שָׁמָּה or שָׁמָּה – ἄβατος that occur in a context describing past or present events (39[32]:43, 51[44]:6 and 22), but the other occurrences of the Hebrew term and its renderings, one of which is ἄβατος (49[42]:18), refer to the desolation of Judah as a coming event, and therefore do not comply with Pietersma’s argumentation. A more likely explanation for the use of ἄβατος in ch. 33–52 is that this equivalent is a continuation of the consistent choice of ἄβατος that already began in the OAN section from ch. 29 onward.

The contexts in which the renderings ἀφανισμός and ἄβατος occur in Jer a’ and Jer b’ respectively do not provide sufficient reason to assume there is an exegetical intention behind the variation in their use. The abrupt change of preferred equivalent in the middle of the OAN section clearly points toward a difference in the translation character between Jer a’ and Jer b’. Soderlund and Pietersma rightfully argue that ἄβατος ought not be held as a better representation of the Hebrew than ἀφανισμός, since their meanings are very close to each other, but the use of ἄβατος as the equivalent of שָׁמָּה and שָׁמָּה, and as a translation equivalent in general, distinguishes Jer b’ from Jer a’ and all other translated sections in the LXX.

## 6.26. שָׁקֶר

The noun שָׁקֶר ‘lie’ / ‘falsehood’ is not mentioned in previous research regarding the bisectioning of Jer LXX. However, Jer LXX does treat the word in two different ways.

Its most common renderings are ψεύδος 'lie' and the related adjective ψευδής 'false,' which are the main renderings in Jer a'. In Jer b', the main rendering is ἀδικος 'injustice' / 'wrongdoing,' though ψεύδος or ψευδής occur to an almost equal amount. The distribution of the two equivalents highly suggests that the difference results from intentional change.

The noun קִשְׁפֹּן characterizes a mode of behavior or action with an intent to harm or deceive. This is in line with the meaning of the verbal forms derived from the same root, whose occurrences in the Hebrew Bible can be understood as indicating behavior "contrary to a contract," in other words, to act falsely. According to Martin A. Klopfenstein, the original meaning of the root קִשַׁף carries the sense of 'treachery' and 'unfaithfulness.'<sup>866</sup> קִשְׁפֹּן does not denote a lying word in the meaning of 'incorrectness.' Its meaning is more precisely described by the terms 'unfaithfulness' and 'perfidy.'<sup>867</sup>

In Jer LXX, קִשְׁפֹּן is rendered by the noun ψεύδος and the adjective ψευδής, the adjective ἀδικος and the adverb μάτην. Ψεύδος and ψευδής broadly refer to what is 'false.' In Greek literature, the noun is used to mean 'what is untrue,' 'deceit,' 'falsehood,' 'lying' and 'lie,' and the adjective to mean 'deceiving,' 'untrue,' 'false' or 'fabricated.'<sup>868</sup> Ἀδικος is a term used in relation to law, meaning "that which is against the law," i.e. 'injustice.' In other contexts, it carries a similar tone, referring to a 'mistake' or to 'wrongdoing.' In religious terms it indicates violations against humanity or violations against a deity.<sup>869</sup> These equivalents, ψεύδος and ψευδής on the one hand and ἀδικος on the other, are commonly used as renderings of קִשְׁפֹּן in the LXX as a whole. The adverb μάτην, however, is an exceptional rendering, whose meaning is 'in vain' or 'fruitless.'<sup>870</sup>

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<sup>866</sup> Klopfenstein 1964, 6–8.

<sup>867</sup> For a more in-depth discussion on the use and meaning of קִשַׁף in the Hebrew Bible, cf. Tucker 2012, 38–42.

<sup>868</sup> Conzelmann 1974, 594–603. For a more in-depth discussion on the use and meaning of ψεύδος and ψευδής in the LXX, cf. Tucker 2012, 42–44.

<sup>869</sup> Schrenk 1974, 149–163. For a more in-depth discussion on the use and meaning of ἀδικος in the LXX, cf. Tucker 2012, 44–45.

<sup>870</sup> LSJ s.v. μάτην.

The noun שָׁקֶר occurs 37 times in Jer. Three of these occurrences are plusses in the MT (8:10, 29[36]:21 and 29[36]:23), but since Jer LXX seems to render שָׁקֶר on three occasions where the MT does not attest the word (6:6 and 27:15[34:12] 2x), the total amount of translated cases remains 37. These renderings include ψευδός or ψευδής 27 times, ἄδικος nine times and μάτην once.

The equivalent ψευδός or ψευδής is used in a variety of contexts in Jer LXX. They most often occur as the rendering with reference to false prophecy, especially when שָׁקֶר modifies the verb נָבֵא 'to prophecy,' which accounts for a total of 6 cases.<sup>871</sup>

וְאַתָּה פֶּשַׁחֹר וְכָל יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּיתְךָ תִּלְכוּ בְּשָׁבִי וּבְכָל תְּבוּאָה וְשֵׁם תְּמוּת וְשֵׁם  
 וְאַתָּה פֶּשַׁחֹר – καὶ σὺ καὶ πάντες οἱ  
 κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου πορεύσεσθε ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, καὶ ἐν  
 Βαβυλῶνι ἀποθανῇ καὶ ἐκεῖ ταφήσῃ, σὺ καὶ πάντες οἱ φίλοι σου οἷς  
 ἐπροφήτευσας αὐτοῖς ψευδῇ

עַד־מָתִי הָיָה בְּלִבִּי הַנְּבִיאִים נְבִיאֵי הַשָּׁקֶר וְנְבִיאֵי תַרְמֻת לִבָּם – ἕως πότε  
 ἔσται ἐν καρδίᾳ τῶν προφητῶν τῶν προφητευόντων ψευδῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 προφητεύειν αὐτοὺς τὰ θελήματα καρδίας αὐτῶν

כִּי שָׁקֶר הֵם נְבִיאִים לָכֵן לְמַעַן הִרְחִיק אֶתְכֶּם מֵעַל אֲדַמְתְּכֶם –  
 ὅτι ψευδῇ αὐτοὶ προφητεύουσιν ὑμῖν πρὸς τὸ μακρῦναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς  
 ὑμῶν

This equivalence occurs five other times in similar contexts: 6:13, 14:14 2°, 23:14 and 23:32(2x). In all these cases, either YHWH or Jeremiah accuse Jeremiah's opponents of prophecying falsely or of acting in a way that deceives the people of Jerusalem. Nine of these cases are in Jer a' and two in Jer b'.

Ψευδός or ψευδής is used four times to render שָׁקֶר when it refers to idolatry.<sup>872</sup>

אֲכִין לְשָׁקֶר מִגְבָּעוֹת הַמֶּזֶן הָרִים אֲכִין בִּיהֲוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ תְּשׁוּעַת יִשְׂרָאֵל –  
 ὄντως εἰς ψευδός ἦσαν οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ ἡ δύναμις τῶν ὀρέων, πλὴν διὰ  
 κυρίου θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ

<sup>871</sup> Jer LXX 14:14; 20:6; 23:25, 26; 34:8 and 12 (27:10 and 15).

<sup>872</sup> Jer LXX 3:23; 10:14; 16:19 and 28(51):17.

28(51):17 נִבְעַר כָּל-אָדָם מִדַּעַת הַבֵּישׁ כָּל-צֶרֶף מִפָּסֶל כִּי שֶׁקֶר נִסְכּוּ וְלֹא-רוּחַ  
 בָּם – ἐματαιώθη πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ γνώσεως, κατησχύνθη πᾶς χρυσοχόος  
 ἀπὸ τῶν γλυπτῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ψευδῆ ἔχωνευσαν, οὐκ ἔστι πνεῦμα ἐν  
 αὐτοῖς

In each case the deity in question is not mentioned, but is referred to indirectly through the image made by the craftsman (10:14=28[51]:17), the inheritance of the fathers (16:19) or the high places of worship (3:23). Each of these cases is found in Jer a'.

Ψεῦδος or ψευδής occurs as the rendering three times when שֶׁקֶר characterizes an object of trust, expressed by the verb בָּטַח 'to trust' (7:4; 7:8 and 13:25).

7:4 אֲלֹתֵיבָחֻ וְלָכֶם אֶל-דְּבָרֵי הַשֶּׁקֶר לֵאמֹר הֵיכַל יְהוָה הֵיכַל יְהוָה הֵיכַל יְהוָה הִנֵּה  
 מִהֶמָּה – μὴ πεποιθᾶτε ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ λόγοις ψευδέσιν, ὅτι τὸ  
 παράπαν οὐκ ὠφελήσουσιν ὑμᾶς λέγοντες Ναὸς κυρίου ναὸς κυρίου ἐστίν  
 13:25 זֶה גִּוְלִילִךְ מִנֶּת-מִדֶּיךָ מֵאִתִּי נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר שָׂכַחְתָּ אוֹתִי וַתִּבְטַחַי  
 בַּשֶּׁקֶר – ὁὗτος ὁ κληρὸς σου καὶ μερὶς τοῦ ἀπειθεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐμοί, λέγει κύριος,  
 ὡς ἐπελάθου μου καὶ ἡλπίσας ἐπὶ ψεύδεσι.

These comprise warnings or accusations of trusting in a false cause, generally the message of Jeremiah's opponents or the worship of other gods. These three cases are all located in Jer a'.

There are a further nine occurrences of שֶׁקֶר that are translated by ψεῦδος or ψευδής.<sup>873</sup> These consist of various uses in various contexts that are apart from the cases described above. The noun is used twice as an accusing exclamation:

44(37):14 וַיֹּאמֶר יְרֵמְיָהוּ שֶׁקֶר אֵינִי נִפְלַעַל-הַבְּשָׁדִים – καὶ εἶπε Ψεῦδος·  
 οὐκ εἰς τοὺς Χαλδαίους ἐγὼ φεύγω  
 50(43):2 וַיֹּאמֶר עֲזַרְיָה בֶן-הוֹשָׁעִיָּה וַיּוֹחֲנָן בֶּן-קָרַח וְכָל-הָאֲנָשִׁים הַזֵּהִים  
 אֵמָרִים אֶל-יְרֵמְיָהוּ שֶׁקֶר אַתָּה מְדַבֵּר לֹא שְׁלַחְךָ יְהוָה  
 υἱὸς Μαασαίου καὶ Ἰωαννάν υἱὸς Καρηε καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ εἰπαντες  
 τῷ Ιερεμία λέγοντες Ψεύδη, οὐκ ἀπέστειλέ σε κύριος

In 44(37):14, the Greek reflects the Hebrew use of שֶׁקֶר as an exclamation, but in 50(43):2, the Greek attests a slight transformation in comparison to the MT. In the

<sup>873</sup> Jer LXX 3:10; 5:2; 6:6; 8:8 2°; 9:2; 9:5(4); 44(37):14; 47(40):16 and 50(43):2.



Hebrew text, שָׁקַר modifies the verb דָּבַר, while the Greek rather attests an exclamation similar to that in 44(37):14. Jer LXX most likely had a different *Vorlage* here with the reading לאמר שָׁקַר לא שָׁלַחךְ יהוה.

Two further cases come close to this use, both modifying the verb דָּבַר, but they are rendered by the adjective ψευδής<sup>874</sup> instead of the noun: לְמַדּוֹ לְשׁוֹנָם דְּבַר־שָׁקַר – μεμάθηκεν ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν λαλεῖν ψευδῆ (9:5[4]) and בִּי־שָׁקַר אֶתָּה דָּבַר – ὅτι ψευδῆ σὺ λέγεις (47[46]:16).

Only one other case employs שָׁקַר with reference to a spoken word:

5:2 יִשָּׁבְעוּ לְשָׁקַר לְכֶן יֹאמְרוּ יְהוָה יְהוָה וְאֵם – Ζῆ κύριος, λέγουσι· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν ὁμνύουσι

Jer 5:2 accuses the people of Jerusalem of swearing falsely in the name of YHWH, since their conduct goes against YHWH's principles.<sup>875</sup>

In the final four cases in which שָׁקַר is rendered by ψεῦδος or ψευδής, the terms are used to describe physical or abstract entities, such as the city of Jerusalem (6:6),<sup>876</sup> the pen of the scribes (8:8 2°), repentance (3:10) and the overall atmosphere in the land (9:2). In total, 22 cases of שָׁקַר are rendered by ψεῦδος or ψευδής in Jer a' and only five cases in Jer b'.

The second equivalent used to render שָׁקַר in Jer LXX is the adjective ἄδικος. This equivalent is found nine times, and it is mainly used to render שָׁקַר in the context of false prophecy.

5:31 הַנְּבִיאִים נְבִאוּ־בְשָׁקַר וְהַכֹּהֲנִים יָרְדּוּ עַל־יְדֵיהֶם – οἱ προφῆται προφητεύουσιν ἄδικα, καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐπεκράτησαν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν

<sup>874</sup> This, however, is determined by how one accentuates the word. Both cases attest ψευδῆ, which can be accentuated as the neuter plural adjective ψευδῆ or the neuter plural noun ψεύδη. Here I follow Ziegler's accentuation.

<sup>875</sup> For a discussion on the differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX in this verse, cf. sec. 7.4.

<sup>876</sup> The counterpart of the Greek ὡς πόλις ψευδής in Jer 6:6 is הָיָא הָעִיר הַפְּקָדָה. The *Vorlage* of the Greek most likely attested הַשָּׁקַר in place of הַפְּקָדָה, resulting in "the false city."

34:12(27:15)a כִּי לֹא שְׁלַחְתִּים נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְהֵם נִבְּאִים בְּשֵׁמִי לְשֹׁקֵר – ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέστειλα αὐτούς, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ προφητεύουσιν τῷ ὀνόματί μου ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ

36(29):9 כִּי בְּשֹׁקֵר הֵם נִבְּאִים לְכֶם בְּשֵׁמִי לֹא שְׁלַחְתִּים נְאֻם־יְהוָה – ὅτι ἀδίκῳ αὐτοὶ προφητεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστειλα αὐτούς

Ἄδικος renders שֹׁקֵר six times in this context,<sup>877</sup> and in each case the phrase is nearly identical. The main verb is always נִבָּא, the subject is always the prophets who oppose Jeremiah, expressed either by the noun הַנְּבִיאִים or the pronouns הֵם or הֵמָּה. Jer 34:12(27:15) is an exceptional case due to the textual variant between MT and LXX at the end of the verse.

34:12(27:15) כִּי לֹא שְׁלַחְתִּים נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְהֵם נִבְּאִים בְּשֵׁמִי לְשֹׁקֵר לְמַעַן לְכֶם – ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέστειλα αὐτούς, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ προφητεύουσιν τῷ ὀνόματί μου ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ πρὸς τὸ ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀπολεῖσθε ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ προφήται ὑμῶν οἱ προφητεύοντες ὑμῖν [ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ] ψευδῇ<sup>(13[16])</sup> ὑμῖν

The two equivalents at the end of the verse ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ and ψευδῇ have no representation in the MT, but since both render שֹׁקֵר almost exclusively in Jer LXX,<sup>878</sup> there should be no doubt that they are meant to reflect a *Vorlage* with שֹׁקֵר. The presence of both equivalents side-by-side has led to the suggestion that this is a doublet, and Ziegler’s square brackets around ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ indicate his opinion that this is the secondary element. There are, however, a few differing opinions on whether the doublet occurred in the Hebrew or the Greek text, and which equivalent would be the more original one in the case that the doublet occurred in the Greek text.<sup>879</sup> It seems most plausible that the

<sup>877</sup> Jer LXX 5:31; 34:11(27:15); 34:12(27:15) 2x; 34:13(27:16); 36(29):9.

<sup>878</sup> The only exception is the rendering of אֶכְבֹּד as the adjective ψευδής in Jer 15:18.

<sup>879</sup> Tov proposes that the doublet in the LXX was already present in the *Vorlage*, with the reading לִכְם (ל)שֹׁקֵר/שֹׁקֵר לִכְם (Tov 1979, 88). The constituents of the doublet differ in sequence, and it is possible that the preposition לְ was prefixed to the first שֹׁקֵר. Ziegler seems to propose that the doublet was not in the *Vorlage*, although he expresses this in unclear terms, and that the earlier occurrence of ἐπ’ ἀδίκῳ in the verse is secondarily repeated here, ψευδῇ being the original translation (Ziegler 1958, 96). Janzen reproduces Ziegler’s argument, but states clearly that the doublet here is an inner-Greek

doublet was in the translator's *Vorlage*, and that both equivalents represent separate occurrences of the word שָׁקַר.<sup>880</sup> If the doublet had occurred during the transmission of the Greek text, the equivalents would most likely be the same. The use of both ἄδικος and ψευδής indicates an attempt to vary the equivalent as a rendering of back-to-back identical words.

Two other occurrences of the equivalent ἄδικος are used in the context of false prophecy, but as indirect objects of the *hiph'il* verb בָּטַח 'to cause to rely (on something).'

35(28):15 לֹא־שָׁקַרְתָּ הָיָה אֱתֶךָ הַבְּטָחְתָּ אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה עַל־שָׁקָר – Οὐκ ἀπέσταλκέ σε κύριος, καὶ πεποιθέναι ἐποίησας τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ἐπ' ἄδικῳ

36(29):31 וְאֲנִי לֹא שָׁלַחְתִּיו וַיִּבְטַח אֶתְכֶם עַל־שָׁקָר – καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπέστειλα αὐτόν, καὶ πεποιθέναι ἐποίησεν ὑμᾶς ἐπ' ἄδικῳ

These cases share similar features, both contextually and syntactically. Both are preceded by the preposition עַל, which is rendered by ἐπί, and in both cases Jeremiah accuses his opponents of leading the people to trust in what is false.

The remaining use of ἄδικος in Jer LXX is concerned with swearing:

7:9 הַגִּבּוֹרִים רָצוּ וְנָאִי וְהַשָּׁבַע לְשָׁקָר וְקִטְרַר לְבַעַל וְהָלַךְ אֲחֵרִי אֶל־הֵימָּן – καὶ φονεύετε καὶ μοιχᾶσθε καὶ κλέπτετε καὶ ὀμνύετε ἐπ' ἄδικῳ καὶ θυμιᾶτε τῇ Βααλ καὶ πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω θεῶν ἀλλοτρίων

phenomenon. Janzen, however, proposes that ἐπ' ἄδικῳ is the original reading and translates שָׁקַר in the *Vorlage* (Janzen 1973, 26 and 64). Neither Tov, Ziegler, nor Janzen consider the second occurrence of ὑμῖν to be secondary, and it is very probable that it reflects לָכֵם in the LXX *Vorlage*. The minus in the MT is most likely a case of haplography.

<sup>880</sup> A possible cause of the doublet is that the scribe who worked on the Greek text, either the translator or a copyist, detached the second occurrence of לָכֵם / ὑμῖν from its context in the following sentence, and understood it to be part of the sentence in verse 12(15). Out of context, the word is out of place. The preceding phrase, however, is so similar to other phrases which accuse prophets of false prophecy that the scribe could have corrected the perceived incongruence consciously or accidentally, either by adding the secondary element of the doublet or by dittography. The doublet appeared relatively early in the LXX manuscript tradition, as it is attested in almost all the manuscripts of Jer LXX. It is assumed here that the doublet occurred already in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Jer LXX, and that the translator considered both ἐπ' ἄδικῳ and ψευδῆς to reflect separate occurrences of שָׁקַר.

The text is a list of accusations against worshippers in the temple at Jerusalem. שָׁקַר modifies the infinitive verb הִשָּׁבַע 'to swear falsely.' The list is reminiscent of the decalogue.<sup>881</sup>

Only two of the nine cases of the equivalence שָׁקַר = ἄδικος are located in Jer a'. The first is in the context of false prophecy (5:31) and the second refers to swearing falsely (7:9). The other seven cases are in Jer b', and all occur in the context of false prophecy.

Translations of שָׁקַר occur 37 times in Jer LXX. 25 of these occurrences are in Jer a' and 12 in Jer b'. As mentioned above, ψευδος and ψευδής render שָׁקַר 27 times, ἄδικος renders it nine times, and the adverb μάτην renders it once. The following table illustrates how the translations of שָׁקַר are distributed between Jer a' and Jer b':

	Jer a'	Jer b'	Total
ψευδος / ψευδής	22	5	27
ἄδικος	2	7	9
μάτην	1	—	1
Total	25	12	37

Table 41. Renderings of שָׁקַר in Jer LXX.

The distribution of the two main translation equivalents of שָׁקַר in Jer LXX, ψευδος and ψευδής on the one hand and ἄδικος on the other, is almost divided along the division of Jer a' and b'. Approximately 80% of the occurrences of each of these two equivalents are found in either half of Jer LXX. 22 out of the 27 renderings derived from ψευδος and ψευδής occur in Jer a'. Jer a' employs ἄδικος only twice and μάτην once. Seven of nine occurrences of ἄδικος are found in Jer b'. Jer b' has also used ψευδος and ψευδής in five renderings. The renderings ψευδος and ψευδής are very dominant in Jer a', while Jer b' seems to employ a more balanced variation between ψευδος and ψευδής, on the one hand, and ἄδικος on the other.

<sup>881</sup> For a detailed discussion on the rendering of שָׁקַר לִשְׁבַּע in this passage and how it might have been influenced by the Greek translation of the decalogue, cf. Tucker 2012, 47–49.

The contexts in which  $\psi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  occur in Jer a' as a rendering of  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  are varied, and they overlap with the contexts in which the two instances of  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  are found. In Jer a',  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  appears once as an object of the verb "to prophecy" and once in the context of swearing falsely.  $\Psi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  are also used in these contexts in Jer a', once referring to swearing falsely and nine times with reference to prophecy. Three times  $\psi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  are employed as modifiers to the verb "to trust," particularly trusting in prophecy, and four times with reference to idolatry. The remaining five occurrences are used in different contexts, referring to repentance, speech and even the pen of the scribes.

Jer b' seems to reveal a more sophisticated distinction between its employment of the renderings  $\psi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ , and  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ .<sup>882</sup> Prophecy and trust in prophecy occupy the most occurrences of the renderings of  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  to be found in Jer b'.  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  is the prevalent equivalent in these cases, translating  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  seven times, while it is not used in any other context in Jer b'.  $\Psi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  is employed three times to translate exclamations, that is, accusations of lying. Twice, however, they render  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  in the context of prophecy, including the one instance of the doublet in 27:15(34:12).

Based on the evidence of the translations of  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  in Jer LXX, it is reasonable to conclude that the distribution of these translations in Jer b', as compared to Jer a', does reflect a change in translation character. The change is particularly evident among the renderings of  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  in contexts of false prophecy, from the prevalent use of  $\psi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  in Jer a' to the prevalent use of  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  in Jer b'.  $\Psi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  are used to translate  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  when modifying prophecy in chapters 14 and 23, which frequently employ  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  to describe the prophets Jeremiah is opposing. Why would the same equivalents not have been used in the texts against false prophecy in Jer b' as well, in chapters 27–29(34–36)? The motive for such a change could very well be a desire to express an interpretation of the Hebrew more clearly, preferring to use the term  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  rather than  $\psi\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  to convey the meaning of  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  when used to refer to prophets and prophecy. This possibly reflects an understanding of false prophecy that

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<sup>882</sup> However, it is important to note that  $\text{שָׁקֵר}$  does not occur in as many different contexts in the texts translated in Jer b as it does in those translated in Jer a.

goes beyond its designation as a simple lie, and rather sees it as a breach of the covenant between YHWH and Israel.

## **6.27. Summary**

This section has analyzed a number of renderings of Hebrew expressions that have been referred to in arguing for a bisection in Jer LXX. Previous studies by Thackeray and Tov relied on minimal analysis of the use of the Hebrew words and their Greek equivalents in context. This analysis has identified a number of further aspects among the differences that need to be taken into consideration when characterizing the differences between Jer a' and Jer b'. A brief description and categorization of these differences is provided in chapter 8.

## 7. Competence and Disposition of the Translator

### 7.1. Overview

The majority of scholars, from the 19th to the 21st century, have assessed the competence of the translator of Jer LXX as low, and most studies cite the same features in the translation in making this conclusion. The competence of a translator may be ascertained by examining translation equivalents that do not match the semantic features of the *Vorlage*. For example, transliterations occur relatively frequently in Jer LXX, and these tell of the translator's unfamiliarity with the rendered words. Other indicators understood to reflect a poor knowledge of Hebrew include incorrect renderings and confusion and false vocalization of consonants. The disposition of the translator, which may be seen in the type of translation that he produces, has been judged in a variety of ways, ranging from a free attitude, according to several early assessments, to one of the most literal attitudes among more recent assessments.<sup>883</sup> The competence of a translator, and how he renders words that he does not recognize, give a strong indication of the translator's disposition toward the translation process.

Judgements on the translator's competence and disposition should be based on portions of text for which both the Hebrew and the Greek are extant. Semantic differences between the Hebrew and the Greek texts clearly indicate the instances in which the translator has produced a rendering that does not reflect the meaning of the Hebrew text.<sup>884</sup> Not all such differences are to be ascribed to the translator, however, since some may derive from a different interpretive tradition of the Hebrew consonantal text or from changes that occurred in the transmission of the Hebrew text. Formal differences between Hebrew and Greek expressions can form good semantic matches. Naturally, erroneous translations and intentional changes by the translator do reflect on his work.

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<sup>883</sup> For a detailed summary of a range of studies on the character of Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.3.

<sup>884</sup> Judgements on the translator's competence and disposition based on the minuses in Jer LXX were very popular in the 19th and early 20th century, but the consensus among Jeremiah scholars since then has been that the plusses in the MT represent later additions to the Hebrew text, and that the different order of texts is derived from the translator's *Vorlage*. For discussion on the textual history of the Hebrew text, cf. sec. 2.2.

In this section, these differences are summarized and categorized according to their cause. They are understood as resulting from either 1) the translator's difficulty in understanding the text; 2) a different interpretation of the Hebrew consonants than the MT; 3) changes that took place in the Hebrew textual tradition; and 4) differences caused intentionally by the translator. Only the fourth category of difference can be interpreted as changes that have been brought about by the translator, and these reflect on the translator's disposition. The first three categories of difference indicate that the translator did not intentionally change the text he translated, but rather show that he sincerely tried to produce a good representation of the Hebrew text at his disposal to the best of his knowledge and ability.

This section draws from, but is not limited to, the renderings of words and expressions presented in the analyses above. The analyzed material is of a scale broad enough to encompass a majority of the Hebrew text, and it is distributed evenly throughout the whole work. The implications to be drawn from these differences reflect on the translation as a whole, and are in agreement with most recent assessments of the translation.<sup>885</sup> The semantic differences between Jer LXX and Jer MT generally result either from the translator's incompetence in the Hebrew language, his different interpretation of the Hebrew text, or from a different Hebrew *Vorlage* than Jer MT. The translator did not often intentionally produce a translation that is semantically different from his Hebrew *Vorlage*, but a few such examples do occur. Formal differences that do result in a good semantic match are slightly more common, and they generally exemplify the better abilities of the translator from the perspective of translation.

## 7.2. How the Translator Handles Text He does not Understand

Stipp has summarized a number of means by which the translator copes with words he does not understand. These means include recourse to parallel expressions, etymological derivations, the use of Pentateuchal equivalents, and appropriation to context.<sup>886</sup> A translator who produces an isomorphic translation is compelled to decide on a rendering even when he does not know the meaning of a Hebrew word. In some cases the choice

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<sup>885</sup> For a presentation of how earlier research has described the competence and disposition of the Greek translation of Jer, cf. sec. 2.3.

<sup>886</sup> Stipp 1994, 28–35.



of equivalent does not suit the context, which indicates that context was not the strongest factor in his decision making process.

Transliterations are quite frequent in Jer LXX. Stipp has compiled a fair amount of examples of this phenomenon and has succinctly explicated their use by the translator. They are a last resort when the translator sees no solution to the meaning of the Hebrew word from its context or etymology, and they embody an extreme faithfulness to the text by not binding the word to any interpretation.<sup>887</sup> I present only a few examples here.

כֹּנִיִּים occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible. Both cases are found in parallel passages of Jer (7:18 and 51[44]:19). The context pictures a father, mother and child preparing baked goods for the purpose of worshipping the queen of heaven. כֹּנִיִּים is therefore possibly “cakes” made in the shape of the goddess, as suggested by the context in Jer 7:18.

Jer 7:18 הַשָּׁמַיִם לְשׁוֹת בָּצֶק לַעֲשׂוֹת כֹּנִיִּים לְמִלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם – καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τρίβουσιν σταῖς τοῦ ποιῆσαι χαυῶνας τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

Jer 51(44):19 לְהַעֲצָבָה כֹּנִיִּים לָהּ עָשִׂינוּ אֲנִישֵׁינוּ לְהַמְבִּלְעָדִי אֲנִישֵׁינוּ – μή ἄνευ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡμῶν ἐποιήσαμεν αὐτῇ χαυῶνας

Jer LXX offers a transliteration of the word: χαυῶνας, which is a solution followed also by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. TLG indicates that the word appears elsewhere only in much later homelytical and lexicographical works. The translator did not understand the meaning of כֹּנִיִּים, and resorted to transliterating it.

The title רַב־מֶגַּךְ appears only in the two lists of Babylonian officials in Jer MT 39, in verses 3 and 13. It is used both times as a title for שַׂר־אֶצֶר. The meaning of רַב־מֶגַּךְ is difficult to determine.

Jer 46(39):3 שַׂר־אֶצֶר רַב־מֶגַּךְ – Ναργαλσασαρσερ Παβαμαγ

In the Septuagint, verses 4–13 do not have an equivalent. This most likely reflects a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage*. The translator does not provide any semantic equivalent for

<sup>887</sup> Stipp 1994, 34–35. For more examples of transliteration, cf. Pietersma & Saunders 2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/34-ieremias-nets.pdf> (accessed 2.3.2018).

רַב־מָג, and is satisfied with transliterating the term as *ραβαμαγ*, maybe thinking that it is part of the proper name. The word *רב*, on the other hand, occurs several times in Jer as part of the title *רַב־טַבָּחִים* ‘captain of the guard.’ The translator has successfully recognized this title and rendered it *ἀρχιμάγειρος*, which is used as an equivalent also in 2 Kgs 25. Gen LXX attests the word *ἀρχιμάγειρος* as well, but as a rendering of the similar title *שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים*.

The translator’s poor comprehension of the context can effect his choice of lexical equivalent for other familiar words. The Hebrew word *נוֹה*, for example, can mean ‘pasture’ or ‘settlement,’ and these are usually rendered correctly by *νομή* ‘pasture’ or *κατάλυμα* ‘lodging place.’ The equivalent *τόπος* ‘place,’ however, is used twice in the translation.<sup>888</sup> This is a very rare equivalence in the LXX, occurring elsewhere only once in Ps 78(79):7, which happens to be almost identical to the case of *נוה* in 10:25.

הַנֹּה בְּאַרְיֵה יַעֲלֶה מִגְּאוֹן הַיַּרְדֵּן אֶל־נוֹה אֵיתָן בִּי־אַרְגִּיעָה 29:20(49:19)  
 אֶרִיצֶנּוּ מֵעֲלֵיָהּ – ἰδοὺ ὥσπερ λέων ἀναβήσεται ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς  
 τόπον Αἰθαμ, ὅτι ταχὺ ἐκδιώξω αὐτοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτῆς

וְאַתָּה תִּנְבֵּא אֲלֵיהֶם אֵת כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְאַמְרַתְּ אֲלֵיהֶם 32:16(25:30)  
 הֲוֶה מִמָּרוֹם יִשָּׂאג וּמִמַּעוֹן קִדְשׁוֹ יִתֵּן קוֹל׃ שָׂאג יִשָּׂאג עַל־נוֹהוּ הַיַּד דְּכֹרְכִים  
 יַעֲנֶה אֶל כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ – καὶ σὺ προφητεύσεις ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους  
 τούτους καὶ ἐρεῖς Κύριος ἄφ’ ὑψηλοῦ χρηματιεῖ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ  
 δώσει φωνὴν αὐτοῦ· λόγον χρηματιεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, καὶ αἰδαδ  
 ὥσπερ τρυγῶντες ἀποκριθήσονται· καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ

Ps 78(79):7 וְאַתָּה יְעֹקֵב וְאַתָּה הַשֵּׁמוֹ 78(79):7  
 כִּי אֶכֶל אֶת־יַעֲקֹב וְאַתָּה הַשֵּׁמוֹ – ὅτι κατέφαγον τὸν Ἰακωβ  
 καὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ ἡρήμωσαν.

The meaning in 29:20(49:19) refers to a pasture, but the translator has not understood the phrase *נוֹה אֵיתָן* ‘perennial pasture.’ He has transliterated the second word and rendered *נוה* as *τόπος*.<sup>889</sup> Jer 32:16(25:30) similarly attests *נוה* paired with a word that is

<sup>888</sup> For a discussion on the renderings of *נוה* in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 6.15. Tov argues that the two uses of *τόπος* are revised equivalents. The reviser, however, seems to prefer the equivalent *κατάλυμα*. *Τόπος* is possibly a residue of the original translation.

transliterated in the LXX: הִידָד is always transliterated as αἰδαδ in Jer LXX.<sup>890</sup> The context in these two passages most likely prompted the translator to deviate from his usual equivalent for נוה,<sup>891</sup> and the grammatical link between נוה and אִיתָן, the meaning of which the translator did not understand, most likely instigated the use of τόπος in 29:20(49:19). Though a similar link is not shared between נוה and הִידָד, which the translator also did not understand, their close proximity could have effected the use of τόπος as well. The scarcity of this equivalence suggests there might be a connection between the translations of Jer and Ps, but more evidence must be accumulated to make any concrete conclusions in this regard.

The renderings of the *hiph'il* form יַעֲדֵנִי, of the verb יעד “to meet” / “to appoint,” exemplify how the translator chooses a rendering based on parallel expressions in the same context. The *hiph'il* form occurs only three times in the Hebrew Bible, and each occurrence has the suffix attached to it: Jer 49:19(29:20) and 50(27):44 and Job (9:19). The *Hiph'il* form is generally understood to mean “to summon” or “to make an appointment.”

Jer 29:20(49:19) וּמִי בַּחֹר אֶלֶּיהָ אֶפְקֹד בִּי מִי כְמוֹנִי וּמִי יַעֲדֵנִי וּמִי־זָה רָעָה  
אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמַד לִפְנָי – καὶ τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἐπιστήσατε. ὅτι τίς  
ὥσπερ ἐγώ; καὶ τίς ἀντιστήσεται μοι; καὶ τίς οὗτος ποιμὴν, ὃς στήσεται  
κατὰ πρόσωπόν μου

Jer 27(50):44 וּמִי בַּחֹר אֶלֶּיהָ אֶפְקֹד בִּי מִי כְמוֹנִי וּמִי יַעֲדֵנִי וּמִי־זָה רָעָה  
אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמַד לִפְנָי – καὶ πάντα νεανίσκον ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἐπιστήσω. ὅτι τίς ὥσπερ  
ἐγώ; καὶ τίς ἀντιστήσεται μοι; καὶ τίς οὗτος ποιμὴν, ὃς στήσεται κατὰ  
πρόσωπόν μου

Job 9:19 וּמִי יַעֲדֵנִי מִי אֶם־לְמִשְׁפָּט הִנֵּה אֲמִיץ הִנֵּה אֶם־לְבָח אֲמִיץ הִנֵּה אֶם־לְחַיִּי  
כְּרַתֵּי – ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἰσχύι  
κρατεῖ· τίς οὖν κρίματι αὐτοῦ ἀντιστήσεται

<sup>889</sup> This verse has a parallel passage in Jer 27(50):44, except that Jer LXX lacks an equivalent for נוה. The word is most likely a harmonization in the MT.

<sup>890</sup> Other occurrences are in 31(48):33. The Hebrew term occurs also in 28(51):14, but the Greek renders it as a form of the verb ירד ‘to go down’ οἱ καταβαίνοντες.

<sup>891</sup> This is a characteristic of the translator that is noted by Weis 2006, 282 n. 29 and Jacoby 2016, 43–44.

The Septuagint equivalent in all three of these cases is ἀνθίστημι, which means “to stand against” or “to set against.” This is a unique rendering of עַד in the LXX. It is possible that the translator understood יְעִידָנִי to be derived from the verb עוּד ‘to call as witness,’ but all occurrences of this word in Jer have been correctly identified by him and rendered by compound forms of the verb μαρτυρέω ‘to bear witness.’<sup>892</sup> The renderings might also be the result of guesswork based on the context. In the case of Job, the context is forensic, which may have supported both an etymological rendering from עוּד and a contextual rendering. The near identical verses in Jer a’ are found in oracles against Edom and Babylon. In these verses, the verb עַמַּד is in parallelism with יְעִידָנִי, and עַמַּד is rendered by ἵστημι. There is also another compound form of ἵστημι in the same verse: ἐφίστημι renders the verb פָּקַד in the previous clause. The translator probably did not recognise יְעִידָנִי, and his solution was to derive its meaning from parallel words in the context. Despite not identifying the Hebrew word correctly, the translation comes very close to the meaning of the Hebrew text. Further evidence of a connection to Job LXX would be required to posit any substantial conclusions regarding a relationship between the two translations.

The rendering of the *hapax legomenon* שְׁפָרוֹרִי is also derived from context by the translator. The word occurs in Jer MT 43:10 and its meaning is uncertain. The verb נָטָה ‘to stretch out’ suggests that it is something to be stretched out, but is this a tent or a canopy to be stretched over the throne of Nebuchadrezzar, or is it an illustrious capret to be placed over the ground as a platform for Nebuchadrezzar’s throne?<sup>893</sup>

Jer 50(43):10 עֲלֵיהֶם וְנָטָה אֶת־שְׁפָרוֹרִי – καὶ ἀρεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς

In either case, the Septuagint renders the word with τὰ ὄπλα, which can mean ‘weapons’ or ‘shields.’ The equivalent ὄπλον is elsewhere used to render Hebrew words that do not resemble שְׁפָרוֹרִי, such as מִגָּן, צָנָה, and נֶשֶׁק, all referring to shields and weapons. It is likely that he derives the meaning of the word from the following sentences, in which Nebuchadrezzar is said to conquer and ravage the land of Egypt.

<sup>892</sup> Jer LXX 6:10; 39(32):10, 25 and 44.

<sup>893</sup> These meanings are presented as alternatives in HALOT s.v. שְׁפָרִיר.

Aḥṣaw ‘to take up’ is an uncommon equivalent of נָטָה that usually translates נָשָׂא. The two Hebrew words are phonetically similar, which might have led to the deviant rendering.

The translator had difficulty in interpreting a string of consonants in Jer 38(31):2. The rendering for the word לְהַרְגִיעוּ is very different from the Hebrew, but it is possible to trace the reasoning of the translator.

38(31):2 לְהַרְגִיעוּ הַלֹּחֶם חָרַב שְׂרִידֵי חָרַב הַלֹּחֶם לְהַרְגִיעוּ  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל – οὕτως εἶπε κύριος Ἐὐρον θερμὸν ἐν ἐρήμῳ μετὰ ὀλωλότων ἐν  
 μαχαίρᾳ· βαδίσατε καὶ μὴ ὀλέσγητε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ

In the MT reading of 38(31):2, Israel is said to seek rest לְהַרְגִיעוּ הַלֹּחֶם, but the LXX understands the expression to consist of the negation לֹא with the verb הרג “to kill:” βαδίσατε καὶ μὴ ὀλέσγητε. The translator did not understand the consonants לְהַרְגִיעוּ, but gleaned what he could identify from them, i.e. the verbal root הרג.

### 7.3. Different Interpretation of the Text

In this section I present examples of semantic differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX that most likely result from the translator’s different interpretation of the Hebrew consonantal text than the interpretation transmitted by the MT. A number of these involve the *scriptio plene* of vowels, and the cause of difference in such cases is possibly due to the *scriptio defective* of the same word in the other text. A determination of the original meaning of the consonantal text is not always simple, but in most cases the context provides efficient evidence to make a conclusion in one way or the other.

In some cases, a different vocalization of the text can result in a different segmentation of consonants, resulting in a different meaning.

9:5–6(4–5) בְּתוֹךְ מִרְמָה (5) שְׁבִתָּךְ בְּתוֹךְ מִרְמָה נִלְאָה  
 בְּמִרְמָה מֵאֲנוּ דַעֲת־אוֹתִי נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה – μεμάθηκεν ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν λαλεῖν  
 ψευδῆ, ἡδίκησαν καὶ οὐ διέλιπον τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι. (5) τόκος ἐπὶ τόκῳ,  
 δόλος ἐπὶ δόλῳ· οὐκ ᾔθελον εἰδέναι με

McKane has proposed a reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX 9:5b–6a(4b–5a):  
העוה נלאו שב תך בתך מרמה במרמה,<sup>894</sup> which amounts to a different segmentation  
of the consonants than the MT. McKane’s proposal is very plausible since it is a simple  
solution to the difference.

The combination of the two consonants נס is interpreted differently in Jer 4:

4:6 צִיֹּנָה הָעִיזוּ אֶל־תַּעֲמָדוּ שְׂאו־נִסִּי – ἀναλαμβάνετε φεύγετε εἰς Σιών·  
σπεύσατε μὴ στῆτε

4:21 עַד־מָתִי אֶרְאֶה־נִסִּי אֲשַׁמְעָה קוֹל שׁוֹפָר – ἕως πότε ὄψομαι φεύγοντας  
ἀκούων φωνήν σαλπίγγων

The MT reads נס as נִס, meaning ‘standard’ or ‘signal,’ while the LXX interprets the  
words as verbal forms of the root נוס ‘to flee,’ possibly to be read as the imperative נִסוּ  
in 4:6<sup>895</sup> and as the participle נִסֵּי in 4:21.<sup>896</sup> The immediate context of both cases suggests  
that the intended meaning of the word is נִס. Especially the expression נִס נִשָּׂא ‘raise a  
standard’ is recurrent in Is and Jer.<sup>897</sup> In Jer 4:6, the standard is a friendly signal, while in  
4:21 it refers to a signal of enemy forces approaching. On the other hand, the two  
occurrences of נס in Jer 28(51):12 and 27 have been interpreted as נִס in the LXX all the  
while rendering the same expression נִס נִשָּׂא. This could indicate how the translator  
learns as he progresses in his work,<sup>898</sup> or it could be an indication of a different reading  
tradition in 4:6 and 21.<sup>899</sup>

Similar cases of the confusion of meaning are found elsewhere as well:

11:16 לְקוֹל הַמּוֹלָה גְּדֹלָה הַצִּית אֵשׁ עָלֶיהָ – εἰς φωνήν περιτομῆς αὐτῆς  
μεγάλη ἢ θλιψίς ἐπὶ σέ

<sup>894</sup> McKane 1986, 201.

<sup>895</sup> Cf. Streane 1896, 63, McKane 1986, 91–92 and BHS *apparatus*.

<sup>896</sup> Cf. McKane 1986, 105 and BHS *apparatus*.

<sup>897</sup> Is 5:26; 11:12; 13:2; Jer MT 4:6, 21; 50:2; 51:12 and 27.

<sup>898</sup> For an example how an LXX translator developed his translation as he progressed, cf. van der Louw  
2016, 457–458.

<sup>899</sup> I am in gratitude to Richard Weis for bringing this possibility to my attention.

וַיִּבְנוּ אֶת־בַּמֹּת הַבַּעַל אֲשֶׁר בָּנָא בְּיַהֲזֵם לְהַעֲבִיר אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם 39(32):35  
 וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֵיהֶם לְמֹלֶךְ – καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν τοὺς βωμοὺς τῆς Βααλ τοὺς ἐν  
 φάραγγι υἱοῦ Ἐννομ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας  
 αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ

כִּי־אֶחָדִי שׁוּבִי נִחַמְתִּי וְאֶחָדִי הִוָּדַעַי סָפַקְתִּי עַל־יָרֵךְ בִּשְׁתִּי 38(31):19 – ὅτι  
 ὕστερον αἰχμαλωσίας μου μετενόησα καὶ ὕστερον τοῦ γινῶναι με  
 ἐστέναξα ἐφ’ ἡμέρας αἰσχύνης

The rare word הַמֹּלֶךְ ‘tempest’ occurs only in Jer 11:16 and in Ezek 1:24. The translator has not recognized its meaning and has interpreted the word as מוֹלֶךְ ‘circumcision,’ which makes little sense in the context.<sup>900</sup>

In 39(32):35 Ziegler proposes the conjectural reading βασιλεῖ as a rendering of מֹלֶךְ against all the Greek witnesses, which have either Μολοχ βασιλεῖ (B-S-239 A-106’ 36 c-613 Bo Arab) or simply Μολοχ (Q-V-26-46-86’-130-534-544 O-233 L’-36-538 C Aeth Arm). He argues that Μολοχ βασιλεῖ is a doublet and that the reading Μολοχ results from a pre-hexaplaric elimination of the word βασιλεῖ that does not conform to the MT.<sup>901</sup> It is very plausible to assume that βασιλεῖ is the OG translation which was later made to conform to the MT מֹלֶךְ. The translator was either not aware of the proper noun *Molech* or he simply understood the text as indicating human sacrifices to the king. The later reading Μολοχ conforms with the MT, and is likely an early revision of the translation.

In 38(31):19, the translator has understood שׁוּבִי to be derived from the noun שׁוּבִי ‘captivity’ instead of the verb שׁוּב ‘to return’ with a pronominal suffix. These words are spoken by Ephraim. The context mentions a return from the land of the enemies (v. 16), which likely affected the translator’s understanding of the word.

There is a measure of confusion regarding the proper interpretation of the noun גִּבּוֹר in Jer LXX. The singular גִּבּוֹר ‘warrior’ in Jer MT is interpreted once as גִּבּוֹר ‘man,’

<sup>900</sup> Cf. Streane 1896, 133 and McKane 1986, 250. Almost all mss read ἀνήφθη πῦρ ἐπ’ αὐτήν, μεγάλη ἡ θλίψις ἐπὶ σέ for the MT אֲשֶׁר עָלְיָהּ הָצִיתִי אֵשׁ, but this is considered to be a doublet by both Ziegler (1958, 100) and by Janzen (1973, 27).

<sup>901</sup> Ziegler 1957, 130.

while the plural גְּבוּרִים ‘men’ is understood as גְּבוּרִים ‘warriors’ three times in Jer LXX.<sup>902</sup>

14:9 לְמַה תְּהִיָּה בְּאִישׁ נְדָהֶם כְּגִבּוֹר לֹא־יִוָּכַל לְהוֹשִׁיעַ – μὴ ἔσῃ ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπος ὑπνῶν ἢ ὡς ἀνὴρ οὐ δυνάμενος σῶζειν

48(41):16 וַיִּקַּח יוֹחָנָן בֶּן־קָרַח וְכָל־שָׂרֵי הַחֲיָלִים אֲשֶׁר־אִתּוֹ אֶת כָּל־שְׂאֲרֵיתָהּ הָעָם אֲשֶׁר הָשִׁיב מֵאֵת יִשְׁמָעֵאל בֶּן־נַתָּנָה מִן־הַמַּצָּפָה אַחֵר הַכָּה אֶת־גְּדִלְיָה בֶּן־אֶחָיִקָם גְּבָרִים אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה וְנָשִׁים וְטַף – καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰωανнан καὶ πάντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῆς δυνάμεως οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ πάντας τοὺς καταλοίπους τοῦ λαοῦ, οὓς ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ Ἰσμαηλ, δυνατοῦς ἀνδρας ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ λοιπά

The noun גְּבוֹר ‘hero’ / ‘warrior’ in 14:9 is represented by ἀνὴρ in the LXX. Elsewhere in Jer LXX, גְּבוֹר is rendered by ἰσχυρός or by μαχητής. The interpretation of the word as גְּבָר is possible prior to its MT vocalization with the *mater lectionis* ב. This is a sensible reading since the word is parallel to אִישׁ in the first clause and aligns the meaning of the two clauses closer together. The reading גְּבוֹר adds an increased expectation of YHWH’s ability to save. Jer LXX likely reflects an earlier understanding of this text than Jer MT.

On three occasions Jer LXX represents the Hebrew word גְּבוּרִים as if it were גְּבוּרִים ‘warriors.’<sup>903</sup> The context can easily explain this confusion in 48(41):16, as the word is immediately followed by אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה in apposition. Each case also lists נָשִׁים ‘women’ in the same context, and 48(41):16 and 50(43):6 mention טַף ‘children,’ which in both cases has been rendered by τὰ λοιπά ‘the rest.’

In some cases, when a Hebrew inf. cstr. is not preceded by a preposition, the translator has understood the word to be a noun. Infinitives construct are identified by the translator when they are preceded by a preposition, but without the preposition they are easily confused with nouns:

<sup>902</sup> For an analysis of the renderings of גְּבוֹר in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 6.5.

<sup>903</sup> These occur in Jer LXX 48(41):16, 50(43):6 and 51(44):20.



6:15 הִבִּישׁוּ כִּי תוֹעֲבָה עָשׂוּ גַם־בּוֹשׁ לֹא־יִבּוֹשׁוּ גַם־הַכְּלִים לֹא יִדְעוּ –  
κατησχύνθησαν, ὅτι ἐξελίποσαν· καὶ οὐδ' ὧς καταισχυνόμενοι  
κατησχύνθησαν καὶ τὴν ἀτιμίαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν

38(31):20 הִבֵּן יִקִּיר לִי אֶפְרַיִם אִם יֵלֵד שְׁעָשְׁעִים בְּיַמַּי דְּבָרִי בּוֹ זָכַר אֶזְכְּרֶנּוּ –  
οὐδ' υἱὸς ἀγαπητὸς Εφραιμ ἐμοί, παιδίον ἐντρυφῶν, ὅτι ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ λόγοι  
μου ἐν αὐτῷ, μνεία μνησθήσομαι αὐτοῦ

28(51):39 אֲשִׁית אֶת־מִשְׁתִּיָּהֶם בְּחֶמְסָם – ἐν τῇ θερμασίᾳ αὐτῶν δώσω  
πότῃμα αὐτοῖς

The case of 28(51):39 has been discussed earlier.<sup>904</sup> The inf. cstr. הַכְלִים 'to be ashamed' is rendered as the noun τὴν ἀτιμίαν 'disgrace' in Jer 6:15. Ἀτιμία generally renders the Hebrew noun כָּלְמָה 'insult' / 'dishonor' in Jer LXX, and it seems obvious that the translator understands the word as such in 6:15. This would only entail the *hireq* and the final *qametz* vowels to be written defectively and the initial letter ה to be interpreted as an article.<sup>905</sup> The LXX reflects a pronominal suffix at the end of the word. This would make the Hebrew article superfluous, but also require an extra ת before the suffix: בלמתם.<sup>906</sup>

The different interpretation in 38(31):20 can be explained by different vocalization. The inf. cs. דְּבָרִי in 38(31):20 is translated as the plural form of the noun דְּבָר with a possessive suffix 'my words.'

The renderings of the word דָּמָן "dung" display an understanding of the word that is etymologically derived from the root דמה 'to resemble'.<sup>907</sup> דָּמָן occurs six times in the Hebrew Bible: four times in Jer (8:2, 9:21[22], 16:4 and 25:33[32:19]), once in 2 Kgs

<sup>904</sup> Cf. section 4.4.1.

<sup>905</sup> Cf. Streane 1896, 89.

<sup>906</sup> The reading suggested by McKane, the *niph'al* הַכְלִים instead of the *hiph'il* הַכְלִים, is the more plausible original reading. McKane (1986, 147) and BHS *apparatus* argue that the Hebrew הַכְלִים is a corruption from הַכְלִים that is witnessed in the doublet 8:12. The doublet is not found in Jer LXX. The editor of the doublet in 8:12 most likely added the text with the corrected spelling.

<sup>907</sup> Tov 1976, 53.

9:37 and once in Ps 83(82):11. It is notable that in each instance, the “dung” is referred to as being spread across the ground or the field, as if it were being viewed as fertilizer.

Jer 8:2 יהיו על־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה דָּמָן וְלֹא יִקְבְּרוּ יִקְבְּרוּ לְדָמָן עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה יהיו – οὐ κοπήσονται καὶ οὐ ταφήσονται καὶ ἔσσονται εἰς παράδειγμα ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς

Jer 9:21(22) וְנִפְלְהָ נִבְלָה הָאָדָם כְּדָמָן עַל־פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה – καὶ ἔσσονται οἱ νεκροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς παράδειγμα ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ πεδίου τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν

Jer 32:19(25:33) לֹא יִסְפְּדוּ וְלֹא יִאָסְפוּ וְלֹא יִקְבְּרוּ לְדָמָן עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה – οὐ μὴ κατοχυρώσιν, εἰς κόπρια ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς ἔσσονται

2 Kgs 9:37 וְהָיְתָ נִבְלָה אִיזָבֶל כְּדָמָן עַל־פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה – καὶ ἔσται τὸ θνησιμαῖον Ἰεζαβελ ὡς κοπρία ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ ἀγροῦ

Ps 83(82):11 לֹא־דָמָה הָיוּ דָּמָן לְאֲדָמָה – ἐξωλεθρεύθησαν ἐν Αἰνῶν, ἐγενήθησαν ὥσει κόπρος τῇ γῇ

The translation παράδειγμα “pattern” or “model,” is found in three passages in Jer (8:2, 9:21[22] and 16:4). The other three occurrences of דָּמָן, in Jer MT 25:33(32:19), 2 Kgs 9:37 and Ps 82(83):11, are rendered in the LXX by κόπρος or κοπρία “excrement”. It has been suggested that the translator of Jer is consciously differentiating between the Israelites and other nations, i.e. referring to the dead of the Israelites as παράδειγμα and the dead of the other nations as κόπρος,<sup>908</sup> but a more likely explanation seems to be that the translator mistook דָּמָן for דְּמִין or something likewise related to the verb דָּמָה “to resemble.” Elsewhere in the LXX, παράδειγμα renders the word תְּבִנִית ‘pattern.’

The equivalents κόπρος and κοπρία in Jer 32:19(25:33), 2 Kgs and Ps are also unique in rendering דָּמָן, as elsewhere in the LXX they always render other words. Aquila and Symmachus both employed the rendering κόπρος in 8:2 and 16:4 instead of παράδειγμα. Together with the 2 Kgs equivalent, which is in the *kaige* section, this evidence indicates that κόπρος is likely a revisional equivalent. The translation of

<sup>908</sup> Geiger, A. Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bible. Breslau, 1857, 415.

Psalms has also been suspect of embodying influence from the *kaige* tradition,<sup>909</sup> and this rendering in Jer LXX is also in the revised section of the translation. The use of *κόπρος* and *κοπρία* in these three sections of the LXX contribute to their characterizations as revisions.

In Jer 2:33, a different vocalization of consonants occurs in connection to another difference as well.

2:33 מִה־תִּיטִבִּי דֶרֶךְךָ לְבַקֵּשׁ אֶהְבֶּה לָכֵן גַּם אֶת־הָרָעוֹת לְמַדְתִּי אֶת־דֶּרֶךְךָ –  
 τί ὅτι καλὸν ἐπιτηδεύσεις ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου τοῦ ζητῆσαι ἀγάπησιν; οὐχ  
 οὕτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ ἐπονηρεύσω τοῦ μιᾶναι τὰς ὁδοὺς σου

The object of the verb *למד* *pi'el* ‘to teach’ is *אֶת־הָרָעוֹת*. These consonants are read as a pronoun and a verb *אֶת־הָרָעוֹת* ‘you have acted wickedly’ by the translator.<sup>910</sup> This interpretation has led to the following word *למדתי* being understood as an infinitive with the prepositional prefix *לְ*. The rendering *τοῦ μιᾶναι* ‘to defile’ is likely derived from the context, since his reading of the passage leads him to isolate the consonants *מדת*, which do not constitute any known Hebrew word. *Μιᾶνω* generally renders *טמא* ‘to make unclean’ elsewhere in the LXX.

Many of these examples attest to reading traditions that are at a variance with the MT tradition. This indicates that the translator was not familiar with the MT tradition of Jer, and that the community of readers in which he lived had a variant reading tradition.

## 7.4. Different *Vorlage*

Most of the differences between the MT and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Jer LXX are quantitative in nature. These largely comprise plusses in the MT tradition, which ought to be considered later additions to the text in relation to the LXX *Vorlage*.<sup>911</sup> Here are a few typical examples of small quantitative additions that are found in the MT tradition.

<sup>909</sup> Aitken 2015b, 321–322.

<sup>910</sup> Cf. BHS *apparatus*.

<sup>911</sup> For a discussion of the significant plusses in Jer MT in comparison to Jer LXX, cf. section 2.2; Tov 1981a and 1985.

2:19 וַיֵּדְעִי וַיֵּרָאִי כִּי־רַע וְמָר עֲזָבָךְ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ: – και ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἶδε ὅτι πικρόν σοι τὸ καταλιπεῖν σε ἐμέ, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου

7:13 וַיֹּאדָבֶר אֲלֵיכֶם הַשָּׂפָם וַדְּבַר וְלֹא שְׂמַעְתֶּם – και ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς και οὐκ ἠκούσατέ μου

35(28):8 וַיִּנָּבְאוּ אֶל־אַרְצוֹת רַבּוֹת וְעַל־מַמְלָכוֹת גְּדִלוֹת לְמַלְחָמָה וּלְרָעָה וּלְדָבָר – και ἐπροφήτευσαν ἐπὶ γῆς πολλῆς και ἐπὶ βασιλείας μεγάλας εἰς πόλεμον

48(41):2 וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶת־גְּדַלְיָהוּ בֶן־אֲחִיקָם בֶּן־שָׁפָן בַּחֶרֶב וַיָּמָת אֹתוֹ אֲשֶׁר־הִפְקִיד – και ἐπάταξαν τὸν Γοδολίαν, ὃν κατέστησε βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

In 2:19, the MT clarifies that it is not only bitter but that it is also evil to forsake YHWH. The plusses in Jer MT 7:13 (הַשָּׂפָם וַדְּבַר) and in 28:8 (וּלְרָעָה וּלְדָבָר) are typical deuteronomistic vocabulary that occur in other additions of Jer MT. Jer MT 41:2 adds the paternal names of Gedaliah, which is another feature of the MT additions. In the process, the relative clause has been distanced from its original referent גְּדַלְיָהוּ, prompting the addition of וַיָּמָת אֹתוֹ after the additional names.

Some passages attest additions in the MT tradition that are intertwined with semantic and formal differences as well. An example of such intentional change is in 45(38):9:

45(38):9 אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ הִרְעוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה אֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוֹ לִירְמְיָהוּ – Ἐπονηρεύσω τὸν βασιλῆα καὶ τὸν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐλπίστων αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ λιμοῦ

The verse portrays the words of Ebed-melech to king Zedekiah after Jeremiah had been cast into the cistern. The MT charges the officials with placing Jeremiah in danger of death, but the LXX directly accuses the king for this act. In addition, the LXX charges the king of intending to kill Jeremiah by this deed, while the MT merely states that Jeremiah will die as a result. This difference epitomizes the different portrayal of Zedekiah in the LXX and the MT.<sup>912</sup> The MT and the LXX share a number of words,

<sup>912</sup> For discussion on the portrayal of Zedekiah in Jer MT and Jer LXX, cf. Stipp 1996, 627–648; Weis 2006, 275–280; and Birdsong 2017, 216–228.

including the verbs **רעע**, **עשה** and **מות**, the pronoun **אָשׁ** and the expression **מִפְּנֵי הָרָעָב**, but the grammatical form of most of these has been changed to fit the new context in the MT. The reading of the LXX reflects an earlier *Vorlage*.

A number of semantic and formal differences are the result of scribal errors in the transmission of the Greek or Hebrew text. The origin on some of these is difficult to determine. In some cases it is equally as plausible to argue that the error occurred in the transmission of either the Greek or Hebrew text.

5:1–2 **וְאֵלֶּיךָ לֵאמֹר יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָר לָנוּ לְשָׁקָר וְשָׁבַע עוֹ** (2) **וְאֵלֶּיךָ לֵאמֹר יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁמָר לָנוּ לְשָׁקָר וְשָׁבַע עוֹ** – καὶ ἴλεως ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς, **λέγει κύριος**. (2) **Zḥ** κύριος, λέγουσι· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν ὁμνύουσι

20:11 **וַיְהִי וְאֵתִי בְּגִבּוֹר עָרִיץ עַל-בֶּן רָדְפִי יִכְשְׁלוּ וְלֹא יָכֻז׃** – καὶ κύριος μετ’ ἐμοῦ καθὼς μαχητῆς ἰσχύων· διὰ τοῦτο ἐδίωξαν καὶ **νοῆσαι** οὐκ ἠδύναντο

29(47):7 **וְעָדָהּ שֵׁם הָיִם וְאֶל-חֹוֹף הַיָּם שָׁם יִפְּתָהּ אֶל-אֲשָׁקְלוֹן וְאֶל-חֹוֹף הַיָּם שָׁם יִפְּתָהּ** – πῶς ἡσυχάσει; καὶ κύριος ἐνετείλατο αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσκαλῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς παραθαλασσίους, ἐπὶ τὰς καταλοίπους, **ἐπεγεροθῆναι**

These examples display a slight difference in the consonantal texts. The Greek text **λέγει κύριος Zḥ κύριος** in 5:2–3 likely reflects the reading **יהוה חי יהוה נאם** without the introduction to the oath formula **וְאֵלֶּיךָ**. The graphic similarity between the words **נאם** and **וְאֵלֶּיךָ** highly suggests that the difference has resulted from a mistake. This is supported by the double occurrence of **יהוה**, which is liable to haplography.

In 20:11, the verb **νοέω** ‘to understand’ translates the Hebrew verb **כָּשַׁל** ‘to stumble’. The translation attests a metathesis of **כ** and **ש**, for a common equivalent of **נוέω** is the Hebrew verb **שָׁכַל** ‘to understand.’ A similar misreading has taken place in 29(47):7 as well. **Ἐπεγείρω** ‘to awaken’ is often the equivalent of the verb **עוֹר**, suggesting that the translator had this verb in mind rather than the MT attested **יָעַד** ‘to meet’ / ‘to appoint.’

The following cases attest a different *Vorlage* that is not easily explained as a simple mistake, but that most likely constitutes a variant reading in the Hebrew text. For

example, the Greek equivalent κατ' ὀφθαλμούς occurs exceptionally as the rendering of לפני only once in the whole LXX: Jer 45(38):26. It usually renders בעיני.<sup>913</sup>

Jer 45(38):26 וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם מִפִּלְאֵי תַחֲנֻנִּי לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ לְבִלְתִּי הַשִּׁיבֵנִי  
 שָׁם בֵּית יְהוֹנָתָן לָמוּת שָׁם – καὶ ἔρεῖς αὐτοῖς Ῥίπτω ἐγὼ τὸ ἔλεός μου κατ'  
 ὀφθαλμούς τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀποστρέψαι με εἰς οἰκίαν Ἰωνάθαν  
 ἀποθανεῖν ἐκεῖ

22:2 וְאָמַרְתָּ שְׁמַע דְּבַר־יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה הַיֹּשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָּוִד אַתָּה וְעַבְדֶּיךָ  
 וְעַמְּךָ – καὶ ἔρεῖς Ἄκουε λόγον κυρίου, βασιλεῦ Ἰουδα ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ  
 θρόνου Δαυὶδ, σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου καὶ ὁ λαός σου

The expression הפיל תחנה לפני “may (my) plea of mercy come before (you)” is otherwise always rendered with κατὰ πρόσωπον (43[36]:7, 44[37]:20 and 49[42]:2), and it never occurs with בעיני instead of לפני. Considering how the translator renders לפני and בעיני, it is most likely that the LXX *Vorlage* contained בעיני here, and that it is a corruption of the common phrase הפיל תחנה לפני. The difference between the LXX *Vorlage* and the MT is best explained as a harmonizing correction in the MT tradition.

The Hebrew noun עבד is represented by the Greek οἶκος in Jer 22:2, which is a unique equivalency. The variant reading παῖδες, as attested by a number of manuscripts, is a common equivalent of the noun עבד. A change from οἶκος to παῖς as a later correction of the text can easily explain the variant reading. Οἶκος itself might reflect a variant reading בית in the *Vorlage*. The expression עבדך ועמך “your servants and your people” is a common one in the LXX, and here again the MT reading most likely represents a correction toward the usual wording of the expression.

A variant reading in the *Vorlage* of Jer LXX is possibly found in 28(51):50:

28(51):50 פְּלִטִים מִחֶרֶב הָלְכוּ אֶל־תַּעֲמָדוֹ זָכְרוּ מֶרְחוֹק אֶת־יְהוָה וַיְרוּשָׁלַם  
 כֶּם עַל־לִבְבָכֶם תַּעֲלֶה – ἀνασφύζομενοι ἐκ γῆς, πορεύεσθε καὶ μὴ ἴστασθε· οἱ  
 μακρόθεν, μνησθήτε τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ Ἱερουσαλημ ἀναβήτω ἐπὶ καρδίαν  
 ὑμῶν

<sup>913</sup> For a presentation on the renderings of בעיני, cf. sec. 5.5.

The rendering ἐκ γῆς in 28(51):50 has been explained as the translator interpreting the Hebrew text as מחרבה “from a dry land.”<sup>914</sup> חרבה, however, is always rendered by ἐρήμωσις ‘desolation’ or ἔρημος ‘desert’ in Jer LXX, and is unlikely to be rendered otherwise. Ἐκ γῆς most likely reflects the variant reading מארץ.<sup>915</sup>

## 7.5. Illustrations of Good Competence and Free Translation

In a number of translated passages, it is clear from the meaning of the translation that the translator has understood the text he has translated, but the translation does not match the *Vorlage* in formal qualities. Such renderings indicate a departure from a strict attempt to reproduce the elements of the Hebrew text in a formal manner, and they are valuable for characterizing the translation. In these cases it is understood that the *Vorlage* of the renderings is largely in agreement with the MT, and that the formal difference between the MT and the LXX has been produced by the translator, often in compliance to the requirements of the Greek language.

Idiomatic Greek expressions usually do not match the semantically corresponding Hebrew expressions in formal character. Translators who attempt to convey the formal characteristics of the Hebrew text as carefully as possible will usually not resort to idiomatic Greek expressions that depart from the formal characteristics of the Hebrew. This is generally the case in Jer LXX as well. However, each translator exhibits their own peculiarities in their translations, and the translator of Jer is no exception. Though he is considered among the more literal translators in the LXX, his translation exhibits a number of renderings that make significant departures from the formal equivalence that is principally attested. These departures usually embody the semantic value conveyed by the Hebrew text, but on occasion they differ in meaning as well.

Hebrew infinitives often form expressions whose idiomatic Greek correspondence does not employ infinitives. In such cases, a good translation requires the translator to first recognize the nature of the Hebrew expression through its wider context and to avoid using a Greek infinitive as the rendering. Employing the corresponding idiomatic Greek expression as the equivalent is a sign of good competence of the translator.

<sup>914</sup> Cf. Ziegler 1958, 27 and McKane 1996, 1340.

<sup>915</sup> Tov and Polak 2009.

Infinitives occur very often in Jer, and most of them are rendered by the fairly standard equivalents of the genitive articular infinitive or the anarthrous infinitive.<sup>916</sup> A number are rendered by alternative means, especially Hebrew infinitives that are used in temporal clauses. Such syntactical expressions are more naturally construed by other means in the Greek language, such as by relative clause or participial phrase.

Free translations of infinitives have been presented in sections 4.2.3, 4.4.1 and 4.4.2. These include the renderings of infinitives as relative clauses, co-ordinate clauses and exceptional renderings such as adverbs. Independent infinitives are not always easily distinguished from nouns, which might be a cause for some of these cases, but in most cases the translator has understood the meaning of the infinitival phrase. The expression לְ+inf. has also been rendered freely in a number of cases. These include participles, nouns and prepositional phrases that consist of a preposition and a noun. Infinitives rendered by attributive genitives form their own group, exemplified by בְּשִׁנָּה לְמַלְכוּת הַתְּשָׁעִית translated as ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ ἐνάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ (52:4) and תַּעֲבֹד בְּאֶנְךָ translated as καιροὺς εἰσόδων αὐτῶν (8:7). In some cases the Hebrew infinitive is rendered by an exceptional form of the Greek infinitive, such as the accusative articular infinitive or ὥστε + inf.

The free translations of infinitives do not elicit much distinction between Jer a' and Jer b'. The only exception to this is the use of participles as renderings of infinitives, which occur several times in Jer b' and not once in Jer a'. Renderings of the temporal infinitival expression לְ+inf., for example, suggest that the translator resorts to using more formal equivalence in the first half of the book, which mainly consists of poetic texts. The renderings in Jer a' comprise of prepositional phrases with ἐν and subordinate clauses beginning with ὅτε. While Jer b' also attests these equivalents in similar expressions, its use of *genitivus absolutus* signifies a high level of competence in recognizing the grammatical construction of the source language and the corresponding idiomatic expression in the target language.<sup>917</sup>

<sup>916</sup> For an analysis of the translation of infinitives in Jer LXX, cf. ch. 4.

<sup>917</sup> For an analysis of the renderings of the expression לְ+inf, cf. sec. 4.4.1.



21:1 הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה אֶל-יְרֵמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה בְּשָׁלַח אֵלָיו הַמֶּלֶךְ צִדְקִיָּהוּ  
אֶת-פְּשָׁחוּר – ‘Ο λόγος ὁ γενόμενος παρὰ κυρίου πρὸς Ιερεμίαν, ὅτε  
ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σεδεκίας τὸν Πασχωρ

49(42):18 מִצָּרִים בְּבִאָכְכֶם עָלֶיךָ חֲמָתִי תִתֶּן – οὕτως στάξει ὁ θυμός μου  
ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς εἰσελθόντων ὑμῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον

In both cases the temporal expression  $\text{ב}+\text{inf.}$  obtains a subject different from the main clause, in which case *genitivus absolutus* is a Greek equivalent that is very suitable and idiomatic. Coincidentally, translations of  $\text{ב}+\text{inf.}$  also exhibit this same distribution of equivalents. Three cases of *infinitivus absolutus* occur in Jer b’ as renderings of temporal  $\text{ב}+\text{inf.}$ , and none occur as the rendering in Jer a’.

This phenomenon is also evident from the translations of the expression  $\text{ל}+\text{inf.}$  In the first half of the book, the predominant rendering is the genitive articular infinitive ( $\text{τοῦ} + \text{inf.}$ ), while in the latter half of the book the translator is more open to employing the anarthrous infinitive, which is more natural in Greek.<sup>918</sup>

Another syntactical expression whose equivalents elicited a few cases of free renderings is the negative particle **מֵאִין**. This is generally rendered by  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$  + noun or  $\text{παρὰ/διὰ τὸ μή}$  in Jer LXX. However, there are three cases in which it is simply represented by the conjunction  $\text{καί}$  and a negative particle, either  $\text{οὐ}$ ,  $\text{οὐκ}$  or  $\text{μή}$ .<sup>919</sup>

28(51):29 מֵאִין לְשִׁמָּה בְּבֶל לְשִׁמָּה אֶת-אֶרֶץ בָּבֶל לְשִׁמָּה  
יֹשֵׁב – διότι ἐξάνεστη ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα λογισμὸς κυρίου τοῦ θεῖναι τὴν γῆν  
Βαβυλῶνος εἰς ἀφανισμόν  $\text{καί μή}$  κατοικεῖσθαι αὐτήν

28(51):37 מֵאִין יֹשֵׁב בְּבֶל לְגִלְיָהּ וְהָיְתָה בְּבֶל לְגִלְיָהּ –  $\text{καί ἔσται}$   
Βαβυλῶν εἰς ἀφανισμόν  $\text{καί οὐ}$  κατοικηθήσεται

The two cases in Jer 28(51) are similar to each other. In both, the participle **יֹשֵׁב** has been rendered by a verbal form,  $\text{κατοικεῖσθαι}$  in v. 29 and  $\text{κατοικηθήσεται}$  in v. 37. In both cases the negation with the participle **יֹשֵׁב מֵאִין** has been transformed into a

<sup>918</sup> For an analysis of the renderings of infinitives and their distribution within Jer LXX, cf. sec. 4. For a discussion on explanations for this phenomenon in Jer LXX, cf. sec. 8.

<sup>919</sup> The third case is Jer 37(30):7.

coordinate clause. The *accusativus cum infinitivo* -construction καὶ μὴ κατοικεῖσθαι αὐτήν in 28(51):29 is coordinate to the preceding infinitive while the indicative καὶ οὐ κατοικηθήσεται in 28(51):37 forms an independent coordinate clause.

The renderings of rhetorical questions provide useful evidence for describing a translator's competence. They generally bear an implied answer that is evident from context, and the translator must take the context into account in order to correctly render the questions. Rhetorical questions are expressed in a slightly different manner in Hebrew and Greek. In Hebrew, they may be presented in either positive or negative form, and most often the implied answer is the opposite. Questions are usually marked by the interrogative particle הַ that is prefixed to a word, and the negative form is expressed by הֲלוֹא.

In Greek, however, both rhetorical questions are always presented by a negative particle, and the different Greek negative particles οὐ and μή are used to express subtle differences. Generally, οὐ expects a positive answer and μή a negative one, and μή is more often used to introduce rhetorical questions. The combination of both, οὐ μή, is used in prohibitions and emphatic negative predictions.<sup>920</sup> The translator of Jer LXX uses each of these negative particles in particular contexts, and he usually identifies the correct interpretation of the question.

When the rhetorical question is presented in positive form in the Hebrew text, and the implied answer is negative, the Hebrew question is expressed by the interrogative particle הַ. In such cases the translator most often represents the particle with the Greek negation μή to indicate the rhetorical function of the question with its negative implied answer. This is not a formal equivalent of the Hebrew since the Hebrew does not contain a negative particle.

2:14 הֲלוֹא יְשׁוּעָה לְבָנִים אֲשֶׁר-לִיד בֵּית הוּא מְדוּעַ הִיא לְבָז – M<sup>h</sup> δοῦλός ἐστιν  
 Ισραηλ, ἢ οἰκογενῆς ἐστι; διὰ τί εἰς προνομὴν ἐγένετο;

18:14 הֲלוֹא יְשׁוּעָה לְבָנִים אֲשֶׁר-לִיד בֵּית הוּא מְדוּעַ הִיא לְבָז – M<sup>h</sup>  
 ἐκλείψουσιν ἀπὸ πέτρας μαστοὶ ἢ χιῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου; μὴ ἐκκλινεῖ  
 ὕδωρ βιβαίως ἀνέμῳ φερόμενον;<sup>921</sup>

<sup>920</sup> Smyth 1920, 596, 598 and 626.

<sup>921</sup> Though there is a considerable difference in the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek texts, the translator

39(32):27 יְהוָה אֱנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי כָל־בָּשָׂר הַמְמַנִּי יִפְלֹא כָל־דָּבָר – Ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πάσης σαρκός· **μὴ** ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ κρυβήσεται τι;

In each of these cases, and in a number of others,<sup>922</sup> the translator correctly understood the rhetorical question and its implied answer. In some cases, as in 2:14 and 39(32):27, one might even consider the rendering to be an outright denial of the alternative: “Israel is not a slave!” “Nothing is hidden from me [YHWH]!”

Significantly, in other contexts, a few renderings indicate that this translator is willing to render such formally positive rhetorical questions with the genuinely inquisitive Greek interrogative εἰ, which is a more precise representation of the formal aspects of the Hebrew.

2:11 הֲיִמִּיר גֹּי אֱלֹהִים וְהֵמָּה לֹא אֱלֹהִים וְעַמִּי הִמִּיר כְּבוֹדוֹ בְּלוֹא יוֹעִיל – εἰ ἀλλάσσονται ἔθνη θεοὺς αὐτῶν; καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσι θεοί. ὁ δὲ λαὸς μου ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ὠφελήθουσινται.

13:23 הֲיִהְיֶה כּוֹשֵׁי עוֹרוֹ וְנִמְרַח בְּרִבְרִיתוֹ גַּם־אֲתָם תּוּכְלוּ לְהִיטִיב לְמַדִּי – εἰ ἠλλάσσεται Αἰθίοψ τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ καὶ πάρδαλις τὰ ποικίλματα αὐτῆς; καὶ ὑμεῖς δυνήσεσθε εὖ ποιῆσαι μεμαθηκότες τὰ κακά.

18:20 הֲיִשְׁלַם תַּחַת־טוֹבָה רָעָה כִּי־כָרוּ שׁוֹחָה לְנַפְשִׁי – εἰ ἀνταποδίδοται ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν κακά; ὅτι συνελάλησαν ῥήματα κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μου

The factor in choosing the interrogative εἰ is possibly that the context already supplies the answer, though it might not be the answer implied by the rhetorical question, or that the translator is not satisfied with the implied answer, or that he simply does not identify the rhetorical question and renders the text word-for-word, as in 15:12.<sup>923</sup> Jer 2:11 presents the possibility of nations changing their gods as non-sensical, and yet exclaims that Israel has changed its God.<sup>924</sup> Similarly, 18:20 iterates that good should not be

has correctly identified the rhetorical question in this phrase. For a discussion of the differences, cf. McKane 1986, 429.

<sup>922</sup> 2:14, 31, 32; 3:11, 5; 7:19; 12:9; 14:19, 221; 18:14; 22:15, 28; 33(26):19; 39(32):27; 51(44):19

<sup>923</sup> Jer 15:12 הֲיִרְעַ בְּרִיָּל בְּרִיָּל מִצְפֹּן וְנִחַשְׁתָּ – εἰ γνωσθήσεται σίδηρος; καὶ περιβόλαιον χαλκοῦν ἢ ἰσχύς σου. The first verb is interpreted as יָדַע 'to know', and the prepositional expression מִצְפֹּן is possibly understood as a form of the verb צָפַן 'to hide' or צָפָה 'to cover.' The translator does not identify the rhetorical question, and renders the text word-for-word.

<sup>924</sup> Jer 16:20 is similar in meaning.

recompensed by evil, and yet the prophet exclaims that his well-intended mitigating attempts between YHWH and the people are met with persecution from the people. The answer to the question in Jer 13:23 is likewise obvious: Ethiopians and leopards cannot change the color of their skin. The statement that follows in juxtaposition implies that Israel is so entrenched in its evil ways that it also cannot change its conduct.

The options of *עִי* and *מִי* present two alternative means to render these questions. The first can be described as a neutral and objective means of conveying the Hebrew question to the readers, and the second is more subjective in that it resolves the correct interpretation for the reader. In most cases, the translator of Jer LXX chooses the latter, by which means he relies on the characteristics of the Greek language to bring out the nuances of the Hebrew rhetorical question.<sup>925</sup>

When the rhetorical question is a formally negative one, with either *לֹא* or *אֵין*, a literal translator has little choice but to employ a corresponding negative particle. The implied answer in all these cases in Jer is the converse, i.e. positive. The translator employs two different practices to express the negation, either with the particle *οὐ* by itself or with double negation involving both the particles *οὐ* and *μή*. About half of the formally negative rhetorical questions are rendered with *οὐ*.

3:1 לֵאמֹר הֲיִשְׁלַח אִישׁ אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וְהִלָּכָה מֵאֶתוֹ וְהִיָּתָה לְאִישׁ־אַחֵר הֲיָשׁוּב  
אֵלֶיהָ עוֹד הֲלֹא חֲנוּף תַּחֲנִיף הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא – Ἐὰν ἐξαποστείλῃ ἀνὴρ τὴν  
γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέλθῃ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ, μή  
ἀνακάμπτουσα ἀνακάμψει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι; οὐ μαινομένη μianθήσεται ἢ  
γυνὴ ἐκείνης;

18:6 הֲיִזְכֹּר הַזֶּה לְאֹאֲכָל לַעֲשׂוֹת לָכֶם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל נְאֻם־יְהוָה – Εἰ καθὼς ὁ  
κεραμεὺς οὗτος οὐ δυνήσομαι τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ;

In most of these cases, as in example 3:1 and 14:22, the formally negative rhetorical question is preceded by a formally positive one.<sup>926</sup> The juxtaposition between the two aids the interpretation of the questions, particularly since the formally positive question is rendered by converse translation with the particle *μή*. Other cases, located in narrative

<sup>925</sup> Jacoby 2016, 50.

<sup>926</sup> Other cases are in Jer 3:4; 7:19; 13:21 and 22:15.

sections, are not preceded by questions, and the context indicates how they are to be interpreted. An example of this is 18:6.<sup>927</sup>

Alternatively, the translator will use double negation with both the particles οὐ and μή to render formally negative questions with positive implied answers. In Greek, a common means of expressing affirmation is by using both particles in the same expression.<sup>928</sup>

5:9 // 5:29 // 9:8 נֹאמְרֵיהֶן (9:8 בָּם+) לֹא־אֶפְקֹד – מִן הָעַל־אֱלֹהִים – מִן הָעַל־אֱלֹהִים – מִן הָעַל־אֱלֹהִים  
τούτοις οὐκ ἐπισκέψομαι, λέγει κύριος

8:19 הִנֵּה־קוֹל שׁוֹעֵת בַּת־עַמִּי מֵאֶרֶץ מִרְחָקִים הִיאֵהָ אֵין בְּצִיּוֹן אִם־מֶלֶכָּה אֵין בָּהּ – ἰδού φωνὴ θυγατρὸς λαοῦ μου ἀπὸ γῆς μακρόθεν Μὴ κύριος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν Σιών; ἢ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ;

The translator uses the double negative in nearly ten cases to express the implied positive response to the questions.<sup>929</sup> In contrast to the cases rendered by οὐ alone, the Hebrew text in these expressions is not preceded by a formally positive question. This may very well be the trigger for the different means of rendering these rhetorical questions. The double negation tutors the reader toward a correct understanding of the rhetorical question in contexts that do not provide the translator other means to control the meaning of the expression.

An exception to both of these alternatives is Jer 5:3 יְהוָה עֵינֶיךָ הִלֹּךְ לְאַמּוֹנָה – κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου < οὐχὶ > εἰς πίστιν. Ziegler has included the negation οὐχὶ in his main text, but this is an equivalent not found in any manuscript. The syrohexapla indicates that Aquila and Symmachus contained the double negation μὴ οὐχὶ here, but this is very likely a later correction according to the Hebrew text. The translator either did not understand the rhetorical function of this question and left out the negation, or he intentionally avoided rendering the text in a way that could be interpreted wrong. Alternatively, his *Vorlage* did not contain the negation, in which case the same possibilities may be applied to the *Vorlage* or the MT tradition has added the negation in

<sup>927</sup> Other examples are in 23:29 and 51(44):21.

<sup>928</sup> Smyth 1920, 628.

<sup>929</sup> The cases not presented here are located in 8:4 (cf. sec. 5.2.2.8), 22; 13:12; 23:24 and 30(49):1.

an attempt to enhance the literary presentation of the text.<sup>930</sup> Either way, the translation contains the converse *κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου εἰς πίστιν*, averting a text with the notion that the Lord's eyes are not on faithfulness.

In sum, when the formally negative rhetorical question is preceded by a formally positive one, the interpretation of the positive question is controlled by the revolutionary use of the particle *μή*. When the formally negative rhetorical question stands alone, the translator uses the double negation to express affirmation. In either case, he attempts to guide the reader in the correct interpretation of the question in order to avoid misunderstandings.

Rhetorical questions are not always rendered as such in Jer LXX. In addition, a few cases of genuinely open questions in the *Vorlage* are changed into rhetorical question in the translation.

7:11 *הַמֶּעֶרֶת פְּרָצִים הִיא הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר-נִקְרָא-שְׁמִי עָלָיו בְּעֵינֵיכֶם* – *μή σπήλαιον ληστῶν ὁ οἶκός μου, οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ, ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν;*

23:23 *הֲאֵלֹהִי מִקְרֹב אֲנִי נְאֻם-יְהוָה וְלֹא אֱלֹהִי מֵרֶחֶק* – *θεὸς ἐγγίζων ἐγώ εἰμι, λέγει κύριος, καὶ οὐχὶ θεὸς πόρρωθεν.*

38(31):20 *הֲבֹי יִקִּיר לִי אֶפְרַיִם אִם יֵלֵד שְׁעָשְׁעִים כִּי-מִדֵּי דְבָרַי בּוֹ זָכַר אֶזְכְּרֶנּוּ* – *εἶδος ἀγαπητὸς Εφραιμ ἐμοί, παιδίον ἐντρυφῶν, ὅτι ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ λόγοι μου ἐν αὐτῷ, μνεῖα μνησθήσομαι αὐτοῦ.*

The Hebrew text of Jer 7:11 begins with the interrogative particle *ה*. The question, though laden with irony in the juxtaposition of the temple with a den of thieves, is not obviously rhetorical, as the latter part of the verse seems to affirm the comparison.<sup>931</sup> The translator, though, has treated the question as if it were rhetorical by resolving the question with the negative particle *μή*. This possibly indicates the translator's conviction on the matter, that the temple was not a den of thieves. The MT adds the verb *היה* by which the equation is softened.

The rhetorical questions in 23:23 and 38(31):20 are not rendered as such in Jer LXX, but rather as direct statements. The simple use of the interrogative *εἰ* would have

<sup>930</sup> This last suggestion was proposed to me by Richard Weis (personal communication, Jan 9. 2020).

<sup>931</sup> McKane 1986, 163.

sufficed as a direct equivalent of the Hebrew interrogative הֲ, an equivalence that the translator has already used elsewhere.<sup>932</sup> The resulting translation in 23:23 does not precisely convey the meaning of the Hebrew text. The MT conveys the message that YHWH is not only a God when He is close by, but also a God when He is far away. The translator does not understand the text in this way, and states that YHWH is a God near by and not far away.

The difference between these two rhetorical questions (23:23 and 38[31]:20) and those presented earlier in this chapter is that these two questions are positive in both form and in implied answer, a form of rhetorical question that is not so common, while the other rhetorical questions all present the form of the question and its implied answer as opposite, e.g. positive question with negative implied answer or negative question with positive implied answer. In Greek, it is only through the negative particles οὐ and μή that the expected implied answer can be made explicit. Therefore, when both question and answer are positive, the simplest way to control the interpretation of the question is to present it as a direct statement instead of a question that is susceptible to misinterpretation.

Moving on from rhetorical questions, there are a number of passages in which the translation seems to convey a meaning that is converse<sup>933</sup> to the Hebrew text. This arises primarily from the use and non-use of the negative particle in either of the two witnesses. The ascription of these to the translator cannot be certain in most of these cases, since his general disposition toward the translation is to be very loyal and to present the formal characteristics of the Hebrew text. Nevertheless, a few of these examples display the translator's inability to understand the rendering or willingness to use an equivalent that is not precisely a semantic fit with its *Vorlage*.

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<sup>932</sup> Cf. Jer 2:11; 13:23 and 18:20 above.

<sup>933</sup> Converse translation, also referred to as contradictive rendering, is a feature of the aramaic Targumim that was already noted by Elias Levita in the 16th century. Michael L. Klein (1976) has delineated four types of technique by which he identifies converse translation in the Targumim of the Pentateuch. These are the addition or deletion of the negative particle, replacement of the verb with one of the opposite meaning, resolution of rhetorical questions, and the addition of the negative particle לֹא 'lest.' R. P. Gordon extended this inquiry to the LXX and the Vulgate in his 1999 article titled "'Converse Translation' in Targums and Beyond." For the references to Klein and R. P. Gordon's articles, I am indebted to prof. Ross Wagner, with whom I had the privilege to meet and discuss converse translation in the LXX in Helsinki in January 2018.

In the following examples, the method of converse is always the addition or deletion of the negative particle. In three instances (5:10, 7:10 and 40[33]:8) the meaning of the main verb is different, and thus the meaning of the phrase is altered, but the converse is achieved by the use or non-use of the negative particle.

5:2 לֹא יִשָּׁבְעוּ יְהוָה יֹאמְרוּ לֵכֵן לְשָׁקֶר יִשָּׁבְעוּ: – Ζῆ κύριος, λέγουσι· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν ὀμνύουσι;

5:10 עָלוּ בְּשָׂרוֹתֶיהָ וְשַׁחַתּוּ וְכָלָה אֶל־תַּעֲשׂוּ הַסִּירוּ נְטִישׁוֹתֶיהָ כִּי לֹא לַיהוָה – ἀνάβητε ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχῶνας αὐτῆς καὶ κατασκάψατε, συντέλειαν δὲ μὴ ποιήσητε· ὑπολίπεσθε τὰ ὑποστηρίγματα αὐτῆς, ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου εἰσὶν.

7:10 וּבָאתֶם וְעַמְדַתֶּם לִפְנֵי בֵּית הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שְׁמִי עָלָיו וְאַמְרַתֶּם נִצְלָנוּ – καὶ ἦλθετε καὶ ἑστήτε ἐνώπιον ἔμοῦ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ, οὗ ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, καὶ εἴπατε Ἀπεσχήμεθα τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ βδελύγματα ταῦτα.

40(33):8 וְטִהַרְתִּים מִכָּל־עֲוֹנֶם אֲשֶׁר חָטְאוּ־לִי וְסָלַחְתִּי לְכֹל־עֲוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר – καὶ καθαριῶ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀδικιῶν αὐτῶν, ὧν ἡμάρτοσάν μοι, καὶ οὐ μὴ μνησθήσομαι ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, ὧν ἡμάρτοσάν μοι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ

The first three examples display outright converse, i.e. the rendering has completely converted the meaning of the text that is presented in the *Vorlage*. The Hebrew text of Jer 5:2 bares a degree of irony: though the people of Jerusalem would swear in the name of YHWH, which is more desirable than swearing by other deities, the conduct of the people nullifies their oaths, and they are considered as false. The LXX, on the other hand, by adding the negation οὐκ, conveys the attitude that an oath sworn in the Lord’s name is not a false oath. Alternatively, the negation οὐκ is here used to mark a rhetorical question, as interpreted by Ziegler, the meaning of which is in line with the MT.

Jer 5:10 addresses the people of Jerusalem metaphorically as a vine. The branches of the vine are to be cut off because “they are not YHWHs,” as stated in the MT. The LXX leaves out the negative particle, but also changes the verb of the main clause to ὑπολείπω ‘to leave (behind).’ The resulting text is the complete reverse of the meaning of the MT: “leave behind her support, for they are the Lord’s.” Gordon proposes that the



meaning of the MT is “too strong” for the translator.<sup>934</sup> Arguably, the translator wants to convey the idea that Jerusalem belongs to YHWH, and that it should not therefore be completely razed to the ground. However, the latter half of the verse is rendered by such a different meaning than the Hebrew that it is difficult to believe that the translator understood the text in the same way. The verb סור *hiph'il* ‘to remove’ is represented by ὑπολείπω ‘to leave behind,’ and the negation states the opposite of the Hebrew.

The Hebrew text in 7:10 also contains irony. The text accuses the people of Jerusalem of many transgressions against YHWH all the while they continue to worship him under the illusion that he is protecting them from destruction. The text purports the people to proclaim נִצַּלְנוּ “we are delivered,” but immediately curtails this with irony: delivered “to go on doing all these abominations.” The LXX here again changes the main verb, from נִצַּלְנוּ to Ἀπεσχήμεθα ‘we have abstained,’<sup>935</sup> and adds the negation to the object infinitive ‘to do’ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν. The result is: “we have abstained from doing all these abominations.” The irony has been removed from this phrase, and a possible misunderstanding of the text is avoided. Without noticing the irony, the reader would come to the conclusion that the text is conducive of the sense that the people are allowed to continue practicing their wickedness even after they have been absolved of their sins. The LXX changes the proclamation of the people into a denial of the accusations and an affirmation of innocence.<sup>936</sup>

The final example, Jer 40(33):8, describes the restoration of Jerusalem after YHWH has punished it. YHWH promises to forgive the iniquities of the people וְסָלַחְתִּי לְכָל-עֲוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם. The translation contains the verb μιμνήσκειν ‘to remember’ with a negative particle, meaning “I will not remember their sins.” Μιμνήσκειν is an unusual equivalent for סלח. Elsewhere, the translator uses the equivalent ἔλεως εἰμί to render

<sup>934</sup> Gordon 1999, 15.

<sup>935</sup> Streane (1896, 96–97) and Tov (1976, 50 n. 36) argue that the translator rather understood the verb as a *niph'al* form of אָצַל ‘to take away’ / ‘to reserve.’ Though this is a possible explanation, it does not account for the negation that is not represented in the Hebrew text. אָצַל is also a rare word in the HB, and נִצַּל would be more familiar to the translator.

<sup>936</sup> McKane 1986, 162–163.

סלח. Tov and Polak have posed the different *Vorlage* לאִ אֶזְכֹּר,<sup>937</sup> but this cannot be posited with certainty. These considerations place this case in doubt as an example of converse translation, but with the other examples of converse translation in mind, this case is plausible also.

## 7.6. Summary

Semantic and formal differences between Jer MT and Jer LXX reveal important information about the character of the translation. There are many examples of transliteration and mistranslation that indicate that the translator's knowledge of Hebrew was not always up to the task. In some cases the difference is caused by a change in the later development or transmission of the Hebrew or the Greek text, either intentionally or by mistake.

Only a small number of qualitative differences can be categorized as intended by the translator. The translator either resolves some of the rhetorical questions by adding the negative particle μή, or he leaves out the negation or the interrogative particle completely. A number of free renderings are also identifiable among the translations of infinitives. These mostly consist of expressions that are more idiomatic Greek, such as the greater use of the anarthrous infinitive and *genitivus absolutus* -construction in Jer b'.

On the whole, most of the qualitative differences that have occurred in my material may be categorized as either misunderstandings and poor knowledge of Hebrew on the part of the translator or a different *Vorlage* that indicates a change in the transmission of the Hebrew text, either by intention or by error. This affirms the characterization of the translator as very faithful to his *Vorlage*, unwilling to change the text. Intentional change by the translator occurs only rarely, and appears as only subtle additions or omissions of small particles or occasional transformation of the syntax. These changes do not justify the notion of a translator as an editor who would greatly alter his text through translation or who would leave out large portions of it. He is very rigorous in representing the *Vorlage* carefully and faithfully.

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<sup>937</sup> Tov and Polak 2009.

## 8. A Characterization of the Similarities and Differences between Jer a' and Jer b'

### 8.1. Categories of Similarities and Change

The analysis of translation equivalents in Jer LXX has identified important similarities and significant differences between Jer a' and Jer b'. A number of the differences were already noted in previous studies and categorized by Tov in his dissertation.<sup>938</sup> Tov's study contains the most extensive list of translation differences between Jer a' and Jer b', and his categorization of these differences is based on his observations on the semantic correspondence between the Hebrew and Greek equivalents and on the consistency of the equivalents that are used in both halves of the book. His categories of change are defined as the working principles of the reviser, whose revision is evident in Jer b': 1) more precise renditions, 2) corrections of erroneous renditions, 3) stereotyped (literal) replacing non-stereotyped (free) renditions, 4) renditions reflecting the Hebrew in a more consistent way, and 5) other changes. Tov also notes a few similar lexical choices between Jer b' and the three later translators Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, which he correctly asserts to increase the probability that Jer b' contains a revised text.<sup>939</sup> Since Tov's study, however, additional features of early revisional practices have been identified which can further assist in profiling the changes that have taken place in Jer LXX.

Though Tov's categories serve well to describe certain aspects of the difference between the two sections, he notes that at times these principles produce incompatible results.<sup>940</sup> For example, the more precise equivalent is not always the stereotyped equivalent, and a number of the differing equivalents in Jer b' do not reflect the Hebrew in a more consistent manner than do the equivalents in Jer a'. In comparison to revisionary principles of other early revisions of the LXX such as the *kaige* tradition, some of the changes in Jer b' go against the tendency of revisions. The examples of natural Greek syntactic expressions in Jer b' that depart from a rigorous attempt to

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<sup>938</sup> For an introduction to previous studies that identified differences between Jer a and Jer b, cf. sec. 2.4 above. For Tov's categorization of the differences between Jer a and Jer b, cf. sec. 2.4.

<sup>939</sup> Tov 1976, 161.

<sup>940</sup> Tov 1976, 157. Pietersma (2010b, 367–368) makes the same observation regarding Tov's categories.

follow formal aspects of the Hebrew text do not conform to known principles of the early revisions. These issues raise the question whether all the differences ought to be attributed to the reviser. As a control, it is more plausible to categorize the differences according to their correspondence to revisional principles that are better known and classified, such as the principles of the *kaige* tradition. Reflecting the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' against revisional principles identified in the *kaige* tradition allows a more refined characterization of the revisional changes in Jer b', which in turn enables a more precise placing of these changes within the textual history of the Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible. Categorizing the differences simply on their own terms and defining all of them as revisional disconnects Jer LXX from the trajectory of textual development in the LXX.

Following Barthélemy's publication of *Les Devanciers*, a number of studies have identified Hebrew-Greek equivalents that are characteristic of the *kaige* tradition.<sup>941</sup> Tim McLay has compiled a compendium of all the proposed equivalents, which includes 96 items, and Timo Tekoniemi has listed 16 further characteristics that have been subsequently identified by other scholars.<sup>942</sup> The most notable of these characteristics include the equivalent *καίτε* for the Hebrew *וְגַם*, *ἀνὴρ* for *אִישׁ*, and *ἐγὼ εἶμι* for *אֲנִי*. Significantly, almost every item on these lists consists of lexical equivalents. Only a few items, such as the elimination of the use of the historical present, are more syntactical in nature.<sup>943</sup>

Descriptions of the *kaige* tradition focus on its literal translation character. The revision, and in some LXX books the translation, closely follows the Hebrew text to produce "awkward, stilted, and wooden" Greek,<sup>944</sup> and the use of transliteration to represent Hebrew words is cited as a prominent feature.<sup>945</sup> The underlying motive of the recension is to make the Greek translation represent the Hebrew text, i.e. the proto-Masoretic text, more precisely in both quality and quantity than the Old Greek

<sup>941</sup> E.g., Schenkel 1968; Greenspoon 1983; Aejmelaeus and Kauhanen (eds.) 2017. For a discussion on the *kaige* tradition, cf. sections 3.3 and 3.4.

<sup>942</sup> McLay 1998, 127–139; Tekoniemi 2019, 258.

<sup>943</sup> Cf. e.g. Wirth 2016, 216–217.

<sup>944</sup> Gentry 2016, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\\_thb\\_COM\\_0001030102](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001030102)> (2.5.2018).

<sup>945</sup> Marcos 2000, 146–147

translation (OG) does. This is achieved through concordant translation equivalents, in which each Hebrew word is always rendered by the same Greek word, through the addition of elements for which the OG has no correspondence to the Hebrew text, and through the omission of elements in the Greek that have no corresponding element in the Hebrew.<sup>946</sup> This disposition also manifests a degree of exegetical interest in the text that was not always characteristic of the first translators, as shown by the equivalents of *niph'al* forms of נחם 'to regret'.<sup>947</sup>

I have categorized the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' from the perspective of Jer b', since it contains the equivalents that show the most affinity to revisional features. Some of the equivalents in Jer b' do exhibit similar characteristics to features of the *kaige* revision, such as a closer representation of formal features of the Hebrew text, more consistency and a higher exegetical interest in the equivalents, more so than the equivalents in Jer a'. A number of other equivalents, however, do not reflect the principles and tendencies of the *kaige* tradition. These include the use of more natural Greek expression than in Jer a', a few unique features not found in other translations or revisions, and the simple use of alternative equivalents that are not the preferred equivalents in the *kaige* tradition.

The similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' that have been identified in the analysis are presented first, followed by the differences. First among the differences are presented the changes in Jer b' that are not similar to the principles identified in the *kaige* tradition. These include free renderings, unique renderings and the use of non-*kaige* equivalents. The changes in Jer b' that are similar to *kaige* principles are presented last. These include equivalents that match the formal characteristics of the Hebrew text, the consistent use of single equivalents, and exegetically motivated equivalents.

### 8.1.1. Similarities between Jer a' and Jer b'

A number of important similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' are identified especially with regard to the renderings of syntactical elements in Jer LXX. These include the renderings of infinitive absolute constructions, of the particle כִּי and the conjunction וְ, and of the various uses of the word אֵת.

<sup>946</sup> Aejmelaeus *forthcoming*.

<sup>947</sup> Aejmelaeus 2017a, 41–53. Cf. section 6.16.

These similarities serve to connect the two sections, Jer a' and Jer b', one to the other in terms of their translation character. Revisions are always based on an older version of the text, and these similarities are a residue of the OG version in Jer b' that the reviser used as the basis for his revision. They have remained untouched by the reviser most likely because his agenda did not concern the syntactical peculiarities of these grammatical aspects of the text. This is in keeping with other known revisions, whose principle concern with the meaning of the text and its exegesis generally precluded syntactical constructions such as these.

The analysis has identified the following Hebrew expressions to be rendered similarly in both Jer a' and Jer b':

- Infinitives absolute, whether as part of *fig. etym.* constructions or not, are mainly rendered by *part. coni.* throughout Jer LXX. The alternative renderings as finite verbs also occur in both sections of the translation (section 4.3).
- The conjunction ו in its various functions is consistently rendered by καί in both Jer a' and Jer b' (section 5.2).
- The particle כִּי in its various functions is consistently rendered by ὅτι in both Jer a' and Jer b' (section 5.3).
- The Hebrew אַחֲרָי 'after' / 'behind' is rendered similarly in both Jer a' and Jer b'. In its local sense, the equivalent ὀπίσω is mainly used, and in its temporal sense, the equivalent μετὰ + acc. is used (section 5.6).

The identification of similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' is important for understanding their relation to each other. Similarities serve to link the two sections together and they constitute the vestiges of the OG translation in Jer b'. Though the similarities presented here are not distinctive similarities,<sup>948</sup> they show that a number of syntactical characteristics of the translation have not been revised in Jer b'. The distinctive similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' identified by Tov prove a stronger case for the underlying OG translation in Jer b', but since revisions generally do not change the whole text, as a new translation might do, the identification of other similarities is no less important.

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<sup>948</sup> For a discussion on the significance of distinctive similarities in identifying revisions, cf. sec. 3.5.

### 8.1.2. Differences between Jer a' and Jer b'

The translation technical analysis has shown that there is a significant difference in translation character between Jer a' and Jer b'. This is the issue that is at the core of the discussion concerning the unity of the translation. Do these differences reflect the work of more than one individual, or can they be explained with reference to a single translator who either applied an exegetical principle that resulted in the differences or who changed his disposition in the process of translation.<sup>949</sup> The similarities presented above contribute to a similarity in the character of Jer a' and Jer b', but together with the significant differences identified in many studies and analysed in this study, it is most plausible to regard the differences in Jer b' as the result of a revision in the translated text.

In this section, I categorize the changes that occur between Jer a' and Jer b' in terms of translation character, with a specific focus on the manner in which the different renderings present the form and meaning of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. The criteria that determines this categorization is based on whether the change in Jer b' seeks to convey the formal features of the *Vorlage* more carefully than the equivalent in Jer a', including word-for-word correspondence, grammatical form and stereotyped equivalency, or whether it conveys an interpretation of the meaning of the *Vorlage* that has resulted in a departure from the formal traits of the Hebrew text.

Characterizations of the translation of Jer LXX have generally estimated that the translation character of Jer b' is more literal and incomprehensible than Jer a'. This is indeed the case with regard to many features of the translation, but the analysis has also identified a number of differences in Jer b' that reflect an opposite tendency, i.e. a tendency to portray a more natural Greek style or more free disposition in relation to the Hebrew text than the corresponding equivalents in Jer a'. These differences are presented first, followed by unique and preferred equivalents in Jer b'. After these, the changes that most reflect revisional principles in Jer b' are presented. These are changes that convey a vein of propensity for expressing the formal qualities of the Hebrew, through isomorphic representation, consistent renderings and exegetical interests, which are also features identified in the *kaige* tradition.

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<sup>949</sup> For a summary and description of solutions that different scholars have suggested, cf. sec. 2.4.

### 8.1.2.1 *Equivalents in Jer b that Reflect more Natural Greek Expression*

A few of the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' reveal that the equivalents in Jer b' reflect more natural Greek expression than their counterparts in Jer a'. The analysis found that these changes occur mostly in relation to grammatical aspects of the Hebrew, such as the renderings of infinitives. The choice of equivalent to render grammatical aspects in LXX translations is generally determined by the translator's disposition toward translation instead of any conscious effort at conveying a specific meaning through the equivalent. Therefore, any consistent difference between the two sections with regard to the renderings of grammatical aspects should be considered a significant indication of change in the translation. Theologically or exegetically motivated change pertains mainly to lexical equivalents that bear the most significance for the content and meaning of the translation. Change in the representation of grammatical aspects rather displays a difference in working habits that unfolds in the course of the translation process.

The analysis has identified the following Hebrew expressions that are rendered in a more natural Greek manner in Jer b' than in Jer a':

- The Hebrew לְ+inf. construction is rendered largely by the genitive articular infinitive in Jer a' and by the anarthrous infinitive in Jer b'. This change pertains both to final infinitives and object infinitives (section 4.2).<sup>950</sup>
- The temporal uses of the prepositional phrases בְּ+inf. and בְּ+inf. are consistently rendered by ὅτε / ὅταν -clauses and ὥς -clauses respectively in Jer a'. Jer b' attests a relatively frequent use of the *genitivus absolutus* construction to render the same prepositional phrases (section 4.4).<sup>951</sup>
- The temporal use of אַחֲרַי 'after,' is rendered consistently by μετὰ + acc. in Jer a', but Jer b' attests the natural Greek expression ὕστερος in a significant amount of cases (section 5.6).

<sup>950</sup> Cf. also Tucker 2020, 151–156.

<sup>951</sup> Cf. also Tucker 2020, 156–157.



These differences strongly intimate that the general disposition towards rendering these Hebrew syntactical constructions has shifted toward the end of the translation and that this shift moves away from a literal representation of the Hebrew grammatical construction towards more natural Greek expression. This change in the text does not align with known revisional principles, which renders their designation as revised equivalents very doubtful. It is more plausible to hold their attestation in Jer b' as a residue of the OG that was inconsequential to the reviser. Jer is a long book, and the OG translator was unable, or unwilling, to uphold the consistency in his choice of renderings as the work progressed. Theo van der Louw has discussed the notion of translator fatigue and suggested that the translator's focus is more accute after a pause for refreshment.<sup>952</sup> This could easily lead to the use of more natural Greek expressions after a long period of concentration on literal renderings. The reviser's focus, on the other hand, was limited, and he was clearly more concerned with lexical items in the translation. Though these non-formal renderings of Hebrew expressions would have been a good opportunity to exercise change towards more formal equivalency of the Hebrew text, these renderings were left as they were.

### ***8.1.2.2 Rare and Unique Equivalents in Jer b***

Jer b' contains a notable amount of distinctive or unique equivalents. These are found seldom, if at all, in other translated texts in the LXX, and they serve to set Jer b' apart from other translated books. The Hebrew counterparts of these words receive other equivalents in Jer a' that usually correspond to the most common equivalents found elsewhere in the LXX. In some of the following examples, Jer b' also attests the use of the common equivalent, but a more significant portion of the renderings consist of a rare or unique equivalent in the LXX. The presence of these equivalents in Jer b' imbues it with a character at odds with all other translated texts, including that of Jer a'.

The analysis has identified the following Hebrew expressions to be rendered with a rare or unique equivalent in Jer b' as opposed to a common equivalent in Jer a':

- The expression לַמַּעַן+inf. in Jer a' and throughout the LXX is generally rendered by ὅπως or ἵνα. Jer b', on the other hand, uses the unique equivalent πρὸς τὸ+inf. in nearly half of all cases (section 5.8).

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<sup>952</sup> van der Louw 2016, 459–460.

- The related expression לבלתי+inf. attests the same phenomenon, except the difference is even more pronounced. Jer a' employs the common equivalent from elsewhere in the LXX, τοῦ μή+inf., but Jer b' renders this expression almost exclusively by πρὸς τὸ μή+inf. (section 5.7).
- The particle מאי is uniquely rendered by ἀπό+noun in Jer b'. Ἀπό is a common equivalent of the preposition מִן in the LXX, but the expression as a whole is always rendered otherwise. Jer a' displays an interpretation of מאי as causative, while the equivalent in Jer b' is indeterminate in this regard (section 5.9).
- The noun עֵת 'time' is translated in Jer a', as elsewhere in the LXX, by the Greek noun καιρός. Jer b', however, always attests the unique rendering χρόνος (section 6.19).
- The noun זְרֹעַ 'arm' is usually rendered by βραχίων in Jer a', as is common throughout the LXX. Jer b' renders it by the very rare word ἐπίχειρον (section 6.8).
- When the Hebrew זֶרַע 'seed' refers to the offspring of specific individuals or groups, it is rendered by the uncommon equivalent γένος in Jer b'. Jer a' attests the more common rendering σπέρμα in similar contexts (section 6.9).
- The verb הִכְעִיס 'to anger' / 'to provoke' bears the equivalent παροργίζω in Jer a' and the unique equivalent παραπικραίνω in Jer b' (section 6.7).
- The Hebrew words שִׂשׂוֹן and שִׂמְחָה 'joy' / 'jubilation' are used interchangeably in parallelism, and so are their renderings. Both Jer a' and Jer b' use the equivalents εὐφραίνω and εὐφροσύνη, but for the parallel terms, Jer a' prefers χαίρω or χαρά while Jer b' uses the very rare words χαρμοσύνη and χαρμονή (section 6.24).
- The verb רפא 'to heal' assumes the general LXX equivalent ἰάομαι in Jer a' and the rare LXX equivalent ἰατρεύω in Jer b' (section 6.21).

Unique and rare equivalents are important factors in defining the character of a translation. They indicate a degree of distinction between the translation that uses them and those that do not, and they also hint at the translator's unwillingness to use, or lack of knowledge of, the general equivalents employed in other translated texts. It is not plausible to consider these equivalents as part of the OG translation, as they would most likely have been used in Jer a' if that were the case. These equivalents are best understood as indicators of the reviser's dissatisfaction with the OG equivalents that are attested in Jer a'. The reviser intentionally changed the OG equivalents to their present form in Jer b'. Significantly, these equivalents also serve to distinguish this revision from that of the *kaige* tradition and other known revisions since they do not employ these equivalents either.

### ***8.1.2.3 Alternative Equivalents Preferred by Jer a' and Jer b'***

For several Hebrew words, Jer a' and Jer b' attest mainly one or the other of two different common Greek equivalents. The reasons for choosing the different equivalents is not entirely clear in all of these cases, and the choice might simply be down to preference. In a few cases it is possible to surmise a theological or exegetical reason for the differences. Some of these are equivalents already mentioned in the previous section, unique equivalents in Jer b', but in most of these cases Jer b' attests an equivalent that is also used elsewhere in the LXX.

The analysis shows that the equivalents of the following Hebrew expressions have been consistently rendered differently in Jer a' and Jer b':

- The expression **נאם יהוה** 'thus says YHWH' is very frequent in Jer. In Jer a' it is rendered as λέγει κύριος, while in Jer b' it is rendered as φησὶ κύριος (section 6.4).
- The expression **אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים** 'other gods' is translated by θεοὶ ἄλλοτριοι in Jer a' and by θεοὶ ἕτεροι in Jer b'. Both halves employ the equivalents very consistently (section 6.2).
- The noun **גבור** is rendered by μαχητής in Jer a', which is a relatively unusual rendering in the LXX, and by the more common equivalent δυνατός in Jer b'. Both halves also attest the equivalent ἰσχυρός (section 6.5).

- The nouns **שְׁמָה** and **שְׁמָה** 'desolation' are mostly translated in Jer a' by ἀφανισμός and in Jer b' by ἄβατος (section 6.25).
- The verb **עבד** 'to serve' / 'to work' is mainly rendered by δουλεύω in Jer a' and by ἐργάζομαι in Jer b'. Jer a' attests a clear distinction between the two meanings of the verb, while Jer b' uses both equivalents to render the meaning 'to serve' (sections 6.17).
- The two meanings of the verb **ישב** 'to sit' and 'to dwell' are distinguished clearly in Jer a', while the distinction is nearly eradicated in Jer b'. Jer a' renders the meaning 'to dwell' by κατοικέω or κατοικέομαι and the meaning 'to sit' by καθίζω or καθήμαι. Jer b', however, uses καθίζω and καθήμαι for both meanings, but does confine his use of κατοικέω to the meaning 'to dwell' (section 6.12).
- The *hiph'il* forms of the verb **כעס** 'to anger' / 'to provoke' attain the equivalent παροργίζω in Jer a' and the equivalent παραπικραίνω in Jer b' (section 6.7).
- The verb **שבן** 'to dwell' is rendered by κατασκηνόω (3x) in Jer a', while in Jer b' it is rendered by καταλύω (3x) or οίκέω (1x). Καταλύω is a common rendering of the verb **לין** 'to stay overnight' both in Jer LXX and in the LXX as a whole (section 6.23).
- The *niph'al* forms of the verb **לכד** 'to seize' / 'to capture' are mostly rendered by ἀλίσκομαι in Jer a' and by συλλαμβάνω or λαμβάνω in Jer b' (section 6.13).
- The noun **חֶרֶב** 'sword' is translated by μαχαίρα in Jer a'. In Jer b', however, the equivalent ῥομφαία is used as an alternative. The change from the choice μαχαίρα to ῥομφαία occurs at chapter 42, after which every case of **חֶרֶב** is translated by ῥομφαία (section 6.10).
- The translations of **נוה** 'abode' / 'pasture' are also distinct in Jer a' and Jer b'. The only equivalent used in Jer a' is νομή, and it is used for both meanings of the word, suggesting that the translator understood **נוה** to

mean 'pasture' in each instance. Jer b' uses the equivalents *κατάλυσις* or *κατάλυμα*. These portray a different understanding of *נוה* as 'abode' or 'habitation.' The contexts in which the term occurs in both Jer a' and Jer b' are similar (section 6.20).

Though the consistent use of alternative renderings, and in some cases synonymous renderings, between Jer a' and Jer b' do not distinguish the characters of the two as starkly as unique renderings do, they do reveal a propensity to favor equivalents other than those chosen in the other half of the translation. If the use of these alternative equivalents was merely haphazard, they would not constitute a significant factor in the different character of Jer b', but since each is clearly attested as the preferred equivalent in either half, their force is to be taken as an indication of change in the translation.

#### ***8.1.2.4 Equivalents in Jer b that Convey More Formal Characteristics of the Hebrew Text***

The examples from Jer b' in this category reflect the formal features of the Hebrew text more precisely than the corresponding equivalents in Jer a', and they mostly include equivalents of syntactical constructions. The degree to which lexical equivalents are determined to be formal is largely based on the notion of stereotyped renderings, which by definition is dependent on how a given Hebrew word is rendered elsewhere in the book or in the LXX as a whole. A few lexical equivalents are included here either because the equivalents in Jer b' reflect a more exact meaning of the Hebrew word they render or because they conform to the more common rendering of the word that is found elsewhere in the LXX.

The identification in Jer b' of more formal characteristics than are portrayed in the renderings of Jer a' is significant especially when comparing the revision in Jer b' with other known revisions. A common principle shared by all known early revisions is precisely the intention to change the translation so that it reflects the features and linguistic elements of the Hebrew text more closely and consistently. When a rendering in Jer b' consistently reflects the formal elements of the Hebrew more precisely than the corresponding rendering in Jer a', the difference embodies a compelling resemblance to other known revisions, such as the *kaige* tradition.

The renderings of several syntactical constructions in Jer b' indicate a more closer representation of the formal qualities of the Hebrew text than their counterparts in Jer a'. These include the following:

- The conjunction ו receives the equivalent καί in a majority of cases when it is used paratactically in both Jer a' and Jer b'. Jer a', however, attests a variety of other equivalents, such as δέ and ἀλλά to express contrast, to a far greater extent than Jer b', where alternative equivalents occur only a few times (section 5.2).
- The particle כִּי is likewise rendered by ὅτι in a majority of cases in both Jer a' and Jer b'. Jer a', however, attests a greater amount of variance than Jer b'. Διότι is used 28 times in Jer a', which distinguishes Jer a' from most other books in the LXX. Διότι is not used once in Jer b' (section 5.3).
- The semipreposition בֵּינֵי is rendered consistently by the Greek expressions ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον in Jer a', while Jer b' prefers the more formally equivalent expressions based on the noun ὀφθαλμός, such as κατ' ὀφθαλμούς, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν and ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς (section 5.5).
- The semipreposition בֵּינֵי is rendered similarly. Jer a' attests the use of both the Greek expressions ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον to render בֵּינֵי, but also the literal expressions based on the noun πρόσωπον. Jer a' bears a tendency to avoid anthropomorphism when בֵּינֵי is used locally, as ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον occur only when בֵּינֵי is metaphorically local. Jer b' uses the literal equivalents κατὰ πρόσωπον and εἰς πρόσωπον regardless of the context (section 5.4).
- The particle מֵ is often rendered in Jer a' as if the preposition מִן portrayed a causative sense. The equivalents in such cases are παρὰ τὸ μή+inf. and διὰ τὸ μή+inf., which indicate causation. In Jer b', on the other hand, the prepositional phrase ἀπό+noun is used, which is not attested for מֵ elsewhere in the LXX. I may be considered a case of literal representation of the Hebrew preposition מִן (section 5.9).

- The *pu'al* and the *qal* participle forms of the verb **שָׁדַד** 'to destroy' are translated in Jer a' by either *ταλαιπωρέω* 'to endure hardship' / 'to distress' or by *ταλαιπωρία* or *ταλαιπωροῦντες* 'hardship' / 'distress.' These are not semantic matches of the Hebrew verb. The renderings in Jer b' are *ῥαλλυμι* for the *pu'al* form and *ῥλεθρος* for the *qal* participle, which are more precise representations of the meaning of the Hebrew verb (section 6.22).
- The Hebrew word **גִּבּוֹר** 'hero' / 'champion' is commonly rendered by *δυνατός* in the LXX. Jer a', however, uses the equivalents *μαχητής* and *ἰσχυρός*. Jer b' attests *δυνατός* and occasionally *ἰσχυρός*. The use of *δυνατός* aligns Jer b' with the standard equivalent used elsewhere in the LXX (section 6.5).
- The phrase **כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה** 'thus says YHWH' is translated by *τάδε λέγει κύριος* in Jer a'. Jer b', however, renders the phrase with a more precise formal match of the past tense verb in *οὕτως εἶπε κύριος*. In addition, Jer a' makes a distinction between contexts in which the particle **כֹּה** is used, rendering it by *οὕτως* when it is used apart from the phrase **כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה**. Jer b' renders all cases of **כֹּה** by *οὕτως* (section 6.3).

The above differences all reflect the tendency of change toward a more formal representation of the Hebrew textual elements in moving from Jer a' to Jer b'. This manifests itself in three ways among these equivalents. First, some of the equivalents in Jer b' are rendered by a single stereotyped equivalent with more complete consistency than in Jer a'. Such is the case with the renderings of conjunctive **וְ** and the particle **כִּי**. Second, a number of equivalents in Jer b' convey the different linguistic elements of Hebrew idioms more literally than Jer a', producing an element to correspond to each Hebrew element. This occurs among the renderings of the semiprepositions **לְפָנֵי** and **בְּעֵינֵי**. The third phenomenon is the use of semantically and formally more precise equivalents in Jer b' than those occurring in Jer a'. This occurs for the renderings of **שָׁדַד** and the phrase **כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה**.

The likeness of these changes to those made by early revisers of the LXX inculcates Jer b' with a revisional character by association. The nature of these changes precludes the possibility that they result from the exegetical mores of a single translator since their main purpose is to convey the formal aspects of the Hebrew text more so than its semantic aspects. Their similarity to other known revisional principles also inclines them more towards the work of a reviser than a second translator since they communicate a similar attitude toward translation as that represented by the revisers of the LXX. A second translator for OG Jer b' would most likely be contemporary to the OG translator of Jer a' and would not be invested in revisional interests that begin to rise only at a later period in time.

#### ***8.1.2.5 Jer b Displays More Consistency in the Renderings***

In this category, the translation equivalents in Jer b' are also applied more consistently than the equivalents in Jer a'. In distinction from consistency in the examples from the previous category, some of these examples do not display a tendency to convey the formal features of their Hebrew counterparts. This also bears similarity to tendencies of the *kaige* revision, which attempts to assign a single Greek equivalent to each Hebrew word and apply this equivalent consistently throughout the translation or revision.

The analysis has identified the following Hebrew expressions to be rendered with more consistency in Jer b' than the alternative equivalent is in Jer a':

- The renderings of conjunctive ו attest a far greater amount of variation in Jer a' than they do in Jer b'. Jer b' attests only a few cases of equivalents other than the common καί (section 5.2).
- Likewise, the particle כִּי attests greater variation among its equivalents in Jer a' than in Jer b', which attests hardly any variation (section 5.3).
- מֵאִן+noun is rendered by ἀπό+noun nearly consistently in Jer b' compared to a variety of equivalents used in Jer a' (section 5.9).
- The renderings of אֲחֵר 'other' are varied in Jer a' according to context, but are consistent in Jer b' regardless of the context. The expression אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים 'other gods' is translated by θεοὶ ἄλλοτριοι in Jer a' and by θεοὶ ἕτεροι in Jer b'. Jer a' applies a distinction between the different contexts in which אֲחֵר occurs, using ἄλλοτριος when the word appears



as part of the expression אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרַיִם and ἕτερος in other contexts. Jer b' makes no such distinction, but renders all cases of אַחֲרַיִם with ἕτερος (section 6.2).

- The contexts in which the particle כֹּה 'thus' occurs are distinguished in Jer a' by their renderings. The equivalent οὕτως is the usual rendering, but as part of the phrase כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה it is rendered by τὰδε. Jer b' makes no such distinction, and renders all occurrences of כֹּה with οὕτως (section 6.2.).
- Renderings of *hiph'il* forms of the verb יָצָא 'to lead out' / 'to bring out' display variation in Jer a', but no variation in Jer b'. Jer a' attests the equivalents ἀνάγω and ἐξάγω in the context of relocating individuals or nations, and the equivalent ἐκφέρω in other contexts. Jer b', where the context is always the relocation of individuals or nations, always renders the verb by ἐξάγω (section 6.6).
- For the verb יָדַע 'to know,' Jer a' employs four different equivalents: γινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω, ἐπίσταμαι and οἶδα, the last of which is reserved to denote acquaintance. Jer b' prefers γινώσκω, with the only exception being two cases of οἶδα. Jer b' does not maintain the distinction between 'acquaintance' and 'knowledge' (section 6.11).
- The noun עֶבֶד 'servant' / 'slave' assumes three different equivalents in Jer a', which are παῖς, δοῦλος and οἶκος, and Jer a' makes only a vague distinction between the meanings 'official' and 'slave.' Jer b', on the other hand, mainly attests the equivalent παῖς for the Hebrew noun in all its varying contexts (section 6.18).
- Renderings of the verb יָשַׁב 'to sit' / 'to dwell' in Jer a' display a greater variance between the equivalents κατοικέω and κατοικέομαι on the one hand and καθίζω or καθήμαι on the other. They also consistently distinguish between the two meanings of the verb. Jer b', on the other hand, increases the use of καθίζω and καθήμαι in relation to κατοικέω

and κατοικέομαι and employs the former for both meanings of the Hebrew verb (section 6.12).

- The semipreposition לְפָנַי is rendered by various means in Jer a', while Jer b' nearly always uses the literal rendering κατὰ πρόσωπον (section 5.4).
- The verb לָכַד 'to capture' is rendered by ἀλίσκομαι and συλλαμβάνω in Jer a', while Jer b' restricts the renderings to verbs derived from λαμβάνω (section 6.13).

All these examples exhibit the narrowing of equivalents from several alternative options in Jer a' to mainly a single translation equivalent in Jer b'. This is similar to the tendency of concordant translation in the *kaige* tradition, one of the purposes of which was to provide a means of inferring the underlying Hebrew term that is translated so that the passage may be linked to other passages with shared vocabulary.<sup>953</sup> Notably, some of the consistent equivalents in Jer b' are the same equivalents preferred by the *kaige* tradition, such as παῖς to render עֶבֶד and derived forms of the verb λαμβάνω to render לָכַד. These also indicate an affinity between Jer b' and the *kaige* tradition, though other equivalents show that the two are not the same.

#### **8.1.2.6 Renderings in Jer b that are Context Sensitive**

The renderings of certain words in Jer b' display a degree of sensitivity to their context that is markedly more accentuated than the equivalents of the same words in Jer a'. This manifests itself in two ways. First, certain Hebrew words that assume different meanings in different contexts are intentionally rendered by only one specific Greek equivalent regardless of the context in order to uphold a certain interpretation of the meaning of the word. This is very similar to the previous category of consistency, but includes a greater degree of exegetical intention. Such is the case for the verb נָחַם, for example. The second manifestation of this tendency is the attempt to differentiate between different uses or meanings of a single Hebrew word. In the examples, two different equivalents are used to render a single Hebrew word in Jer b' in order to distinguish between the contexts in which they occur. In Jer a', only one of the two

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<sup>953</sup> Aejmelaesus *forthcoming*.

equivalents is mainly used, and it is used without distinction of the different contexts in which the Hebrew word appears.

The analysis has identified the following Hebrew expressions whose renderings portray a degree of exegetical differentiation:

- The verb נחם 'repent' / 'regret' is mainly rendered by μετανοέω 'to repent' in Jer a' in contexts in which the subject is either human beings or YHWH. Jer b', on the other hand, uses μετανοέω only when human beings are the subject, but when YHWH is the subject, παύομαι or ἀναπαύομαι 'to cease' is used. By this means the reviser avoids the notion of YHWH's regret (section 6.16).
- The noun נביא 'prophet' refers to both Jeremiah and his opponents. Jer b' makes a distinction between these by using the equivalents προφήτης and ψευδοπροφήτης. Jer a' does not make this distinction (section 6.14).
- The translations of the noun שקר 'lie' / 'falsehood' also displays an accurate distinction in Jer b'. The equivalent ἄδικος is preferred in Jer b' in contexts of false prophecy and trust in such prophecy and ψεῦδος and ψευδής are reserved for other contexts. Jer a' uses ψεῦδος and ψευδής in all contexts (section 6.26).
- The different uses of the noun זרע 'seed' / 'offspring' are also rendered differently in Jer b'. The equivalent σπέρμα is used in Jer a' to refer to the actual offspring of individuals (Jeconiah) or groups (Israel and Ephraim). Jer b' uses the equivalent γένος in such case and reserves σπέρμα for contexts in which זרע is a generic term indicating the 'seed' of humans and animals (section 6.9).
- The verb צוה 'to command' is translated by ἐντέλλομαι in Jer a' both when the subject is human and when it is YHWH. Jer b' mainly uses ἐντέλλομαι when human beings are the subject and mostly συντάσσω when YHWH is the subject (section 6.20).

These equivalents all display a degree of exegesis in their manifestations in Jer b' that is not present in the corresponding equivalents in Jer a'. Naturally, the OG translator chose

his renderings based on his understanding of the text, but his choices were more intuitive in comparison to the intentionality displayed by the equivalents of Jer b'. This category of change in Jer b' constitutes an important affinity to the *kaige* tradition, particularly with regard to the renderings of the verb נחם. Both the reviser of Jer b' and the *kaige* tradition avoid the notion of YHWH's regret by using renderings other than the semantic equivalent μετανοέω, while the OG translator of Jer has no qualms with this equivalent. The different manner in which Jer a' and Jer b' interpret and treat the Hebrew words in this category forms a critical distinction between the characters of the two sections.

### 8.1.3. Summary

The categories of difference presented here summarize the distinctive features that Jer a' and Jer b' exhibit. Naturally, Jer a' and Jer b' are uniform in many aspects of translation since they share a great degree of similar themes, content and vocabulary. A number of features identified in the analysis also attest to this. Nevertheless, the analysis applied to the differences between the two sections reveals a clear difference in their character. Thackeray categorized Jer b' as more literal and unintelligent Greek than Jer a',<sup>954</sup> but this is too general a picture since this definition cannot be applied to all the differences between the two. Tov was the first to argue extensively that the different equivalents in Jer b' are the result of a revision, and he proceeded to categorize as many differences between the two sections as possible according to the revisional principles of his determination. He notes a few similarities between features of Jer b' and known equivalents of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. However, a more thorough comparison between the features of Jer b' and identified revisional tendencies of the *kaige* tradition enable a more precise characterization of Jer b'. Knowledge of the *kaige* tradition and early revisional principles has advanced considerably since the time of Tov's study.

Though some doubt has been expressed regarding the notion that Jeremiah b contains a revision of the Old Greek translation of Jeremiah, a reflection of the nature of the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' against *kaige* principles serves both to enhance the character of Jer b' as a revision and also to delimit the extent to which Jer b' can

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<sup>954</sup> Thackeray 1909, 11-14.

plausibly be described along the lines of early revisions of the LXX. The examples presented above find a number of differences to be aligned with *kaige* principles, but a few examples are at odds with them, which leads to the question of how they are to be characterized in relation to both the Old Greek and to the *kaige* tradition.

First of all, there are important and distinctive similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' that definitively show a connection between them. Important similarities include the translations of conjunctive וְ, the particle כִּי and the preposition אַחֲרֵי. Both Jer a' and Jer b' are similar in their choice of preferred rendering of these Hebrew expressions. Tov has listed many distinctive similarities between the two sections that constitute a significant case for their similarity.<sup>955</sup> Though the similarities identified by this study may not be classified as distinctive similarities, their identification in the context of marked differences between two texts is a necessary step in distinguishing a revision from a separate translation. A revision is always based on a previous version of the text, and the similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' indicate that both share the same OG translation.

The differences between Jer a' and Jer b' comprise of several different types. First, some of the examples above indicate that Jer b' reflects a different character in relation to the *kaige* tradition. Its use of more natural Greek expressions than Jer a' is something one would not expect from early revisions, which rather tend to change such free expressions to reflect the formal aspects of the Hebrew in greater detail. This tendency is evident in the translations of the expressions לְ+inf. that function as final infinitives and as direct objects, temporal בְּ+inf. and בָּ+inf. constructions and temporal אַחֲרֵי.

Second, rare and unique renderings in Jer b' naturally set it apart from all other translations and textual traditions, including both Jer a' and the *kaige* tradition. The preferred choice of equivalent in the *kaige* tradition is different in these cases, and this in itself serves to distinguish Jer b' from *kaige*. Examples of these include the translations of the syntactical constructions לְמַעַן+inf. and לְבִלְתִּי+inf., and the words רָפָא, שָׁמַח, שָׁשׂוֹן, הִכְעִיס, זָרַע, זָרוּעַ, עָתָה.

The third type of difference, the use of synonymous or alternative renderings in the two sections, is similar to the second, except that the equivalents in Jer b' are not rare or

<sup>955</sup> For an introduction to Tov's account of the distinctive similarities between Jer a' and Jer b', cf. sec. 2.4.

unique. They are used in other translated books of the LXX. They also distinguish Jer b' from Jer a', and some of them are also different from the *kaige* tradition, though not as definitely as the unique renderings. These include translations of the expressions נאם יהוה and אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, of the verbs עבד, ישב, בעס, שכנ and לכד and of the words שְׁמָמָה and שְׁמָמָה.

Regardless of the features in Jer b' that distinguish it from other texts and traditions, most of the changes that Jer b' displays in comparison to Jer a' reflect similar tendencies to those of the *kaige* tradition. These features include more precise representations of the formal elements in the Hebrew text, more consistency in the choice of equivalent, and a level of exegetical interest in the choice of equivalent. These affinities between the changes in Jer b' and the revisional tendencies of the *kaige* tradition serve to solidify the changes that have taken place in Jer b' as more revisional in character.

Renderings in Jer b' that display a closer formal equivalence with the Hebrew text than in Jer a' include the translations of the syntactic expressions מאין, לפני, בעיני, of the phrase כה אמר יהוה, of the verb שדד and of the noun גבור. A greater level of consistency in the choice of equivalents in Jer b' is evident in the renderings of conjunctive ו and the particle כִּי, the word אחר 'other,' the verbs יצא, ידע and ישב, and the noun עֶבֶד. Exegetical interest in the choice of equivalent is evident in the renderings of the verbs נחם and צוה and the nouns נְבִיא, שֶׁקֶר and זֶרַע.

## 8.2. The Translation Character, Revision and Vorlage of Jer LXX

How can the different textual phenomena exhibited in Jer LXX be explained? On the one hand, a number of features that distinguish Jer b' from Jer a' are very similar to features identified in the *kaige* tradition. On the other hand, some of the distinguishing features of Jer b' serve to distinguish it from known *kaige* characteristics as well. Furthermore, some of the changes in Jer b' are more natural Greek in character than their more formal counterparts in Jer a', which is not what would be expected from a revision. Though the *kaige* type changes are more numerous in volume, and serve to solidify the character of the changes in Jer b' as revisional, the latter two groups of changes are no less significant in profiling the character of Jer b'. The different types of phenomena that are evident in the text of Jer LXX are not conducive to a simple solution. The contention that exegetical distinction has been applied by a single translator cannot account for the many differences that actually do occur in similar contexts; the notion of a single translator who changed his disposition mid-way through the work cannot explain the close affinities of the changed equivalents to the tendencies of the *kaige* tradition that dawned at a much later time and in another location; the assertion that two translators rendered the two halves cannot account for the distinctive similarities between them; and to argue that all differences come from a reviser results in a revisionary character whose changes are contradictory to one another and to the general tendency of early Jewish revisions of the LXX. The evidence points toward a development of Jer LXX that is more complex than any one of these solutions.

The attestation of natural Greek expressions among the changes in Jer b' may be explained in either of two ways, and both assume that the reviser was not concerned with the representation of Hebrew syntactical constructions that are included in this category. The first possibility is that these changes were introduced by the reviser along with the other changes. While the reviser was making his revision, he simply did not pay the same level of attention to the translation of these syntactic elements as he did to other aspects of the translation. His general purpose was similar to the *kaige* revisers' purpose, i.e. to make the translation reflect the Hebrew text more closely and consistently, but his application of these principles was inconsistent, resulting in his use of more natural Greek expressions to render these syntactical aspects of the text.

The second possible solution is that the more natural Greek expressions in Jer b' are a residue of the Old Greek translation of Jer LXX. This would mean that, though they embody a difference between Jer a' and Jer b', they reflect a turn toward more natural and free expression in the OG translation that occurred in the process of the first translation. Such a change in the disposition of the OG translator may reflect an unintentional change in the long and arduous work of translating the longest book in the HB. This change was not necessarily pervasive, but rather seems to have been confined mainly to the translation of a few syntactical constructions. The translation of frequently occurring expressions, such as the infinitive, are often rendered intuitively by translators.<sup>956</sup> The intention to render these in a literal manner from the outset of the process could easily dissolve into intuitive expressions that reflect the translator's native tongue due to fatigue. Alternatively, such changes may reflect an intentional change acquired through experience.<sup>957</sup> These free renderings occur mainly in the latter half of the translation, and the translator's initial incompetence, reflected in literal equivalents, would have evolved in the latter stages of the process.

Of the two solutions, the latter has the advantage of supplying a plausible motive for the later revision and is therefore to be preferred. If the OG translation of Jer LXX was inconsistent in its translation character, as is evident from the analysis, especially if it exhibited less formal equivalents of the Hebrew text as the translation progressed, it would be an ideal object of revision. This observation does not mean that the reviser would have targeted all of the changed equivalents made by the OG translator nor that the reviser would have only targeted the changed equivalents. It is more likely that the apparent turn toward more natural Greek expression only served as a cue for the reviser, who then proceeded to revise a limited number of specific equivalents, most of which were likely the same as the OG translator's equivalents found in Jer a'.

The motive of early Jewish revisions was usually a disparity between the OG and the Hebrew text. The textual development of the Hebrew text of Jer is understood as a gradual growth process that culminated in the MT edition of Jer.<sup>958</sup> Most of the textual growth that is evident in Jer MT in comparison to Jer LXX is located in the prose

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<sup>956</sup> Aejmelaeus 2007, 63.

<sup>957</sup> For a discussion on how the LXX translators' cumulated experience in translating the HB is evident in their renderings, cf. van der Louw 2016, 457–458.

<sup>958</sup> For a discussion on the development of the Hebrew text of Jer LXX, cf. sec. 2.2.2.



sections of Jer, which comprise most of the latter half of the book. This process of growth must have been going on after the OG translation was produced, and it is very likely that the reviser based his revision on a Hebrew text that had further developed from the *Vorlage* used by the OG translators several decades earlier. Evidence of this hypothesis is difficult to come by since the manuscript tradition of Jer b' does not evince textual variants prior to the later christian recensions. However, this is a very plausible hypothesis in light of the identified principles of other revisions of the LXX. Together, the expanded Hebrew text and less formal Greek equivalents in the latter half of Jer LXX would form a significant incentive for revision.

Whether or not it is a coincidence that these two factors coincide with the revision being extant only in Jer b' is difficult to determine. Tov proposes a scenario in which a scribe accidentally combined a scroll of Jer a' containing the OG with a scroll of Jer b' containing the revision, but he also mentions the possibility that the scarcity of scrolls necessitated the combination of OG Jer a' and a revised Jer b'. For both solutions, he contends that the revision of Jer OG comprised the whole translation.<sup>959</sup> A further possibility is that the reviser only felt a need to revise the scroll containing the latter half of the translation, which would have included most of the prose sections of the Hebrew text that had undergone a greater degree of expansion than the poetic sections, and which attested a greater degree of natural Greek expression as a result of the change in the OG translator's disposition. As noted earlier, the approach of the reviser is not as methodical as the approach of the later *kaige* revisers, and his criteria for an unsuitable translation was likewise not as strict. If Jer a' approximately matched the reviser's Hebrew text in quantity and did not contain free renderings of the type in Jer b', then the reviser did not necessarily see the need to revise the first scroll of Jer LXX. The disparity between his Hebrew text and Jer LXX was mostly contained in the second scroll of Jer LXX, which corresponded to Jer b'.

Most of the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' comprise changes in Jer b' that reflect a character similar to the revisional principles of the *kaige* tradition, and these form a strong argument for the revisional character of Jer b'. Such changes include equivalents that correspond more closely to the formal elements of the Hebrew text, equivalents that are used more consistently to represent each Hebrew word, and a few exegetically motivated renderings. These similarities with other early revisions of the

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<sup>959</sup> Tov 1976, 162.

LXX allow a distinction regarding the date of the revision. These changes were most likely brought about by a reviser working in the same vein of tradition as the *kaige* revisers, though at an earlier stage than the later, more perfected exemplars of the *kaige* tradition. The explanation of a single translator who changed his disposition after a hiatus in the translation process, proposed by Stipp,<sup>960</sup> easily explains both the distinctive similarities between Jer a' and Jer b' and the changes in Jer b' that reflect more natural Greek expression, but it is unlikely that the translator's changes would reflect the tendencies used by later revisers of the LXX to the degree that is evident in Jer b'. The systematic application of translation equivalents that is seen in a number of the changes in Jer b' does not occur to a significant extent prior to the *kaige* tradition. The OG translator completed the translation before the activities of the *kaige* revisers began, and most likely in a completely different location. It is very unlikely that the translator's changes in Jer b' would be similar to those of the later *kaige* revisers. The OG translator most likely held the translation process and the translation product in a different regard than did the later revisers.

Yet another group of differences are those that can be defined as rare or unique equivalents and alternative equivalents in Jer b'. These are also most likely changes made by the reviser. The OG translator's changes in Jer b' are mainly evident among the grammatical features of the translation as noted above. The rare, unique and alternative equivalents distinguish the revised translation in Jer b' from both the OG in Jer a' and from the later *kaige* tradition.

All of these factors together contribute to the picture of a reviser who found disparity between Jer LXX, particularly Jer b', and his Hebrew text, with regard to the use of natural Greek expressions at the least, and possibly with regard to a Hebrew text that had expanded after the initial translation of Jer. The reviser was invested in an early form of a *kaige* type tradition to some extent, as can be seen in his *kaige* type changes, but he distinguishes himself from the later revisers in a number of ways. First, he resorts to a number of rare and unique renderings and alternative equivalents that are not used in the *kaige* tradition. Second, the remaining non-formal equivalents of the Hebrew and lexical variation among certain equivalents in Jer b' indicate that he was not as thorough nor as consistent in his changes as the later *kaige* revisers of 1–4 Rgns and of the *Nahā*

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<sup>960</sup> For a discussion of Stipp's arguments, cf. sec. 2.4.3.

*Hever* MP scroll. The fact that a degree of variety tempers the translation equivalents among the revised equivalents speaks of the inconsistency of the revision. It is not as systematic, consistent or pervasive as the *kaige* tradition is, and yet its intentionality is evident in the changes to a degree that its constitution as a revision is difficult to disprove.

## 9. Conclusions

This study constitutes a translation technical analysis of a number of Hebrew-Greek equivalents in Jer LXX that exhibit differences between Jer LXX 1–28 (Jer a') and 29–52 (Jer b') and characterizes the translation with a view towards describing its nature as a witness of the Hebrew text of Jer, towards defining the relationship between Jer a' and Jer b' with more precision, and towards placing Jer LXX within the textual history of the LXX as a whole. With regard to these issues, the following conclusions have been reached:

First, the differences that are attested between the Hebrew and the Greek text within the analyzed material mostly comprise later changes within the Hebrew text, different interpretations of the Hebrew consonantal text, and scribal errors that occurred during the transmission of the texts. Intentional changes made by the translator that cause the Greek text to depart from the formal characteristics of the Hebrew text are very few and very minor in nature. They take the form of the subtle omission or addition of small particles and the occasional transformation of syntax. These changes do not justify the description of the translator as one who actively edits the text by not translating phrases, verses and other portions of his Hebrew *Vorlage*, and by major and minor transpositions. The translator of Jer LXX is a literal translator who attempts to follow his Hebrew *Vorlage* very closely.

Second, many of the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' exhibit changes in Jer b' that display similar revisional characteristics as those in the *kaige* tradition, which is a prime example of early Jewish revisional activity. These similarities imply that the changes were made in a similar recensional vein as the later *kaige* revisions. On the other hand, several of the differences in Jer b' embody unique, rare and alternative translation equivalents that distinguish the revision from the *kaige* tradition and other known revisions. These changes define the revision as distinct from the *kaige* tradition and serve to set it apart from all other translated portions in the LXX. In addition to these two categories of change, another group evinces change towards more natural Greek expression. This type of change occurs only among the renderings of syntactical expressions in Jer b' and attests a change in the disposition of the translator. Through the experience of translating the first portion of Jer, the translator has most likely grown a

working knowledge of how to render the Hebrew syntactical expressions into Greek. He increasingly uses more natural Greek idiom in the latter half of the translation.

This third group of differences between Jer a' and Jer b' is conducive to a motivation for revisional activity. The general tendency of LXX revisions is to correct the LXX towards the Hebrew text used by the revisers. This is borne out of a disparity between the LXX and the Hebrew text. The increased use of natural Greek expression infers a decrease in the formal representation of Hebrew idioms and expressions. In addition, the textual growth of the Hebrew text of Jer occurs to a greater degree in the latter half of the book than in the first half. The quantitative growth of the prose sections in the Hebrew text corresponding to Jer b' would also materialize as a significant disparity between Jer OG and the Hebrew text used by the reviser. Together, these two factors facilitate effectual conditions for revision.

The third conclusion of this study regards the character of the revision and its place within the history and development of the LXX. As noted, the differences between Jer a' and Jer b' consist of different types of change, most of which are in the same vein as revisional tendencies of the *kaige* tradition. These changes are not applied to the same degree of consistency as in the later exemplars of the *kaige* tradition, and some of the changed equivalents are not the same as those chosen by the later *kaige* revisers. Also, the remaining elements of the natural Greek expressions used by the OG translator make an important contribution to the character of the revision. The general intent of the reviser is similar to that of the *kaige* revisers in that he changes equivalents to match the Hebrew with more formality and consistency. In doing so, however, he is not as systematic and consistent as the *kaige* revisers. The expressions that he targets for revision are limited and do not concern the renderings of certain syntactical expressions which reflect the natural Greek expressions used by the OG translator. The changes most likely could not have been made by the OG translator because they exhibit trends of revision that only appear at a later point in time with the advent of the *kaige* tradition. The inconsistency of the revision, on the other hand, implies that the principles of the reviser were not as developed and refined as the principles evident in the known exemplars of the *kaige* revision. Accordingly, it is most plausible to date the revision prior to the other known early Jewish revisions.

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